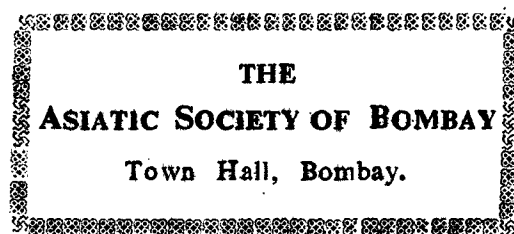




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COMMERCIAL. No. 7 (1874).

DESPATCH

FROM THE

BRITISH DELEGATES ON TONNAGE

AT

CONSTANTINOPLE,

TOGETHER WITH THE

REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSION

AS TO

INTERNATIONAL TONNAGE

AND THE

SUEZ CANAL DUES.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1874.

LONDON:

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Despatch from the British Delegates on Tonnage at Constantinople, together with the Report and Recommendations of the Commission as to International Tonnage, and the Suez Canal Dues.

Colonel Stokes and Sir P. Francis to Earl Granville.—(Received December 30.)

(Extract.)

Pera, December 22, 1873.

WE have the honour to forward to your Lordship, in anticipation of the concluding *procès-verbaux*, which are not yet printed, copies of the Report of the International Tonnage Commission, with a translation.

This document was adopted in the last sitting of the Commission on the 18th instant.

The Report contains the principal conclusions at which the Commission has arrived, and which it recommends to the adoption of the Powers.

Inclosure 1.

Rapport Final résumant les travaux de la Commission Internationale pour le Tonnage réunie à Constantinople en 1873.

LA Commission Internationale réunie à Constantinople pour répondre à l'appel adressé aux Puissances maritimes par le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, prenant pour guide de ses travaux les dépêches circulaires du Gouvernement Impérial à ses représentants à l'extérieur, en date des 1 Janvier et 13 Août, 1873, les lettres vizirielles à Son Altesse le Khédive d'Egypte du 17 Djémazi-ul-Ewel et du 6 Djémazi-ul-Ahir, 1290, et les instructions de la Sublime Porte à ses Délégués, a consacré vingt et une séances à la discussion des questions qui lui ont été soumises en procédant, d'après les règles qu'elle s'est elle-même préalablement tracées, ainsi qu'en témoignent les procès-verbaux annexés à ce Rapport.

En fixant l'ordre de ses travaux, la Commission a cru devoir s'en tenir aux indications données par le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale dans les lettres d'invitation adressées aux Puissances et dans les instructions données aux Délégués Ottomans.

Les dites pièces recommandent de rechercher, en premier lieu, le meilleur mode de constater :—

1. La capacité totale et la capacité utilisable d'un navire ; et
2. Comme conséquence, d'examiner en suite les conditions actuelles de la perception des droits de navigation par la Compagnie du Canal de Suez.

La Commission poursuivant cet ordre d'idées a divisé ses travaux en deux parties distinctes :—

1. Question générale du tonnage ;
2. Question des perceptions des taxes pour le passage dans le Canal de Suez.

Abordant l'examen du premier point et envisageant cette question sous tous ses aspects, elle l'a classée en deux principales divisions :

Tonnage brut, et tonnage net.

Formulant son avis sur cette partie de ses travaux, la Commission résume, ainsi qu'il suit, les considérations qui déterminent les propositions qui vont suivre :—

L'usage traditionnel de toutes les nations maritimes est d'assujettir les navires de commerce à un mesurage dont le résultat, sous le nom générique de "tonnage," sert de base à l'application des taxes auxquelles le corps du navire est ou peut être soumis, pour quelque cause et en quelque lieu que ce soit.

La fixation du tonnage appartient en tout pays au pouvoir Souverain comme un des attributs de l'autorité publique. Réglée, à l'origine, dans chaque Etat, selon les con-

venances locales, elle a tendu à se dégager des divergences de nation à nation ; mais au fur et à mesure que les échanges maritimes se développaient, les privilèges réservés aux bâtiments nationaux ont fait place à la concurrence internationale.

L'objectif des anciennes règles de tonnage a été d'abord le déplacement, avec une unité de poids, qui s'exprimait aussi en volume supposé équivalent pour déterminer ce qu'un navire pouvait porter ou contenir.

Mais partout l'expérience a démontré l'impossibilité de fixer, d'une manière constante, le port du navire, qui varie nécessairement suivant la nature, la forme et la densité de chacun des éléments concourant à former les cargaisons, et selon les saisons, l'état de la mer, et la durée relative des voyages. Il est toujours possible, au contraire, de mesurer exactement la capacité intérieure du navire et d'en déduire, d'une manière pratique, les espaces qui, manifestement, ne peuvent pas être utilisés pour la production du frêt. C'est à cette conclusion qu'ont abouti les diverses ordonnances réglant ce sujet, après avoir successivement traversé des phases analogues de tâtonnements et d'études.

Heureusement, après avoir passé par toutes ces phases, malgré les variations dans les procédés, on est à la fin arrivé à établir, dans des conditions à peu près semblables, une statistique comparable du tonnage maritime des différentes nations.

En adoptant partout les mêmes règles de jaugeage, la comparaison ne laisse plus rien à désirer, et la navigation sera partout taxée d'une manière uniforme et équitable.

Cette unification du tonnage peut être réalisée en adoptant une formule qui réunit les trois conditions suivantes :—

1. Mesurer la capacité intérieure du navire avec toute la précision que comporte pratiquement la science géométrique.

2. Exprimer cette capacité en tonneaux, adoptant pour diviseur commun une unité de jauge, qui résume le mieux, pour toutes les marines, les traditions séculaires de l'expérience commune, et qui donne comme quotient une moyenne de toutes les conditions variables dans lesquelles les navires sont employés.

3. N'admettre pour la détermination du tonnage net, qui sert de base à l'application des taxes, aucune déduction, qu'à la condition que les espaces déduits ne soient pas employés pour la production de frêt, soit en y mettant des passagers, soit en y mettant des marchandises.

La Commission s'est demandé s'il ne serait pas mieux de supprimer l'expression "tonneau de jauge" afin de faire cesser la confusion continuelle entre le tonneau de jauge et les différents tonneaux employés par le commerce, soit en poids, soit en mesure ; mais après mûre délibération, elle a jugé que le temps n'est pas encore venu pour recommander un tel changement dans les usages du monde commercial et maritime, et elle s'est décidée à adopter, pour unité de jauge, le tonneau de capacité du système Moorsom de 100 pieds cubes Anglais ou de 2.83 mètres cubes.

Ces principes posés, la Commission Internationale ayant reconnu que le procédé de mesurage de la capacité des navires inauguré par le "Merchant Shipping Act" de 1854 sous le nom de système Moorsom, dans le Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, réalise le mieux les conditions requises pour la détermination du tonnage brut ; qu'aucun système ne se prête mieux à l'application des règles précises de déduction qui doivent déterminer le tonnage net et ne se recommande avec de plus grands avantages pour l'unification du tonnage que la Commission doit rechercher et désire atteindre ;

Constatant d'ailleurs—

1. Que la plupart des Puissances maritimes en ont ainsi jugé, puisque l'Allemagne, l'Autriche-Hongrie, le Danemark, les Etats Unis d'Amérique, la France, l'Italie, la Norvège et la Turquie ont successivement, avec des variantes dans l'application, adopté le système Moorsom, et que la Belgique, l'Espagne, les Pays-Bas et la Suède, d'après les déclarations de leurs Délégués respectifs, sont également en voie de l'adopter ;

2. Qu'en ce qui concerne le tonnage net des navires à vapeur, les prescriptions de la Loi Anglaise de 1854 laissent beaucoup à désirer, notamment en ce que la déduction est calculée pour une catégorie de navires dont les machines sont dans un certain rapport avec la capacité totale, en prenant un centième pour cent du tonnage brut, tandis que dans d'autres navires la déduction dépend simplement de l'espace occupé par la machine ;

3. Qu'il y a deux autres systèmes de déduction, la différence entre lesquels consiste dans le traitement des soutes à charbon ; l'un avec les cloisons mobiles est appelé la règle du Bas Danube, l'autre pour des soutes fixes est adopté en Allemagne, Autriche-Hongrie, France et Italie ; que, par le premier de ces systèmes, on laisse la liberté aux armateurs d'employer sans inconvénient leurs navires partout dans le commerce général du monde, tandis que par l'autre système ils sont obligés d'adopter les soutes à charbon fixes pour des voyages déterminés ; mais en vue des opinions partagées sur les avantages de l'un ou de l'autre système ;

La Commission recommande à l'acceptation des Puissances maritimes les modes de procéder ci-après indiqués et les règles de jaugeage annexées au présent Rapport.

S'ils sont adoptés, il sera désirable que les papiers de bord des navires présentent un Tableau de tous les détails du mesurage et du calcul par lesquels on aurait trouvé le tonnage brut et des déductions opérées pour déterminer le tonnage net.

Pour le cas où il y aurait des exceptions dans le mesurage de la capacité totale du navire, on devrait le mentionner dans les papiers de bord.

En discutant et fixant les règles de jaugeage annexées à ce Rapport, la Commission a été guidée par les considérations suivantes, qu'elle soumet aussi à l'approbation des Puissances maritimes : —

§ 1. Tout navire de commerce, à quelque nation qu'il appartienne, doit être muni d'un certificat de jauge constatant :

(a.) Le tonnage brut ou "gross tonnage" qui est l'expression de la capacité totale du navire, et

(b.) Le tonnage net qui est l'expression de la capacité du navire après déduction des espaces reconnus non utilisables pour la production du frêt.

§ 2. Le certificat de jauge, dont il s'agit, délivré par les autorités compétentes de l'Etat, auquel appartient le navire, après jaugeage opéré d'après les prescriptions des règles proposées par la Commission Internationale, fait foi en tout pays pour servir de base à la perception des taxes auxquelles le corps du navire est ou peut être soumis, pour quelque cause et en quelque lieu que ce soit. Les dites taxes sont appliquées au tonnage net du navire.

§ 3. La détermination du tonnage brut ou capacité totale d'un navire est le mieux effectuée au moyen des procédés de jaugeage et de calcul connus sous le nom de système Moorsom, tels qu'ils sont définis par les règles de jaugeage adoptées par cette Commission et annexées au présent Rapport.

§ 4. Le tonnage brut comprend le résultat du jaugeage de tous les espaces au-dessous du pont supérieur, ainsi que de ceux compris dans toutes les constructions permanentes, couvertes et closes sur ce pont.

(Pour leur définition voir les règles de jaugeage annexées.)

§ 5. Les déductions à opérer du tonnage brut pour déterminer le tonnage net sont :

1. Les déductions générales s'appliquant aux navires à voiles et aux navires à vapeur.

2. Les déductions spéciales aux navires à vapeur.

§ 6. Les déductions générales s'appliquent :

1. Au logement de l'équipage. (Ne sont pas considérés comme faisant partie de l'équipage les gens de service quels qu'ils soient, embarqués pour le service des passagers.)

2. Aux cabines des officiers de bord. (Celle du capitaine non comprise.)

3. Aux cuisines et aux lieux d'aisance et latrines à l'usage exclusif du personnel du bord, qu'ils soient situés au-dessous ou au-dessus du pont supérieur.

4. Aux espaces couverts et clos, s'il en existe, placés sur le pont supérieur et destinés à la manœuvre du navire.

Tous les espaces appliqués à chacun des usages ci-dessus indiqués peuvent être limités séparément suivant les besoins et les habitudes de chaque pays ; ils sont cubés isolément, et additionnés ; le total devant être déduit, s'il est au-dessous de 5 pour cent du tonnage brut, et ne pouvant dans aucun cas dépasser 5 pour cent du dit tonnage.

Outre les espaces compris dans les déductions, il a été proposé au sein de la Commission de déduire aussi les espaces occupés par la cabine du capitaine, les soutes à voiles, à cordages et autres agrès de la manœuvre, mais ces propositions n'ont pas obtenu la majorité absolue des voix.

§ 7. La Commission recommande la suppression de tout système qui ferait dépendre la détermination du tonnage net d'un navire à vapeur de la déduction d'un tantième pour cent de la capacité totale du navire.

§ 8. Les déductions spéciales aux navires à vapeur s'appliquent :

(a.) A la chambre des machines et des chaudières ;

(b.) Au tunnel des navires à hélice ;

(c.) Aux soutes à charbon permanentes : les espaces des chambres, tunnel et soutes étant exactement mesurés.

§ 9. Si le navire n'a pas de soutes permanentes, ou s'il a seulement des soutes latérales et si l'approvisionnement de charbon est logé dans des magasins prélevés sur la cale au moyen de cloisons mobiles, on ne fera pas entrer l'espace des soutes latérales ou des magasins à charbon dans le mesurage. Dans ce cas, on appliquera la règle en vigueur aux Bouches du Danube, c'est-à-dire que pour tenir compte de l'approvisionnement moyen de combustible, on accordera 50 pour cent de l'espace de la machine si le navire est à roues et 75 pour cent de l'espace de la machine si le navire est à hélice.

(Voir Article 16 des Règles de jaugeage annexées.)

§ 10. Les navires munis de soutes permanentes pourront néanmoins être jaugeés selon la règle du Danube. Dans ce cas le tonnage net sera établi conformément aux prescriptions du paragraphe ci-dessus.

§ 11. Dans aucun cas (sauf pour les remorqueurs) le total des déductions spéciales aux navires à vapeur ne pourra dépasser 50 pour cent du tonnage brut.

§ 12. Pour les navires remorqueurs, et à la condition expresse que ces navires seront exclusivement affectés au remorquage, les déductions spéciales s'appliqueront sans limite aux espaces réellement occupés par la chambre des machines et l'approvisionnement de combustible.

§ 13. Provisoirement et jusqu'à ce que tous les Gouvernements aient adopté des règles uniformes pour le tonnage net, et dans le but d'obtenir en attendant, une certaine uniformité de pratique, il pourra, dans tout Etat, être délivré aux navires à vapeur, appartenant au dit Etat, par les soins des autorités compétentes, pour la délivrance du registre de jauge constatant le tonnage d'après la loi nationale en vigueur, un certificat annexe qui fera foi dans les ports étrangers et qui établira le tonnage net auquel devront être appliquées les taxes à payer dans ces ports.

§ 14. Dans les Etats qui ont déjà adopté le système Moorsom, le certificat annexe mentionné ci-dessus sera dressé facultativement, soit d'après la règle applicable aux navires à soutes permanentes, soit d'après la règle du Danube.

§ 15. Dans les pays où le système Moorsom sera, mais n'est pas encore adopté, les navires à vapeur pourront être mesurés d'après la Règle 2 de la Loi Anglaise de 1854, avec les facteurs 0.0017 et 0.0018. Du tonnage brut ainsi trouvé, on opérera les déductions spéciales accordées par les §§ 6 à 12 ci-dessus. Le certificat annexe spécifié au § 13 constatera le tonnage brut, et le tonnage net du navire; le dit tonnage net sera établi facultativement, soit d'après la règle applicable aux navires à soutes permanentes, soit d'après la règle du Danube.

§ 16. Les navires non pontés n'ont pas été compris dans les règles internationales de jaugeage proposées.

§ 17. Comme sanction pénale on recommande d'ordonner que si un des espaces permanents, qui ont été déduits, est employé pour y mettre des marchandises ou des passagers, ou pour en tirer du profit en l'affrétant, cet espace sera ajouté au tonnage net, et ne pourra plus être déduit.

Les dispositions des paragraphes ci-dessus embrassent les principes qui ont guidé la Commission dans son travail et elle émet le vœu que pour garantir l'application identique des dits principes dans tous les Etats, les règles de jaugeage proposées par elle soient adoptées par voie diplomatique, ou par les Délégués munis de pleins pouvoirs qui pourraient s'entendre sur les procédés à employer, et pour tous les détails d'exécution.

En abordant la seconde partie de la tâche qui lui a été dévolue par le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, la Commission a posé dans les termes suivants, d'accord avec la teneur des instructions du Gouvernement Ottoman à ses Délégués, la question à résoudre :—

“ Le mode actuellement appliqué pour la perception des droits du Canal est-il en harmonie avec les prescriptions de l'Acte de Concession et du Firman Impérial, selon l'interprétation qui leur a été donnée par les deux lettres vizirielles à Son Altesse le Khédive ? ”

Examen fait de l'Acte de Concession et des documents ci-dessus indiqués, la Commission a ouvert la discussion et après avoir entendu successivement MM. les Délégués d'Allemagne, d'Autriche-Hongrie, de Belgique, d'Espagne, de la Grande Bretagne, de Grèce, d'Italie, des Pays-Bas, de Russie, de Suède-Norvège, et de Turquie, elle a été appelée à délibérer sur le projet de résolution présenté par les Délégués de la Grande Bretagne, ainsi qu'en témoignent les procès-verbaux 13, 14, 15, 16.

Avant de se prononcer par un vote sur cette résolution, la Commission, dans la séance du 9 Décembre, a reçu de son Président, communication de la lettre, en date du même jour, adressée à son Excellence par son Excellence Rachid Pacha, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.

Déférant à la recommandation contenue dans cette lettre, la Commission a discuté et officiellement adopté la rédaction de l'avis suivant qui a été accepté à l'unanimité, et qu'elle espère être conforme au désir exprimé par la Sublime Porte :—

Avis.

Invitée par la Sublime Porte à exprimer un avis sur le mode de perception applicable au Canal de Suez en vertu du contrat de Concession, du Firman de 1866, et des lettres vizirielles du 17 Djémazi-ul-Ewel et du 6 Djémazi-ul-Ahir, 1290, et se conformant au

désir exprimé dans la lettre adressée, le 9 Décembre, 1873, par Son Excellence Rachid Pacha, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Turquie, à Son Excellence Edhem Pacha, Président de la Commission ;

Se référant, d'une part, à l'Acte de Concession de l'entreprise du Canal de Suez, lequel Acte doit rester intact ;

Se référant, d'autre part, pour l'application des prescriptions de cet Acte, aux principes généraux et aux règles de jaugeage, tels que la Commission Internationale les a précédemment déterminés ;

La Commission est d'avis qu'on peut régler le mode de cette perception par une transaction, dont les dispositions sont les suivantes :—

Navires jaugeés d'après le Système Moorsom.

1. Il sera perçu sur chaque tonne de registre net des navires dont les déductions propres aux machines ont été déterminées d'après la section (a) de la Clause 23 qui définit la Règle 3 de la Loi Anglaise de 1854, outre la taxe de 10 fr. une surtaxe de 4 fr.

2. Cette surtaxe sera réduite à 3 fr. pour chaque bâtiment qui aura inscrit sur ses papiers de bord, ou annexé à ces papiers, le tonnage net résultant du système de jaugeage recommandé par la Commission Internationale, lequel formera la base de la perception de la taxe et de la surtaxe.

3. Il est entendu que les navires qui sont déjà mesurés d'après l'alternative posée par la Commission et notamment suivant la section (b) de la clause précitée de la Loi Anglaise de 1854, n'auront à acquitter, dès à présent, que la surtaxe de 3 fr. par tonneau de registre net, sous la condition que les déductions pour la machine et le combustible n'excéderont pas 50 pour cent du tonnage brut.

Navires jaugeés d'après un autre Système que celui de Moorsom.

4. Le tonnage brut des navires qui ne sont pas jaugeés d'après le système Moorsom sera ramené au tonnage de ce système par l'application des facteurs du barème du Bas Danube et leur tonnage net sera déterminé d'après la section (a) de la Clause 23 précitée. Ils payeront, outre la taxe de 10 fr. une surtaxe de 4 fr. par tonne sur ce tonnage net.

Disposition commune à tous les Navires.

5. La surtaxe de 3 fr. par tonne nette de registre sera progressivement réduite dans les proportions ci-après spécifiées, à mesure du développement du tonnage net des navires transitant annuellement par le Canal, et de manière à ne plus percevoir finalement que la taxe maximum de 10 fr. par tonne sur le tonnage net, constaté par les papiers de bord, aussitôt que ce tonnage aura atteint pendant une année, 2,600,000 tonnes de tonnage net de registre.

La décroissance de la surtaxe suivra les proportions ci-après :—

Aussitôt que le tonnage net aura atteint le chiffre de 2,100,000 tonnes pendant une année, la Compagnie ne pourra, à partir de l'année suivante, percevoir la surtaxe qu'à raison de 2½ fr. par tonne.

A partir de l'année qui suivra celle durant laquelle le tonnage net aura atteint 2,200,000 tonnes, la surtaxe ne sera plus que de 2 fr. par tonne et ainsi de suite chaque augmentation de 100,000 tonnes pour une année, entraînant une diminution de surtaxe de 50 c. par tonne pendant l'année suivante ; de telle sorte, qu'au moment où le "net tonnage" aura atteint 2,600,000 tonnes pendant une année, la surtaxe sera définitivement supprimée et la taxe ne dépassera plus le chiffre maximum de 10 fr. par tonne de registre net.

Il est bien entendu—

(1.) Qu'au cas où l'augmentation du tonnage net réalisée pendant une année, dépasserait 100,000 tonnes, la surtaxe décroîtrait pendant l'année suivante d'autant de fois 50 c. par tonne, qu'il se serait produit de fois 100,000 tonnes de plus.

(2.) Qu'une fois que la surtaxe aura été diminuée ou abolie d'après les conditions qu'on vient de dire, aucune augmentation ou réimposition ne pourra avoir lieu, même si le tonnage de transit venait de nouveau à descendre.

(3.) Que l'année mentionnée plus haut commence le 1 Janvier, nouveau style.

6. Les bâtiments de guerre, les bâtiments construits ou nolisés pour le transport de troupes et les bâtiments sur lest seront exemptés de toute surtaxe ; ils ne seront pas soumis à une taxe supérieure au maximum de 10 fr. par tonne, qui sera prélevée sur leur tonnage net de registre.

Après avoir exprimé cet avis dans sa dix-neuvième séance, le Premier Délégué de Turquie, autorisé par son Gouvernement, a fait les deux déclarations suivantes :—

“Que la permission de percevoir une surtaxe de 1 fr. concédée à la Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez dans l'année 1871, pour un but spécial, est abrogée.

“Qu'aucune modification ne pourra être apportée à l'avenir aux conditions de transit, soit en ce qui concerne les droits de navigation, soit en ce qui concerne les droits de remorquage, d'ancrage, de pilotage, &c., qu'avec l'assentiment de la Sublime Porte qui, de son côté, s'entendra à ce sujet avec les principales Puissances intéressées, avant de prendre aucune détermination.”

MM. les Délégués de la Grande Bretagne, d'Italie, d'Espagne, de Belgique, d'Autriche-Hongrie, d'Allemagne, de Turquie, de France, de Grèce, de Russie, et de Suède-Norvège ont déclaré, dans la vingtième séance, qu'ils sont autorisés par leurs Gouvernements à adhérer aux dispositions de la transaction.

MM. les Délégués des Pays-Bas ont déclaré qu'ils sont autorisés par leur Gouvernement à y adhérer également, sous les réserves faites.

Ce Rapport Final est fait et signé dans une seule expédition, à Constantinople, ce 18^e jour du mois de Décembre, 1873, 28 jour du mois de Chewal, 1290.

Le Président,
(Signé) EDHEM.

Pour l'Allemagne—
(Signé) GILLET.
HARGREAVES.

Pour l'Autriche-Hongrie—
G. DE KOSJEK.
L. ZAMARA.
E. F. NICOLICH.

Pour la Belgique—
CAM. JANSSEN.

Pour l'Espagne—
JOAQUIN TOGORES.
A. RUATA.

Pour la France—
A. D'AVRIL.
RUMEAU.

Pour la Grande Bretagne—
J. STOKES.
PHILIP FRANCIS.

Pour la Grèce—
A. A. H. ANARGYROS.

Pour l'Italie—
E. COVA.
F. MATTEI.
ALEX. VERNONI.

Pour les Pays-Bas—
JANSEN.
RICHARD S. KEUN.

Pour la Russie—
B. E. STEIGER.
KORCHIKOFF.

Pour la Suède et la Norvège—
O. VON HEIDENSTAMM.

Pour la Turquie—
EDHEM.
M. SALIH.
H. MADRILLY.

Le Secrétaire,
(Signé) CARATHÉODORY.

(Translation.)

THE International Commission, which has met at Constantinople, in pursuance of the invitation addressed by the Government of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan to the maritime Powers, has taken for its guidance the circular despatches of the Imperial Government to their Agents abroad, dated respectively the 1st January and 13th August, 1873, and the Vizirial letters addressed to His Highness the Khedive of Egypt of the 12th and 30th July, 1873, as well as the instructions of the Sublime Porte to their Delegates. It has devoted twenty-one sittings to the discussion of the questions submitted to it, and has followed the rules of discussion which it had previously laid down, as shown in the *procès-verbaux* annexed to this Report.

In fixing the order of its labours the Commission has thought it advisable to abide by the suggestions of His Imperial Majesty's Government, contained in the letters addressed to the Powers and in the instructions given to the Ottoman Delegates.

These documents recommended the investigation, in the first place, of the best mode of ascertaining—

- 1st, The total and the utilizable capacity of a ship ; and,
- 2ndly, as a consequence thereof, the examination of the scale of dues, as now levied by the Company on the Suez Canal.

The Commission following this order of ideas divided its work into two distinct parts, viz. :—

1. Question of tonnage generally.
2. The question of the tolls on the Suez Canal

Taking the first point, and considering it in all its aspects, the Commission classified it under two principal headings :—Gross tonnage ; Nett tonnage.

The Commission presents, as follows, the reasons which determined its opinion on that part of its labours. It is a traditional usage of all maritime countries to submit merchant vessels to a measurement, the result whereof, known under the general name of "tonnage," serves as the basis of the taxation to which a ship is or can be made liable everywhere, and under any circumstances. The fixing of tonnage appertains in every country to the sovereign Power, as one of the attributes of public authority. Although this was originally determined in every state according to local convenience, yet the different systems of the various maritime countries tended towards a common rule, and gradually as maritime commerce increased the special privileges reserved to vessels of individual nations under their Navigation Laws gave way to international competition.

"Displacement," with a unit of weight and the supposed equivalent in volume, was the main principle of the old rules of tonnage, for determining what a ship could carry or contain. But experience has shown everywhere the impossibility of determining by a fixed and invariable rule in a constant manner, the carrying power of a ship, which necessarily varies according to the nature, the form, and density of each of the component parts of a cargo, as well as according to the season, state of the weather, and the respective length of voyages. It is, on the contrary, always possible to measure exactly the internal capacity of a ship, and to deduct therefrom, in a practical way, the spaces which manifestly cannot be utilized for carrying freight. The different enactments on this subject, after passing through analogous stages of experiments and study have all arrived at this result. Happily, in spite of the variety of the processes employed, the efforts to establish, under nearly similar conditions, a comparative statistic of the maritime tonnage of the different nations have at last proved successful. If the same rules of measurement are everywhere adopted, just comparison between ship and ship will be effected satisfactorily, and shipping will be everywhere taxed after an uniform and equitable mode.

This unification of tonnage may be realized by adopting a formula combining the three following conditions, viz. :—

1. That of causing the internal capacity of a ship to be measured with all the precision that geometrical science is practically capable of.
2. That of expressing this capacity in tons the unit of which is obtained by a common divisor, which best embodies for all maritime countries the ancient traditions of their common experience, and which gives as quotient a mean of all the varying conditions under which ships are employed.
3. That of disallowing, in determining the nett tonnage which is to be the basis of taxation, any other deduction of space but that which cannot be used for earning freight by being employed for carrying passengers or merchandize.

The Commission has considered whether it would not be better to suppress the name of "ton of measurement" in order to avoid the continual confusion between this ton and the different tons of weight or volume employed in trade ; but after patient deliberation

it has formed the opinion that the time has not yet come when such a change in the usages of the commercial and maritime world can be recommended, and it has decided to adopt as unit of measurement the ton of capacity of Moorsom's system, viz., of 100 English cubic feet, or 2·83 cubic metres.

The International Commission, after laying down these principles, acknowledged that the process of measuring the capacity of ships established in the United Kingdom by the Merchant Shipping Act of 1854, under the name of Moorsom's system, realizes best the conditions required to determine gross tonnage, and agreed that no other system can better secure the application of the precise rules of deduction which are to determine the net tonnage, nor lend itself with greater advantage to the unification of tonnage at which the Commission is seeking to arrive.

It further recognized—

1. That such is the opinion of the maritime Powers, inasmuch as Germany, Austria-Hungary, Denmark, the United States of America, France, Italy, Norway and Turkey have successively adopted Moorsom's system, with slight variations in its application; and Belgium, Spain, Holland and Sweden intend, as it has been declared by their respective delegates, shortly to adopt it.

2. That as regards the net tonnage of steam-ships the enactments of the English law of 1854 are not all that could be desired, inasmuch as for a class of vessels whose engines occupy a certain proportion of the total capacity, the deduction is one of a percentage of the gross tonnage, whilst in other ships the deduction is derived only from the space occupied by the engines.

3. That there exist two other systems, under which deductions are made, and that the difference between these two consists in the mode of dealing with the coal bunkers. The first regards moveable bunkers, and is governed by the Danube rule; the other regards fixed bunkers, and is adopted in Germany, Austria, France, and Italy. Under the first of these systems a shipowner is free to employ his ships for commerce generally throughout the world, increasing or diminishing the space applicable for coals according to the requirements of each voyage, whilst by the other system he is obliged to adopt fixed bunkers inapplicable for cargo, and which can only hold coals for a certain duration of voyage. Considering that the opinions are divided upon the respective advantages of these systems, the Commission recommends for the acceptance of the maritime Powers the modes of procedure hereinafter contained, and the rules of measurement annexed to the present Report.

If these recommendations be adopted it would be desirable that ships' papers should contain all details of measurement, the calculation by which gross tonnage has been found, and the deductions for determining net tonnage allowed. In any case where in the measurement of the total capacity of a ship any exceptions have been allowed, such exceptions ought to be mentioned in her papers.

In discussing and fixing the rules of measurement annexed to this Report, the Commission has been guided by the following considerations, which it also submits to the approbation of maritime Powers.

§ 1. Every trading ship, whatever may be her nationality, ought to be furnished with a certificate of registry declaring (a) the gross tonnage, expressing her total capacity, and (b) the net tonnage, giving her capacity after the deduction made of space recognized as unavailable for earning freight.

§ 2. This certificate of registry delivered by the competent Government authorities, filled in from measurements effected in accordance with the rules proposed by the International Commission, shall be officially recognized in every country as the true basis for the application of ship's dues and taxes. These dues and taxes shall invariably be applied to the net tonnage of a ship.

§ 3. Gross tonnage is best arrived at by Moorsom's system, as defined by the rules of measurement adopted by the Commission, and annexed to this Report.

§ 4. Gross tonnage comprehends the measurement of the whole space below the upper deck, as well as all spaces comprised within permanent constructions above that deck, which are covered and closed in. (For the definition see the annexed rules of measurement.)

§ 5. To determine net tonnage the deductions from gross tonnage are:—1. General deductions applicable alike to sailing and steam-vessels; 2. special deductions applicable to steamers only.

§ 6. General deductions refer (a) to the accommodation of the crew (stewards and passengers' servants are not to be considered as part of the crew); (b) to officers' cabins (the captain's not included therein); (c) to cook houses and closets exclusively for the use of the crew, situated either above or below the upper deck; and (d) to covered and closed-in

spaces, if there are any on the upper deck, employed for working the ship. These spaces are to be measured separately, and the sum of them deducted. The sum-total of these deductions is, however, in no case to exceed 5 per cent. of the gross tonnage, but this percentage may be distributed among the several spaces according to the practice and requirements of different countries. Besides the above-named spaces, it was proposed in the Commission to deduct, further, spaces occupied by the captain's cabin, the sail-room and other places used for stowing ropes and other gear; but these latter deductions were not approved by an absolute majority of votes.

§ 7. The Commission recommends the abolition of any system by which the net tonnage of a steamer would be derived from a percentage on her total capacity.

§ 8. Deductions special to steamers relate (a) to the engine room and boilers; (b) to the shaft-trunk in a screw-ship; and (c) to permanent coal-bunkers. The spaces a, b, and c, to be accurately measured.

§ 9. If the ship has not permanent bunkers, or if she has only lateral bunkers, and her coal is stowed in bunkers shut off from the hold by moveable partitions, then the spaces of these lateral and temporary bunkers are not to be measured. In this case the rule to be applied is that in force on the Danube, namely, an allowance is made for the coal space by giving 50 per cent. of the space occupied by the engine in a paddle-wheel steamer, and 75 per cent. in a screw steamer (see Article 16 of the rules annexed).

§ 10. Ships furnished with permanent bunkers may nevertheless be measured under the Danube rule. In this latter case the net tonnage will be fixed according to the rules of the above paragraph.

§ 11. In no case (except that of tugs) shall the total of these special deductions of steam-ships exceed 50 per cent. of the gross tonnage.

§ 12. For tugs, when used exclusively as tugs, the special deductions may be made without any limit for space actually occupied by the engine-room and coal-bunkers.

§ 13. Provisionally, and until all the Governments have adopted uniform rules for net tonnage, and with the object of attaining in the mean time a certain uniformity of practice, a special certificate may be delivered to any steamer by the competent authority of the country to which she belongs; which certificate shall be recognized officially in foreign ports as establishing the net tonnage upon which dues are to be paid.

§ 14. In those countries which have adopted Moorsom's system, the above-named special certificate shall be prepared at pleasure, either according to the rule applicable to ships with fixed bunkers, or according to the Danube rule.

§ 15. In countries where Moorsom's system has not yet been, but will be adopted, steamers may be measured under Rule 2 of the Merchant Shipping Act of 1854, with the factors 0·0017 and 0·0018. From the gross tonnage thus found the special deductions given by the above §§ 6 to 12 shall be made. The annexed special certificate, as specified in § 13, shall state the gross tonnage and the net tonnage of the ship; such net tonnage to be determined at pleasure, either according to the rule applicable to ships with fixed bunkers, or according to the Danube Rule.

§ 16. Open vessels are not comprised within the proposed international rules of measurement.

§ 17. It is recommended that a penal provision shall be enacted to the effect that, if any of the permanent spaces which have been deducted shall be employed either for the use of merchandize or passengers, or in any way profitably employed for earning freight, that space shall be added to the net tonnage and never more be allowed as a deduction.

The provisions of the above paragraphs embrace the principles which have guided the Commission throughout its labours, and it now desires to express the wish that, in order to guarantee in all countries the identical application of those principles, the rules of measurement proposed by it should be adopted, either by diplomatic action, or by Commissioners furnished with full powers, who should come to an understanding upon the means to be employed for putting those rules into execution, and on all necessary details.

The Commission in approaching the second part of its duties has had, in accordance with the terms employed by the Ottoman Government in their instructions to their delegates, to resolve the following question: Is the system, now actually being applied for the levying of dues in the Suez Canal in harmony with the provisions of the Act of Concession and of the Imperial Firman, according to the interpretation given to those documents by the two Vizirial letters addressed to his Highness the Khedive?

After having examined the Act of Concession and the documents above mentioned, the Commission opened the discussion thereon, and having successively listened to the observations of the Delegates of Germany, Austria, Spain, Great Britain, Greece, Italy,

Holland, Russia, and Turkey, was called upon to deliberate upon a form of resolution presented by the Delegates of Great Britain (see the *procès-verbaux* Nos. 13 to 16). But before taking a vote on this resolution, the Commission received, in its sitting of the 9th of December, through its President, communication of a letter of the same date addressed to him by his Excellency Raschid Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs. In deference to the recommendation contained in that letter the Commission discussed and adopted officially an opinion in the following form, which was accepted unanimously, and which the Commission hopes is in harmony with the desire expressed by the Sublime Porte.

Opinion.

Being invited by the Sublime Porte to express an opinion upon the system of levying dues on the Suez Canal under the concession, the Firman of 1866 and the Vizirial letters of the 17th Djémazi-ul-Ewel and 6th Djémazi-ul-Ahir, 1290, and in conformity with the desire expressed in his Excellency Raschid Pasha's letter of the 9th December, 1873, referring on the one hand to the Act of Concession of the Suez Canal, which concession is to remain untouched, and on the other hand referring, with a view to the application of the provisions of that Act, to the general principles and rules of measurement already laid down by the International Commission, the Commission is of opinion that the dues to be levied in the Canal may be regulated by an arrangement upon the following bases :—

Ships measured according to Moorsom's system.

1. A surtax of 4 francs, in addition to the tax of 10 francs, shall be levied per net register ton on steamers whenever the deductions due to engines have been determined under Section *a* of Clause XXIII of the Merchant Shipping Act of 1854, defining Rule III.

2. This surtax shall be reduced to 3 francs for every vessel which shall have inscribed upon her papers or annexed to these papers the nett tonnage based on the system recommended by the International Commission, which shall form the basis for the levying of the tax and the surtax.

3. It is to be understood that ships already measured according to the alternative system suggested by the Commission, and particularly those under paragraph *b* of the above-named clause of the Merchant Shipping Act of 1854, shall be liable from the present time to only a surtax of 3 francs per ton of net register, provided always that the deductions for engines and fuel shall not exceed 50 per cent. of the gross tonnage.

Vessels measured under any system other than that of Moorsom.

4. Gross tonnage of ships not measured under Moorsom's system shall be brought into accordance with that system by the application of the Danube scale of factors, and their nett tonnage shall be determined according to Section *a* of the above-named Clause XXIII of the Merchant Shipping Act. These vessels shall pay over and above the tax of 10 francs a surtax of 4 francs per ton on their nett tonnage.

Provision common to all Ships.

5. The surtax of 3 francs per nett register ton shall be progressively reduced in the proportions hereinafter specified, according to the development of the annual tonnage of ships passing through the Canal, and shall cease altogether so soon as the said tonnage shall have reached in any one year 2,600,000 net register tons, when the original maximum tax of 10 francs per ton only shall become applicable.

The above-named diminution of the surtax shall be on the following scale. So soon as the net tonnage shall reach 2,100,000 tons within one year, the Company shall levy in the following years the surtax of 2½ francs only. When the net tonnage shall have reached 2,200,000 tons within one year, the year following the surtax shall not exceed 2 francs per ton, and so on; so that each successive annual increase of 100,000 tons shall entail a successive diminution of 50 centimes of the surtax for the year following; and when during any one year the net tonnage shall have arrived at 2,600,000 tons, the surtax shall be entirely abolished, and the original tax, not exceeding 10 francs per ton, shall be reverted to.

It is further to be understood (*a*) that whenever the increase of net tonnage within any one year shall exceed 100,000 tons, the surtax during the year following shall be diminished by 50 centimes per ton in respect of each excess of 100,000 tons; (*b*), that once the surtax shall have been diminished or abolished as provided above, no increase or re-imposition shall be allowed, even if the amount of net tonnage passing

through the Canal should fall off; and (c) that the 1st of January (new style) shall be taken as the commencement of each year for the purposes of the surtax.

Transports, Vessels of War, and Vessels in Ballast.

6. Vessels of war, vessels constructed or chartered for the transport of troops, and vessels in ballast, shall be exempted from all surtax; these shall pay no higher dues than the maximum tax of 10 francs per net register ton.

After the Commission had expressed the above opinion in its nineteenth meeting, the first Delegate of Turkey made the two following declarations, having been thereto authorized by his Government:—

1. That the authority to levy a surtax of 1 franc, given to the Company in 1871 for a special purpose, is withdrawn; and,

2. That no modification, for the future, of the conditions for the passage through the Canal shall be permitted, whether in regard to the navigation toll or the dues for towage, anchorage, pilotage, &c., except with the consent of the Sublime Porte, which will not take any decision on this subject without previously coming to an understanding with the principal Powers interested therein.

The Delegates of Great Britain, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Turkey, France, Greece, and Russia declared, at the twentieth meeting of the Commission, that they were authorized by their Governments to accept the provisions of the arrangement hereinbefore contained. The Delegates of Holland declared that they were likewise so authorized by their Government, but under the reserves which they have already made on certain points.

This Report is drawn up and signed at Constantinople this day, the 18th December, 1873 (28th Chewal, 1290).

(Signed)

For Germany—

GILLET.
HARGREAVES.

For Austria-Hungary—

G. DE KOSJEK.
L. ZAMARA.
E. F. NICOLICH.

For Belgium—

CAM. JANSSEN.

For Spain—

JOACHIM TOGORES.
A. RUATA.

For France—

A. D'AVRIL.
RUMEAU.

For Great Britain—

J. STOKES.
PHILIP FRANCIS.

For Greece—

A. A. H. ANARGYROS.

For Italy—

E. COVA.
F. MATTEI.
ALEX. VERNONI.

For Holland—

JANSEN.
RICHARD S. KEUN.

For Russia—

B. E. STEIGER.
KORCHIKOFF.

For Sweden and Norway—

O. VON HEIDENSTAM.

For Turkey—

EDHEM.
M. SALIH.
H. MADRILLY.

The Secretary,
(Signed) CARATHÉODORY.

Inclosure 2.

Règles de jaugeage recommandées par la Commission Internationale du Tonnage, réunie à Constantinople en 1873.

Principes généraux.

1. Le tonnage brut ou la capacité totale des navires comprend le mesurage exact de tous les espaces (sans en excepter aucun) qui se trouvent au-dessous du pont supérieur ainsi que de ceux compris dans toutes les constructions permanentes couvertes et closes sur ce pont.

NOTE.—Par constructions permanentes couvertes et closes sur le pont supérieur on doit entendre toutes celles qui constituent des espaces limités par des ponts ou couvertures et des cloisons fixes et représentent une augmentation de capacité qui pourrait être utilisée pour l'arrimage des marchandises ou pour le logement et la commodité des passagers et du personnel de bord. Ainsi une ouverture quelconque ou plusieurs ouvertures soit sur le pont ou couverture, soit dans les cloisons, ou une interruption du pont ou le manque d'une partie de cloison, ne les empêcheront pas d'être comprises dans le tonnage brut, si après le mesurage, elle peuvent être facilement closes et rendues ainsi mieux appropriées au transport de marchandises et passagers.

Mais les espaces sous des toitures d'abri, sans d'autres liens avec le corps du navire que les supports nécessaires à leur solidité, qui ne constituent pas des espaces limités et qui sont exposés d'une manière permanente aux intempéries et à la mer, ne seront pas compris dans le tonnage brut, bien que ces toitures puissent servir à abriter les hommes de l'équipage, les passagers de pont et même les marchandises appelées cargaisons de pont ("deck loads").

2. Les cargaisons du pont ("deck loads") ne sont pas comprises dans le mesurage.

3. Les espaces clos destinés ou pouvant servir aux passagers ne seront pas déduits du tonnage brut.

4. Pour les soutes à charbon, on adopte les règles de la Commission Européenne du Danube de 1871 et le mesurage exact des soutes fixes.

Règle I.—Pour les Navires vides.

Article 1. La longueur, pour le jaugeage des navires ayant un ou plusieurs ponts est prise sur le pont de jaugeage qui est—

(a.) Le pont supérieur, pour les navires à un ou deux ponts;

(b.) Le second pont à partir de la cale, pour les navires ayant plus de deux ponts.

Cette longueur est mesurée de tête en tête en dedans du vaigrage, à la face supérieure du pont de jaugeage; on en retranche ensuite des quantités correspondantes l'une à l'éclancement de l'étrave, sur la partie comprise dans l'épaisseur du bordé du pont, et l'autre à la quète de l'arrière, sur une hauteur égale à l'épaisseur du bordé du pont, augmenté du tiers du bouge du bau.

Art 2. En vue de calculer les aires des différentes sections transversales qui sont nécessaires pour établir le volume intérieur du navire, la longueur définie à l'Article 1, est divisée conformément au Tableau ci-après :—

Longueur du Pont de Jaugeage.	Nombre de Divisions à Effectuer.
1re Classe.—50 pieds Anglais, 15 mètres au moins*	4
2me Classe.—De 50 pieds Anglais exclusivement à 120 pieds Anglais inclusivement (15 mètres à 37 mètres)	6
3me Classe.—De 120 pieds Anglais exclusivement à 180 pieds Anglais inclusivement (35 mètres à 55 mètres)	8
4me Classe.—De 180 pieds Anglais exclusivement à 225 pieds Anglais inclusivement (55 mètres à 69 mètres)	10
5me Classe.—Plus de 225 pieds Anglais (69 mètres)	12

NOTE.—Un plus grand nombre de divisions n'est pas interdit.

Art. 3. A chaque point de divisions de la longueur, y compris les points extrêmes, on mesure le creux ou la hauteur de chaque section depuis un point marqué au tiers du bouge

* Les fractions de mètre ont été négligées.

du pont en contrebas du can supérieur du barrot, jusque sur le collet de la varangue à côté de la carlingue, en déduisant l'épaisseur moyenne du vaigrage de fond.

Les hauteurs de toutes les sections transversales sont partagées en quatre parties égales, lorsque celle de la section milieu est de 16 pieds Anglais (5 mètres) ou moins, et en six parties égales lorsque celle de la section milieu excède 16 pieds Anglais (5 mètres).

A chacun des points de division de la hauteur de chaque section (les points extrêmes compris), on mesure la largeur du navire, en dedans du vaigrage.

Chaque largeur est numérotée (Nos. 1, 2, 3, &c.) à partir du pont de jaugeage et l'on multiplie :—

Par 1, les largeurs Nos. 1 et 5 (points extrêmes)	..	} Lorsque la hauteur est de 16 pieds Anglais (5 mètres) ou moins.
Par 4, les largeurs Nos. 2 et 4	..	
Par 2, la largeur Nos. 3	..	
Par 1, les largeurs Nos. 1 et 7	..	} Lorsque la hauteur est plus de 16 pieds Anglais (5 mètres).
Par 4, les largeurs Nos. 2, 4, et 6	..	
Par 2, les largeurs Nos. 3 et 5	..	

Le total des produits ci-dessus est multiplié par le tiers de la distance entre les divisions de la hauteur. Le résultat donne l'aire de la section.

Art. 4. On peut aussi mesurer l'aire des sections transversales avec la même exactitude par la méthode suivante des coordonnées polaires.

On partage chaque demi-section transversale en cinq secteurs angulaires, ayant même angle au sommet (cet angle est égal à $\frac{90}{5}$ degré = 18 degrés) et on prend pour la surface de chacun d'eux celle du secteur de cercle compris entre les rayons vecteurs extrêmes et décrit avec le rayon moyen.

Pour procéder au mesurage, il faut mesurer les rayons vecteurs moyens de chaque secteur, dont les deux extrêmes feraient, l'un avec l'horizontale et l'autre avec la verticale des angles de 9 degrés tandis que les autres sont espacés uniformément de 18 degrés.

Pour obtenir leurs directions on place dans le plan de la section un demi cercle convenablement divisé et dirigé de manière que son diamètre horizontal passe par le tiers du bouge du bau et que le centre se trouve dans le plan diamétral du navire ; les rayons vecteurs seront mesurés à l'aide d'un ruban fixé au centre du demi cercle.

Pour calculer l'aire de la section on élève au carré les rayons moyens ainsi mesurés, on les additionne entr'eux, et la somme multipliée par 0.31416 sera considérée comme la surface de la section.

Art. 5. Les sections transversales mesurées par l'une de ces deux méthodes sont numérotées (Nos. 1, 2, 3, &c.) assignant le No. 1 à l'extrémité avant et le dernier numéro à l'extrémité arrière de la longueur. * On multiplie :—

L'aire de la première et de la dernière section, s'il y en a, par 1 ;

Celles des sections des numéros pairs, par 4 ;

Et celles des sections des numéros impairs (la première et dernière exceptées) par 2 ;

Le total de ces produits, multiplié par le tiers de l'intervalle entre les sections, donne le volume de l'espace mesuré. Le tonnage de ce volume est obtenu en le divisant par 100, si les mesures sont prises en pieds Anglais ; et par 2.83 si les mesures sont prises en mètres.*

Art. 6. Lorsque le navire a un troisième pont, le volume compris entre ce troisième pont et le pont de jaugeage est déterminé de la manière suivante :—

On mesure la longueur de l'entrepont, au milieu de la hauteur depuis le vaigrage à côté de l'étrave, jusqu'au revêtement intérieur de l'allonge de poupe.

Cette longueur est divisée en autant de parties que pour le pont de jaugeage ; à chacun des points de division, ainsi qu'aux points extrêmes, on mesure la largeur au milieu de la hauteur. Les largeurs sont numérotées (1, 2, 3, &c.) à partir de l'avant. On multiplie par 1 la première et la dernière ; par 4 celles ayant des numéros pairs et par 2 celles ayant des numéros impairs (la première et la dernière exceptées). Le total de ces produits, multiplié par le tiers de la distance entre les divisions de la longueur, donne l'aire moyenne horizontale de l'entrepont. On obtient ensuite le volume de l'entrepont en multipliant cette aire par la hauteur moyenne ; et ce volume, divisé par 100, si les mesures ont été prises en pieds Anglais ou par 2.83, si elles ont été prises en mètres, représente le tonnage à ajouter au tonnage principal (Article 5).

Si le navire a plus de trois ponts, le volume et le tonnage des entreponts supérieurs sont calculés de la même manière et ajoutés au tonnage principal.

* Quand les mesures sont prises en mètres, au lieu de diviser les volumes par 2.83, on peut les multiplier avec 0.353.

Art. 7. S'il existe sur le pont supérieur des dunettes, teugues, rouffles ou autres constructions permanentes couvertes et closes, telles qu'elles ont été définies dans les principes généraux, le tonnage en est également ajouté au tonnage principal. Il est calculé de la manière suivante :—

1. Quand les contours sont formés par des surfaces courbes, on mesure à l'intérieur la longueur moyenne de chaque compartiment. On détermine le milieu de cette longueur. A ce point, ainsi qu'aux deux extrémités, on mesure, à la moitié de la hauteur, la largeur du compartiment. On multiplie par 4 la largeur du milieu ; on y ajoute les largeurs aux points extrêmes ; le total, multiplié par le tiers de la distance entre les divisions de la longueur, donne l'aire moyenne horizontale du compartiment. On mesure alors la hauteur moyenne, et on la multiplie par l'aire moyenne.

2. Quand les contours sont entièrement formés par des surfaces planes, on mesure le volume en multipliant entre elles, la longueur, la largeur et la hauteur moyennes de chaque compartiment.

L'opération est effectuée pour chaque compartiment distinct.

Dans les deux cas, on divise le volume obtenu par 100 si les mesures sont prises en pieds Anglais ou par 2.83 si elles sont prises en mètres, pour avoir le tonnage de ces espaces.

Art. 8. Dans le mesurage de la longueur, de la largeur et de la hauteur du volume principal ou des autres espaces, on doit ramener à l'épaisseur moyenne le vaigrage qui dépasse cette épaisseur.

Quand le vaigrage manque ou qu'il ne doit pas être établi à demeure, la longueur et les largeurs sont comptées à partir de la membrure.

Règle II.—*Pour les Navires chargés.*

Art. 9. Lorsque les navires ont leur chargement à bord, ou que, par tout autre motif, ils ne peuvent pas être jaugeés d'après la règle première, on opère comme il suit :—

La longueur du navire est prise sur le pont supérieur depuis le trait extérieur de la rablure de l'étrave jusqu'à la face arrière de l'étambôt ; on en retranche la distance du point de rencontre de la voûte avec la rablure de l'étambôt à la face arrière de cet étambôt.

On mesure ensuite la plus grande largeur du navire hors bordé ou hors préceintes.

On marque à l'extérieur et des deux côtés, dans une direction perpendiculaire au plan diamétral et à l'endroit de la plus grande largeur, la hauteur du pont supérieur, et l'on fait passer sous le navire une chaîne allant de l'une à l'autre marque. A la moitié de la longueur de la chaîne on ajoute la moitié de la plus grande largeur ; on élève la somme au carré ; on multiplie le résultat, d'abord par la longueur déjà prise et ensuite par le facteur 0.17 (dix-sept centièmes) si le navire est en bois, et par le facteur 0.18 (dix-huit centièmes), si le navire est en fer. Le produit donnera approximativement le volume du navire, et l'on obtient le tonnage principal en divisant par 100 ou par 2.83, selon que les mesures sont prises en pieds Anglais ou en mètres.

Art. 10. Si au-dessus du pont supérieur, il existe des dunettes, gaillards, teugues, rouffles, ou autres constructions permanentes couvertes et closes (telles qu'elles ont été définies dans les principes généraux) on en détermine le tonnage, en multipliant entre elles la longueur, la largeur et la hauteur moyennes et en divisant le produit par 100 ou par 2.83, selon que les mesures sont prises en pieds Anglais ou en mètres et on les ajoute au tonnage principal, pour déterminer le tonnage brut ou la capacité totale du navire.

Déductions à faire au Tonnage brut pour arriver au Tonnage net.

Art. 11. Pour passer du tonnage brut des navires tel qu'il vient d'être exposé à la jauge officielle, ou tonnage net, soit pour les navires à voiles soit pour les navires à vapeur, on procède de la manière suivante :—

Navires à Voiles.

Art. 12. Pour les voiliers on déduit : les espaces appropriés et affectés exclusivement au logement des équipages et aux cabines des officiers de bord, à la cuisine et aux latrines à l'usage exclusif du personnel de bord, qu'ils soient situés au-dessous ou au-dessus du pont supérieur ; les espaces couverts et clos, s'il en existe, placés sur le pont supérieur et destinés à la manœuvre du gouvernail, du cabestan, des appareils de mouillage, à la chambre aux cartes, signaux et autres instruments de la navigation.

Tous les espaces compris dans ces déductions pourront être limités séparément suivant les besoins et les habitudes de chaque pays, mais sans pouvoir dépasser en totalité 5 pour cent du tonnage brut.

Art. 13. Le mesurage de ces espaces sera effectué selon les règles exposées pour mesurer les espaces couverts et clos sur le pont supérieur ; leur total retranché du tonnage brut représente le tonnage net ("register tonnage") ou jauge officielle des navires à voiles.

Navires à Vapeur.

Art. 14. Dans les navires mus par la vapeur ou par toute autre puissance mécanique, on déduit :—

1. Les mêmes espaces que pour les navires à voiles (Article 12) avec la limitation de 5 pour cent tonnage brut.

2. Les espaces occupés par les machines, chaudières, soutes à charbon, tunnels des navires à hélice, et, dans les entreponts et constructions couvertes et closes sur le pont supérieur, l'entourage des cheminées, les espaces réservés pour donner accès à l'air et à la lumière aux chambres des machines et ceux nécessaires au fonctionnement et service de la machine même. Ces déductions ne pourront dépasser 50 pour cent tonnage brut.

Art. 15. Le mesurage des espaces communs aux navires à voiles et aux navires à vapeur (1 de l'Article 14) sera pratiqué comme il a été exposé aux Articles 12 et 13 pour les navires à voiles.

Le mesurage des espaces spéciaux aux navires à vapeur (2 de l'Article 14) est effectué de la manière suivante :—

Navires à soutes à charbon avec cloisons mobiles.

Art. 16. Dans les navires à vapeur qui n'ont pas des soutes fixes, mais qui ont des soutes transversales à cloisons mobiles, avec ou sans soutes latérales, on mesure l'espace occupé par les chambres à machines et on y ajoute pour les navires à hélice 75 pour cent, et pour les navires à roues 50 pour cent de cet espace.

Par l'espace occupé par les chambres à machines on doit entendre : celui de cette chambre et de celle à chaudières, avec les espaces strictement nécessaires à leur service et leur fonctionnement, en y ajoutant l'espace du tunnel des navires à hélice et les espaces dans les entreponts destinés à l'entourage de la cheminée et à donner accès à l'air et à la lumière dans les chambres à machine.

Le mesurage de ces espaces se pratique de la manière suivante :—

On mesure le creux moyen de l'espace occupé par les machines et les chaudières depuis le can supérieur du bau jusqu'au vaigrage de fond à côté de la carlingue, on mesure trois largeurs ou plus, si on le croit nécessaire, à la moitié du creux dans cet espace, en tous cas l'une de ces largeurs sera mesurée au milieu et deux autres aux extrémités de cet espace ; on prend la moyenne entre ces largeurs ; on mesure la longueur moyenne de l'espace compris entre les cloisons avant et arrière qui limitent la longueur, mais on en déduit, s'il y a lieu, les parties qui ne sont pas affectées ou nécessaires au bon fonctionnement des machines et des chaudières.

Le produit de ces trois dimensions ainsi mesurées est considéré comme donnant le volume de cet espace au-dessous du pont qui couvre la machine.

On ajoute à ce volume celui des espaces des entreponts qui seraient nécessaires au fonctionnement de la machine et à donner accès à l'air et à la lumière.

On y ajoute, de même, le volume de l'espace occupé par le tunnel de l'arbre de l'hélice et le résultat ainsi obtenu réduit en tonneau de jauge de 100 pieds cubes Anglais ou de 2·83, selon que les mesures sont prises en pieds ou en mètres, donne le tonnage correspondant à la chambre des machines et chaudières, qui sert de base aux déductions dont il s'agit.

Si la chambre des machines se trouve répartie dans plusieurs compartiments, on mesure chacun d'eux séparément comme il vient d'être dit pour le cas où ils se trouvent réunis, et on les additionne pour obtenir le tonnage total des chambres des machines qui sert comme auparavant de base aux déductions totales.

Navires à soutes à charbon fixes.

Art. 17. Dans les navires à soutes à charbon fixes on mesure la longueur moyenne de la chambre à machines et chaudières, y compris les soutes à charbon. On calcule les surfaces de trois sections transversales du navire—comme il a été exposé dans la détermination (Articles 3 et 4) du tonnage brut—jusqu'au pont qui forme le couronnement de la machine.

L'une de ces trois sections doit passer par le milieu de la dite longueur et les deux autres par les extrémités.

On ajoute à la somme des deux sections extrêmes le quadruple de celle du milieu, et

l'on multiplie ce résultat par le tiers de la distance qui sépare les sections. Ce produit divisé par 100, si les mesures sont prises en pieds Anglais ou par 2·83 si elles sont prises en mètres, donne le tonnage de l'espace dont il s'agit.

Si les machines, chaudières et soutes à charbon, se trouvent dans des compartiments séparés, on les mesure séparément, d'après la méthode qui vient d'être exposée, et on en fait l'addition.

Dans les navires à hélice le volume intérieur du tunnel sera mesuré en prenant la longueur, largeur et hauteur moyennes et le produit des trois dimensions divisé par 100 ou par 2·83, selon que les mesures sont prises en pieds Anglais ou en mètres, donne le tonnage de cet espace.

On détermine de la même manière le tonnage dans les entreponts ou dans les constructions couvertes et closes sur le pont supérieur.

(a.) Des espaces destinés à l'entourage de la cheminée ;

(b.) Des espaces destinés à donner accès à l'air et à la lumière dans les chambres à machines ;

(c.) Des espaces, s'il y en a, nécessaires au fonctionnement et au service des machines.

Art. 18. Au lieu du mesurage des soutes fixes, on pourra appliquer les règles pour les soutes à cloisons mobiles de l'Article 16.

Art. 19. Pour les *bateaux remorqueurs* les déductions ne sont pas limitées à 50 pour cent du tonnage brut ; l'on déduit tous les espaces occupés par les machines, chaudières et soutes à charbon.

Toutefois si ces navires ne sont pas exclusivement destinés au service du remorquage, la déduction dont il vient d'être question ne peut dépasser 50 pour cent du tonnage brut.

(English Text.)

Regulations for the Measurement of Tonnage recommended by the International Tonnage Commission, assembled at Constantinople in 1873.

General Principles.

1. The gross tonnage or total capacity of ships comprises the exact measurement of all spaces (without any exception), below the upper deck, as well as of all permanently covered and closed-in spaces on that deck.

N.B.—By permanently covered and closed-in spaces on the upper deck are to be understood all those which are separated off by decks or coverings, or fixed partitions, and, therefore, represent an increase of capacity which might be used for the stowage of merchandize, or for the berthing and accommodation of the passengers or of the officers and crew. Thus, any one or more openings, either in the deck or coverings, or in the partitions, or a break in the deck, or the absence of a portion of the partition, will not prevent such spaces being comprised in the gross tonnage, if they can be easily closed in after admeasurement, and thus better fitted for the transport of goods and passengers.

But the spaces under awning decks without other connection with the body of the ship than the props necessary for supporting them, which are not spaces "separated off," and are permanently exposed to the weather and the sea, will not be comprised in the gross tonnage, although they may serve to shelter the ship's crew, the deck passengers, and even merchandize known as "deck loads."

2. "Deck loads" are not comprised in the measurement.

3. Closed spaces for the use or possible use of passengers will not be deducted from the gross tonnage.

4. The determination of deductions for coal spaces may be effected either by the rules of the European Danube Commission of 1871, or by the exact measurement of fixed bunkers.

Rule I.—For Empty Vessels.

Article 1. The length, for the admeasurement of ships, having one or more decks is taken on the tonnage deck, which is—

(a). The upper deck, for vessels having one or two decks.

(b). The second deck from below for vessels having more than two decks.

Measure the length of the ship in a straight line along the upper side of the tonnage deck from the inside of the inner plank (average thickness) at the side of the stem to the inside of the midship stern timber or plank there, as the case may be (average thickness), deducting from this length what is due to the rake of the bow in the thickness of the deck, and what is due to the rake of the stern timber in the thickness of the deck, and also what is due to the rake of the stern timber in one-third of the round of the beam ; divide the

length so taken into the number of equal parts required by the following Table, according to the class in such Table to which the ship belongs;—

Art. 2. Class 1. Ships of which the tonnage deck is, according to the above measurement, 50 feet long or under, into four equal parts.

Class 2. Ships of which the tonnage deck is, according to the above measurement, above 50 feet long and not exceeding 120 feet, into six equal parts.

Class 3. Ships of which the tonnage deck is, according to the above measurement, above 120 feet long and not exceeding 180 feet, into eight equal parts.

Class 4. Ships of which the tonnage deck is, according to the above measurement, above 180 feet long and not exceeding 225 feet, into ten equal parts.

Class 5. Ships of which the tonnage deck is, according to the above measurement, above 225 feet long, into twelve equal parts.*

Art. 3. Then, the hold being first sufficiently cleared to admit of the required depths and breadths being properly taken, find the transverse area of such ship to each point of division of the length as follows:—Measure the depth at each point of division, from a point at a distance of one-third of the round of the beam below such deck, or, in case of a break, below a line stretched in continuation thereof, to the upper side of the floor timber at the inside of the limber strake, after deducting the average thickness of the ceiling which is between the bilge planks and the limber strake. Then, if the depth at the midship division of the length do not exceed 16 feet, divide each depth into four equal parts; then measure the inside horizontal breadth at each of the three points of division, and also at the upper and lower points of the depth, extending each measurement to the average thickness of that part of the ceiling which is between the points of measurement. Number these breadths from above (i.e., numbering the upper breadth 1, and so on down to the lowest breadth). Multiply the second and fourth by four, and the third by two; add these products together, and to the sum add the first breadth and the fifth. Multiply the quantity thus obtained by one-third of the common interval between the breadths, and the product shall be deemed the transverse area; but if the midship depth exceed 16 feet, divide each depth into six equal parts instead of four, and measure, as before directed, the horizontal breadths at the five points of division, and also at the upper and lower points of the depth; number them from above, as before; multiply the second, fourth, and sixth by four, and the third and fifth by two; add these products together, and to the sum add the first breadth and the seventh. Multiply the quantity thus obtained by one-third of the common interval between the breadths, and the product shall be deemed the transverse area.

Art. 4. The area of the transverse sections can also be measured with the same precision by the following method of polar co-ordinates:—

Divide each transverse half section into five angular sectors, having the same angle at the apex (this angle is equal to $\frac{2}{5}$ of a degree = 18 degrees), and take for the area of each of these sectors the area of the sector of the circle comprised between its extreme radii, and described by the mean radius.

In making the measurement, measure the mean radius of each sector, of which the two extreme radii would make, the one with the horizontal line and the other with the vertical line, an angle of 9 degrees, while the others are uniformly 18 degrees apart.

In order to obtain their directions, place on the plane of the section a semi-circle properly divided, and turned so that its horizontal diameter may pass through the third of the round of the beam, and that its centre may be found in the central longitudinal vertical plane of the ship; the radii are to be measured by means of a tape fixed in the centre of the semi-circle.

In order to calculate the area of the section, square the mean radii thus measured, add them together, and the sum multiplied by .31416 shall be deemed to be the area of the section.

Art. 5. Number the transverse sections measured by one of these methods successively 1, 2, 3, &c., giving No. 1 to the extreme limit of the length at the bow, and the last number to the extreme limit of the length at the stern; then, whether the length be divided according to the Table into four or twelve parts, as in Classes 1 and 5, or any intermediate number, as in Classes 2, 3, and 4, multiply the second and every even-numbered area by four, and the third and every odd-numbered area (except the first and last) by two; add these products together, and to the sum add the first and last, if they yield anything; multiply the quantity thus obtained by one-third of the common interval between the areas, and the product will be the cubical contents of the

* A greater number of divisions is not prohibited, so long as they are an even number.

space under the tonnage deck. The tonnage of this volume is obtained by dividing it by 100, if the measurements are taken in English feet; and by 2·83 if the measurements are taken in metres.*

Art. 6. If the ship has a third deck, commonly called a spar deck, the tonnage of the space between it and the tonnage deck shall be ascertained as follows:—Measure in feet the inside length of the space at the middle of its height from the plank at the side of the stem to the lining on the timbers at the stern, and divide the length into the same number of equal parts into which the length of the tonnage deck is divided, as above directed; measure (also at the middle of its height) the inside breadth of the space at each of the points of division, also the breadth of the stem and the breadth at the stern; number them successively 1, 2, 3, &c., commencing at the stem; multiply the second and all the other even-numbered breadths by four, and the third and all the other odd-numbered breadths (except the first and last) by two; to the sum of these products add the first and last breadths; multiply the whole sum by one-third of the common interval between the breadths, and the result will give in superficial feet the mean horizontal area of such space; measure the mean height of such space, and multiply by it the mean horizontal area, and the product will be the cubical contents of the space; divide this product by 100, or by 2·83 if the measurements are taken in metres, and the quotient shall be deemed to be the tonnage of such space, and shall be added to the other tonnage of the ship ascertained as aforesaid; and if the ship has more than three decks, the tonnage of each space between decks above the tonnage deck shall be severally ascertained in manner above described, and shall be added to the tonnage of the ship ascertained as aforesaid.

Art. 7. If there be a break, a poop, or any other permanent closed-in space on the upper deck, available for cargo or stores, or for the berthing or accommodation of passengers or crew, the tonnage of such space shall be ascertained as follows:—Measure the internal mean length of such space in feet, and divide it into two equal parts; measure at the middle of its height three inside breadths, namely, one at each end and the other at the middle of the length; then to the sum of the end breadths add four times the middle breadth, and multiply the whole sum by one-third of the common interval between the breadths; the product will give the mean horizontal area of such space; then measure the mean height, and multiply by it the mean horizontal area; divide the product by 100, or by 2·83 if the measurements are taken in metres, in order to obtain the tonnage of such space.

Art. 8. In measuring the length, breadth and height of the general volume of the ship or that of the other spaces, reduce to the mean thickness the parts of the ceiling which exceed it. When the ceiling is wanting, or when it is not permanently fixed, the length and breadth are reckoned from the frame of the ship.

Rule II.—*For Laden Ships.*

Art. 9. When ships have their cargo on board, or when, for any other reason, their tonnage cannot be ascertained by means of Rule I, proceed in the following manner:

Measure the length on the upper deck from the outside of the outer plank at the stem to the aftside of the stern-post, deducting therefrom the distance between the aftside of the stern-post and the rabbet of the stern-post at the point where the counter-plank crosses it; measure also the greatest breadth of the ship to the outside of the outer planking or wales, and then, having first marked on the outside of the ship on both sides thereof the height of the upper deck at the ship's sides, girt the ship at the greatest breadth in a direction perpendicular to the keel from the height so marked on the outside of the ship, on the one side, to the height so marked, on the other side, by passing a chain under the keel; to half the girth thus taken add half the main breadth; square the sum; multiply the result by the length of the ship taken as aforesaid; then multiply this product by the factor ·17 (seventeen hundredths) in the case of ships built of wood, and by the factor ·18 (eighteen hundredths) in the case of ships built of iron. The product will give approximately the cubical contents of the ship, and the general tonnage can be ascertained by dividing by 100 or by 2·83, according as the measurements are taken in English feet or in metres.

Art. 10. If there be a break, a poop, or other closed-in space on the upper deck, the tonnage of such space shall be ascertained by multiplying together the mean length, breadth, and depth of such space, and dividing the product by 100 or 2·83, according as the measurements are taken in English feet or metres; and the quotient so obtained shall be deemed to be the tonnage of such space, and shall, subject to the deduction for a closed-in space appropriated to the crew, as mentioned in Rule I, be added to the tonnage of the ship ascertained as aforesaid.

* In these rules the multiplier ·353 may be used instead of the divisor 2·83 to give metres.

Deductions to be made from the Gross Tonnage in order to ascertain the Nett Tonnage.

Art. 11. To find from the gross tonnage of vessels, as above set forth, the official, or nett register tonnage, either for sailing vessels or for steam ships, the following mode of operation must be resorted to:—

Sailing Vessels.

Art. 12. For sailing vessels deduct,—the spaces exclusively and entirely occupied by the crew and the ship's officers, those taken up by the cookhouse and latrines exclusively used by the ship's officers and crew, whether they be situated above or below the upper deck; the covered and closed-in spaces, if there be any, situated on the upper deck and used for working the helm, the capstan, the anchor gear, and for keeping the charts, signals, and other instruments of navigation.

Each of the spaces deducted as above may be limited according to the requirements and customs of each country, but the deductions must never exceed in the aggregate 5 per cent. of the gross tonnage.

Art. 13. The measurement of these spaces is to be effected according to the rules set forth for the measurement of covered and closed-in spaces on the upper deck; the result obtained by deducting the total of such allowances from the gross tonnage represents the nett or register tonnage of sailing vessels.

Steam Ships.

Art. 14. For vessels propelled by steam or any other mechanical power, deduct:—

1. The same spaces as for sailing vessels (Art. 12), with the limitation to 5 per cent. of the gross tonnage.

2. The spaces occupied by the engines, boilers, coal-bunkers, shaft-trunks of screw steamers, and the spaces between decks and in the covered and closed-in erections on the upper deck surrounding the funnels, and required for the introduction of air and light into the engine-rooms and for the proper working of the engines themselves. Such deductions cannot exceed 50 per cent. of the gross tonnage.

Art. 15. The measurement of the spaces allowed for both in sailing vessels and in steam ships (section 1 of Art. 14) is to be effected according to the rules set forth in Articles 12 and 13 for sailing vessels.

Spaces for which allowances are made in steam ships only are measured according to the following rules:—

Ships having Coal Bunkers with Moveable Partitions.

Art. 16. In ships that do not have fixed bunkers, but transverse bunkers with moveable partitions, with or without lateral bunkers, measure the space occupied by the engine-rooms and add to it, for screw steamers, 75 per cent., and for paddle steamers 50 per cent. of such space.

By the space occupied by the engine-room is to be understood—that occupied by the engine-room itself and by the boiler-room together with the space strictly required for their working, with the addition of the space taken up by the shaft-trunk in screw steamers, and the space between decks which encloses the funnels and is necessary for the admission of air and light into the engine-rooms.

These spaces are measured in the following manner:—

(1.) Measure the mean depth of the space from its crown to the ceiling at the limber strake, measure also three, or, if necessary, more than three breadths of the space at the middle of its depth, taking one of such measurements at each end, and another at the middle of the length; take the mean of such breadths; measure also the mean length of the space between the foremost and aftermost bulkheads or limits of its length, excluding such parts, if any, as are not actually occupied by or required for the proper working of the machinery; multiply together these three dimensions of length, breadth, and depth, and the product will be the cubical contents of the space below the crown; then find the cubical contents of the space or spaces, if any, between the crown aforesaid and the uppermost or poop deck, as the case may be, which are framed in for the machinery or for the admission of light and air, by multiplying together the length, depth, and breadth thereof; add such contents to the cubical contents of the space below the crown; divide the sum by 100 or by 2·83 according as the measures are taken in feet or metres; and the result shall be deemed to be the tonnage of the said space:

(2.) If in any ship in which the space aforesaid is to be measured, the engines and boilers

are fitted in separate compartments, the contents of each shall be measured severally in like manner, according to the above rules, and the sum of their several results shall be deemed to be the tonnage of the said space :

(3.) In the case of screw-steamers in which the space aforesaid is to be measured, the contents of the shaft trunk shall be added to and deemed to form part of such space, and shall be ascertained by multiplying together the mean length, breadth, and depth of the trunk, and dividing the product by 100, or by 2·83, according as the measures are taken in feet or in metres.

Ships with Fixed Coal Bunkers.

Art. 17. In ships with fixed coal bunkers, measure the mean length of the engine and boiler room, including the coal bunkers. Ascertain the area of three transverse sections of the ship (as set forth in the rules given in Articles 3 and 4 for the calculation of the gross tonnage) to the deck which covers the engines.

One of these three sections must pass through the middle of the aforesaid length, and the two others through the two extremities.

Add to the sum of the two extreme sections four times the middle one, and multiply the sum thus obtained by the third of the distance between the sections. This product divided by 100, if the measurements are taken in English feet, or by 2·83, if they are taken in metres, gives the tonnage of the space in question.

If the engines, boilers, and bunkers are in separate compartments, they are separately measured, as above set forth, and the results are added together.

In screw steamers the contents of the shaft trunk are measured by ascertaining the mean length, breadth, and height, and the product of the multiplication of these three dimensions divided by 100 or 2·83, according as the measurements are taken in English feet or in metres, gives the tonnage of such space.

The tonnage of the following spaces between decks and in the covered and closed-in erections on the upper deck, is ascertained by the same method, viz. :—

- (a.) The spaces framed in round the funnels.
- (b.) The spaces required for the admission of light and air into the engine-rooms.
- (c.) The spaces, if any, necessary for the proper working of the engines.

Art. 18. Instead of the measurement of fixed bunkers, the rules for bunkers with moveable partitions, as set forth in Art. 16, may be applied.

Art. 19. In the case of tugs the allowances are not limited to 50 per cent. of the gross tonnage; all the spaces occupied by machinery, boilers, and coal bunkers may be deducted.

Nevertheless, if such vessels are not exclusively employed as tugs, the deductions in question cannot exceed 50 per cent. of the gross tonnage.

Inclosure 3.

Admeasurement of Tonnage of Ships using the Mouths of the Danube.

Principles.

1. The gross register tonnage of every ship shall be deemed to be the cubical contents of the hull of the ship, and of every covered-in space on the uppermost deck. The contents of such spaces shall be determined in the manner specified in the "Tonnage Regulations" hereinafter contained.

2. The net register tonnage of sailing-ships shall be deemed to be the gross register tonnage as above described, less the space occupied by seamen and apprentices, and appropriated to their use. The net register tonnage of ships propelled by steam or other power requiring engine room shall be deemed to be the gross register tonnage as above described, less the space occupied by seamen and apprentices and appropriated to their use, and also less the spaces occupied by the engine-room and allowance for coal bunkers. The contents of the said crew spaces and engine and coal spaces, and the deductions on account thereof, shall be determined in manner specified in the tonnage regulations hereinafter contained.

3. Whenever the tonnage of any ship has been ascertained and registered in accordance with the tonnage regulations hereinafter contained, the same shall thenceforth be deemed to be the tonnage of such ship, unless any alteration is made in the form, internal arrangement, or capacity of such ship, or unless it is discovered that the tonnage of such

ship has been erroneously computed; and in either of such cases such ship shall be re-measured, and her tonnage determined according to the said tonnage regulations.

4. The "tonnage deck" shall be taken to be the upper-deck in ships which have less than three decks, and to be the second deck from below in all other ships.

5. All measurements shall be taken in feet and fractions of feet, or in metres and fractions of metres, and when taken in feet all fractions of feet shall be expressed in decimals.

6. Whether the tonnage of ships is ascertained in cubic feet or in cubic metres it shall be stated in all certificates and documents issued by the European Commission of the Danube both in British register tons of 100 cubic feet each and in cubic metres, and the factor for converting British register tons into cubic metres shall be a multiplier of 2.83, and for converting cubic metres into British tons shall be a divisor of 2.83.

7. In any case in which it appears from the national papers of any ship that she has already been measured in the country in which she is registered, under rules giving results similar to the results given by the "tonnage regulations" hereinafter contained, and that her tonnage is expressed on her national papers in British tons of 100 cubic feet each, or in cubic metres, then she shall be exempt from measurement under these rules, so long as she remains of the tonnage and description stated in such papers.

Tonnage Regulations.

Under the following regulations the measurements are to be taken in English feet for ascertaining contents in British tons register. Where the contents are to be ascertained in cubic metres the equivalent measures in cubic metres can be substituted for the figures given herein, or the result arrived at in tons can be converted into cubic metres by the multiplier 2.83.

RULE I.

The gross register tonnage of every ship to be registered, with the exceptions mentioned in Rule II, shall, previously to her being registered, be ascertained by the following rule, hereinafter called Rule I; and the gross register tonnage of every ship to which Rule I can be applied, whether she is about to be registered or not, shall be ascertained by such rule.

Lengths.

(1.) Measure the length of the ship in a straight line along the upper side of the tonnage deck from the inside of the inner plank (average thickness) at the side of the stem to the inside of the midship stern timber or plank there, as the case may be (average thickness), deducting from this length what is due to the rake of the bow in the thickness of the deck, and what is due to the rake of the stern timber in the thickness of the deck, and also what is due to the rake of the stern timber in one third of the round of the beam; divide the length so taken into the number of equal parts required by the following Table, according to the class in such Table to which the ship belong.

Table.

Class 1. Ships of which the tonnage-deck is, according to the above measurement, 50 feet long or under, into four equal parts.

Class 2. Ships of which the tonnage-deck is, according to the above measurement, above 50 feet long and not exceeding 120, into six equal parts.

Class 3. Ships of which the tonnage-deck is, according to the above measurement, above 120 feet long and not exceeding 180, into eight equal parts.

Class 4. Ships of which the tonnage-deck is, according to the above measurement, above 180 feet and not exceeding 225, into ten equal parts.

Class 5. Ships of which the tonnage-deck is, according to the above measurement, above 225 feet long, into twelve parts.

(2.) Then the hold being sufficiently clear to admit of the required depths and breadths being properly taken, find the transverse area of such ship at each point of division of the length, as follows:—Measure the depth at each point of division, from a point at a distance of one-third of the round of the beam below such deck, or, in case of a break, below a line stretched in continuation thereof, to the upper side of the floor timber at the inside of the limber strake, after deducting the average thickness of the ceiling which is between the bilge planks and limber strake; then, if the depth at the midship division of the length do not exceed 16 feet, divide each depth into four equal parts; then measure the inside horizontal breadth at each of the three points of division,

and also at the upper and lower points of the depth, extending each measurement to the average thickness of that part of the ceiling which is between the points of measurement; number these breadths from above (*i.e.* numbering the upper breadth one, and so on down to the lowest breadth); multiply the second and fourth by four, and the third by two; add these products together, and to the sum add the first breadth and the fifth; multiply the quantity thus obtained by one-third of the common interval between the breadths, and the product shall be deemed the transverse area; but if the midship depth exceed 16 feet, divide each depth into six equal parts instead of four, and measure as before directed the horizontal breadths at the five points of division, and also at the upper and lower points of the depth; number them from above as before; multiply the second, fourth, and sixth, by four, and the third and fifth by two; add these products together, and to the sum add the first breadth and the seventh; multiply the quantity thus obtained by one-third of the common interval between the breadths, and the product shall be deemed the transverse area.

(3.) Having thus ascertained the transverse area at each point of division of the length of the ship as required by the above Table, proceed to ascertain the gross register tonnage under the tonnage-deck in the following manner:—Number the areas respectively 1, 2, 3, &c., No. 1 being at the extreme limit of the length at the bow, and the last number at the extreme limit at the length at the stern; then, whether the length be divided according to the Table into four or twelve parts, as in Classes 1 and 5, or any intermediate number, as in Classes 2, 3, and 4, multiply the second and every even numbered area by four, and the third and every odd numbered area (except the first and last) by two; add these products together, and to the sum add the first and last if they yield anything; multiply the quantity thus obtained by one-third of the common interval between the areas, and the product will be the cubical contents of the space under the tonnage-deck; divide this product by 100, and the quotient shall be deemed to be the gross register tonnage under the tonnage-deck.

(4.) If the ship has a deck above the tonnage-deck, the tonnage of the space between it and the tonnage-deck shall be ascertained as follows:—Measure in feet the inside length of the space at the middle of its height from the plank at the side of the stem to the lining on the timbers at the stern, and divide the length into the same number of equal parts into which the length of the tonnage-deck is divided as above directed; measure (also at the middle of its height) the inside breadth of the space at each of the points of division, also the breadth of the stem and the breadth of the stern; number them successively 1, 2, 3, &c., commencing at the stem; multiply the second and all the other even numbered breadths by four, and the third and all the other odd numbered breadths (except the first and last) by two; to the sum of these products add the first and last breadths; multiply the whole sum by one-third of the common interval between the breadths, and the result will give in superficial feet the mean horizontal area of such space; measure the mean height of such space, and multiply by it the mean horizontal area, and the product will be the cubical contents of the space; divide this product by 100, and the quotient shall be deemed to be the gross register tonnage of such space. If the ship has more than three decks, the gross register tonnage of each space between decks above the tonnage-deck shall be severally ascertained in manner above described.

(5.) If there be a poop, deck-house, fore-castle, or any other permanent erection or closed-in or covered-in space on the uppermost deck, available for cargo or stores, or for the berthing or accommodation of passengers or the master or crew, the gross register tonnage of such space shall be ascertained as follows:—measure the internal mean length of such space in feet, and divide it into two equal parts; measure at the middle of its height three inside breadths, namely, one at each end, and the other at the middle of the length: then to the sum of the end breadths add four times the middle breadth, and multiply the whole sum by one-third of the common interval between the breadths, the product will give the mean horizontal area of such space; then measure the mean height, and multiply by it the mean horizontal area; divide the product by one hundred, and the quotient shall be deemed to be the gross register tonnage of such space. Provided that no addition shall be made to the gross register tonnage of a ship on account of spaces on the uppermost deck covered-in for the shelter, and appropriated exclusively to the use of deck passengers, and approved for that purpose by the Commissioners. In carrying this rule into effect a deck passenger shall be deemed to be a passenger not provided with accommodation in any cabin, poop, saloon, or deck-house, nor with accommodation below the uppermost deck.

(6.) In order to ascertain the gross register tonnage of the ship add together:—

(a.) The gross register tonnage of the space under the tonnage deck ascertained in accordance with paragraph 3 of this rule:

(b.) The gross register tonnage of the space or spaces between the tonnage deck and the deck, or decks (if any) above the tonnage deck, ascertained in accordance with paragraph 4 of this rule:

(c.) The gross register tonnage of the poop, deck-houses, forecastle, and of all other permanent erections and closed-in or covered-in spaces on the upper deck (if any), ascertained in accordance with paragraph 5 of this rule.

And the total shall be deemed to be the gross register tonnage of the ship.

RULE II.

Ships which, requiring to be measured for any purpose other than registry, have cargo on board, and ships which, requiring to be measured for the purpose of registry, cannot be measured by the rule above given, shall be measured by the following rule, hereinafter called Rule II:—

(1.) Measure the length on the uppermost deck from the outside of the outer plank at the stem to the aftside of the stern post, deducting therefrom the distance between the artside of the stern post and the rabbet of the stern post at the point where the counter plank crosses it; measure also the greatest breadth of the ship to the outside of the outer planking or wales, and then, having first marked on the outside of the ship on both sides thereof the height of the upper deck at the ship's sides, girt the ship at the greatest breadth in a direction perpendicular to the keel from the height so marked on the outside of the ship on the one side to the height so marked on the other side by passing a chain under the keel; to half the girth thus taken add half the main breadth; square the sum; multiply the result by the length of ship taken as aforesaid; then multiply this product by the factor .0017 (seventeen ten-thousandths) in the case of ships built of wood, and .0018 (eighteen ten-thousandths) in the case of ships built of iron, and the product shall be deemed the gross register tonnage of the ship.

(2.) If there be a poop, deck-house, forecastle, or any other permanent erection or covered-in space on the upper deck, the gross register tonnage of such space shall be ascertained by multiplying together the mean length, breadth, and height of such space, and dividing the product by 100, and the quotient so obtained shall be deemed to be the gross register tonnage of such space.

RULE III.

The allowance to be made on account of space occupied in any ship by seamen and apprentices, and entirely and exclusively appropriated to their use, shall be ascertained as follows: (that is to say),

Measure the internal cubic capacity of all spaces occupied by seamen or apprentices, and entirely and exclusively appropriated to their use, and divide the sum of such cubic contents expressed in feet and fractions of feet by 100, and the quotient shall be deemed to be deducted to be the tonnage to be deducted from the gross register tonnage on account of crew spaces, subject to the following provisos; viz., (1), that no deduction shall be made for any crew space under these regulations, unless the space deducted is set apart for and solely used by seamen and apprentices; and (2), that the allowance for crew spaces ascertained under this rule shall not exceed the rate of 500 cubic feet for every 100 tons of the ship's gross register tonnage. In construing this rule, the word "seaman" includes any engaged to serve in any capacity on board the ship other than the master or the pilot.

RULE IV.

The allowance to be made for the space occupied by engine room and coal space shall be estimated as follows: (that is to say),

The allowance shall consist of the tonnage of the space occupied by or required to be inclosed for the proper working of the machinery and boilers, with the addition for coal space of 75 per cent. thereof in the case of ships propelled by screws, and 50 per cent. thereof in the case of ships propelled by paddle-wheels: Provided that, except in the case of steamers used exclusively for the purpose of towing, the whole allowance made for the propelling power, on account of engine room and coal space together, shall not exceed one-half of the gross tonnage of the ship. The measurement of such space shall be governed by the following rules: (that is to say),

(1.) Measure the mean depth of the space from its crown to the ceiling at the limber strake, measure also three, or, if necessary, more than three breadths of the space at the middle of its depth, taking one of such measurements at each end, and another at the middle of the length; take the mean of such breadths; measure also the mean length of the space between the foremost and aftermost bulkheads or limits of its length, excluding such parts, if any, as are not actually occupied by or required for the proper working of

the machinery; multiply together these three dimensions of length, breadth, and depth, and the product will be the cubical contents of the space below the crown; then find the cubical contents of the space or spaces, if any, between the crown aforesaid and the uppermost or poop deck, as the case may be, which are framed in for the machinery or for the admission of light and air, by multiplying together the length, depth, and breadth thereof; add such contents to the cubical contents of the space below the crown; divide the sum by 100; and the result shall be deemed to be the tonnage of the said space:

(2.) If any ship in which the space aforesaid is to be measured the engines and boilers are fitted in separate compartments, the contents of each shall be measured severally in like manner, according to the above rules, and the sum of their several results shall be deemed to be the tonnage of the said space:

(3.) In the case of screw-steamers in which the space aforesaid is to be measured, the contents of the shaft trunk shall be added to and deemed to form part of such space, and shall be ascertained by multiplying together the mean length, breadth, and depth of the trunk, and dividing the product by 100.

RULE V.

In ascertaining the gross register tonnage of open ships the upper edge of the upper strake is to form the boundary line of measurement, and the depths shall be taken from an athwartship line extended from upper edge to upper edge of the said strake at each division of the length.

RULE VI.

The owner of any ship which is measured under Rule II. of the tonnage regulations may at any subsequent period apply to the Commissioners to have the said ship remeasured under Rule I of the same regulations; and the said Commissioners may thereupon, and upon payment of such fee not exceeding 7s. 6d. for each transverse section as they may authorize, direct the said ship to be remeasured accordingly, and the number denoting the register tonnage shall be altered accordingly.

Inclosure 4.

TABLEAU des Facteurs au moyen desquels le Tonnage des Bâtiments des différentes nations est réduit en Tonneaux Anglais (Register Tons), pour la perception des Droits de Navigation à l'embouchure de Soulina.

Bâtiments.	Tonneaux.	Last.	Observations.
Austro-Hongrois	0.77	..	1 tonneau Anglais est égal à $61\frac{53}{100}$ kilés de Constantinople. Le facteur 0.76 pour les bâtiments Ottomans est provisoire.
Français	0.94	..	
Italiens	0.94	..	
Ottomans.. ..	0.76	..	
Prussiens.. ..	0.98	1.50	
Russes	1.08	1.89	
Américains (Etats Unis)	1.	..	
Belges	0.95	1.81	
Brémois	..	1.89	
Danois	1.02	1.96	
Espagnols	1.	..	Un tonneau Anglais est égal à $4\frac{83}{100}$ kilés de Galatz, $3\frac{10}{100}$ kilés de Braila.
Grec—			
Ancienne mesure	0.78	..	
Nouvelle mesure.. ..	0.97	..	
Hambourgeois	..	2.77	
Hanovriens	0.98	2.25	
Hollandais	0.89	1.75	
De Lubeck	..	1.89	
Mecklembourgeois	1.09	2.44	
Norvégiens	0.98	2.08	
Oldenbourgeois	0.96	1.50	
Des Principautés Unies	0.97	..	
Samiotés	0.78	..	
Serbes	0.97	..	
Suédois	1.02	1.98	

Observations Générales.

L'application de ces facteurs fait obtenir le tonnage net.

Ils ne sont pas appliqués aux bâtiments des Etats qui ont adopté le mode de jaugeage Anglais, lorsque, d'après leurs papiers de bord, ces bâtiments ont été jaugés suivant ce mode. (Rule 1.)

Certifié conforme:

Pour la Commission Européenne du Danube,
(Signé) DURANDO.

Galatz, le 18 Octobre, 1873.

(Translation.)

TABLE of the Factors by means of which the Tonnage of Vessels of different nations is reduced to British Register Tons for the levying of the Navigation Dues at the mouth of the Danube.

Vessels.				Tons.	Lasts.	Observations.
Austrian ..	..	..	..	0·77	..	1 English ton is equal to 61·53 kilés of Constantinople. The factor 0·76 for Turkish vessels is provisional.
French ..	..	..	..	0·94	..	
Italian ..	..	..	..	0·94	..	
Turkish ..	..	..	..	0·76	..	
Prussian ..	..	..	..	0·98	1·50	
Russian ..	..	..	..	1·08	1·89	
American ..	..	..	..	1·00	..	
Belgian ..	..	..	..	0·95	1·81	
Bremen ..	..	..	..	..	1·89	
Danish ..	..	..	..	1·02	1·96	
Spanish ..	..	..	..	1·00	..	
Greek—						An English ton is equal to 4·82 kilés of Galatz, and 3·01 kilés of Braïla.
Old measure ..	..	..	..	0·78	..	
New measure ..	..	..	..	0·97	..	
Hamburgh ..	..	..	..	..	2·77	
Hanoverian ..	..	..	..	0·98	2·25	
Dutch ..	..	..	..	0·89	1·75	
Lubeck ..	..	..	..	..	1·89	
Mecklenburg ..	..	..	..	1·09	2·44	
Norwegian ..	..	..	..	0·98	2·08	
Oldenburg ..	..	..	..	0·96	1·50	
United Principalities ..	..	..	..	0·97	..	
Samian ..	..	..	..	0·78	..	
Servian ..	..	..	..	0·97	..	
Swedish ..	..	..	..	1·02	1·98	

General Observations.

The application of these factors produces the net tonnage.

They are not applied to the vessels of those States which have adopted the English mode of measurement, when such vessels have been measured according to this mode, as shown by their papers. (Rule 1.)

Certified correct:

On behalf of the European Danube Commission,
(Signed) DURANDO.

Galatz, October 18, 1873.

COMMERCIAL. No. 7 (1874).

Despatch from the British Delegates on Tonnage
at Constantinople, together with the Report and
Recommendations of the Commission as to
International Tonnage and Suez Canal Dues.

*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Com-
mand of Her Majesty. 1874.*

LONDON:

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Correspondence respecting Turkish Proceedings in the neighbourhood of Aden.

No. 1.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, January 11, 1873, 12.50 P.M.

SULTAN of Lahej expresses to Resident at Aden great fear of an attack being made against him by the Turks in that quarter. Such an act would be regarded in a serious light by Her Majesty's Government, as likely to endanger British territory of Aden. Inquire if the movement is sanctioned by the Turkish Government. In any case you will request that immediate orders be sent to the Turkish authorities to put a stop to hostile operations against any of the Arab Chiefs, calculated to disturb our position at Aden, and which would certainly give rise to a bad impression in England as well as in India.

No. 2.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

Foreign Office, January 23, 1873.

I HAVE received your telegram of the 12th instant, reporting that no operations have been or will be commenced against the Sultan of Lahej without orders from the Porte, which will do nothing without communicating with Her Majesty's Government.

I take advantage of the present opportunity to send you a copy of a despatch, dated October 26, from the Resident at Aden to the Bombay Government, which was communicated to me by the Secretary of State for India on the 26th November.

I await the communication which you lead me to expect may be made by the Porte, before going into any details on this matter; but in the meanwhile you will make it clear to the Porte that as the safety, no less than the comfort, of the British position at Aden would be seriously impaired by any interference on the part of the Turkish authorities in that quarter with Rulers friendly to Great Britain, Her Majesty's Government would view seriously any proceedings calculated to disturb the country in the neighbourhood of that place.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 2.

Brigadier-General Schneider to Mr. Gonne.

(Extract.)

Aden, October 26, 1872.

I HAVE the honour to inform Government that the Sultan of Lahej paid me a visit on the 24th instant, and presented a letter received by him through an emissary from Mushir Ahmed Mookhtar, Pasha of Yemen, translation of which is annexed. In this communication the Sultan is invited to give his allegiance to the Sublime Porte and to wait upon the Pasha.

The Sultan having presented the letter above adverted to, I felt no hesitation as to the nature of the advice that the Resident was bound to give. I accordingly suggested to His Highness that he should reply to the Pasha in a friendly and courteous strain and

state that he is the ally and stipendiary of the British Government; that Treaty obligations exist between him and that Government; that a copy of the Mushir's communication would be forwarded through the Resident to Government, and that he, the Sultan, did not desire to act without its wishes being known to him.

I need scarcely refer to the many Treaties that exist between Government and the independent chieftains in the vicinity of Aden, and to the feeling with which they will regard us, if they are coerced by the Turks against their will, while we, as they would suppose, looked on with indifference or with no power to prevent such a proceeding. It is obvious that the Pasha of Yemen has made his overtures to the Sultan of Lahej as the recognized principal and most influential chief in the lowlands, feeling confident that, if he gives in his adhesion to the Sublime Porte, the other chiefs would follow in his footsteps as a matter of course. I have ascertained that the Howshabee Sheikh replied recently to an emissary that he would wait and see what course the Sultan adopted before replying to the overtures made to him.

The compulsory transfer by the Sultan of Lahej and other chiefs of their adherence to another Power would, of necessity, alter our intimate relations with them. At present the British Government is respected and feared by these chiefs. They are all more or less subsidized by Government and look to it for advice and assistance through the Resident, and they consult his wishes and generally abide by his suggestions; but if they are coerced and incorporated with the Turkish possessions in Yemen, Government can no longer be regarded as the paramount authority here, and difficulties and complications will probably follow, the result of which it is now impossible to see. The Turks would control the whole land around Aden up to the Owlakee country including the ports of Shugra and Howr. When convenient the chiefs would declare that they can only do so and so with the permission of the Turks, or that they adopted a particular line of conduct under their instructions, but supplies from the interior, absolutely necessary to our existence here, may even be interrupted, and the great trade that is carried on between the neighbouring States in the interior and Aden may, by prohibitive transit duties, be diverted to other parts in the Red Sea.

A copy of this letter and its annexment will be forwarded to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India by the Bombay mail which may be expected to-morrow.

Inclosure 2 in No. 2.

The Mushir Sayyid Ahmed Mookhtar, Pasha of Yemen, to Shaikh Fadhl bin Mohsin, the Abdalee.

(Translation.)

(After compliments.)

Sana, 8 Rajib, 1289 (August 29, 1872).

WE write you this letter after our arrival, by command of our Lord the Sultan of Al-Islam, the devout follower of the religion of the two Holy Cities, the Monarch of the Kingdom of the East and West, may his magnificence be perpetual, and may the monument of his glory be raised aloft, and the full moon of his life, in the land of Yemen, to resuscitate the kingdom which his ancestors the Sultans founded, by the revival of religion and the promulgation of the ordinances of the Chief of Prophets, and thanks be to God, it has taken place according to the desire of the Sultan, by the assistance and grace of God, without causing us any trouble, nor has any trouble whatsoever befallen the people of the country; by the favour of God, indeed, the intention of our Sultan has been accomplished. May his glory continue! And we have not turned our attention to the ordering of your territories till the rest of the country should have been completely settled from your boundaries to above Sana. However, we have long known the way in which you preserve yourself and your country from workers of sedition, and for that we thank you much, and how excellent is he who, in times of anarchy, preserves his dignity! But, to-day, God has graciously favoured the Sublime Government. Praise be to Him for it. And our Lord the Sultan of Al-Islam has turned his attention to the districts of Yemen, and you are (praised be God) one of the members of the Government and of the people who serve it and your country, by the favour of God, one of those whose people come within the circle of its attention. We have also heard that you are afraid, and we are very much astonished at you. How is it you are afraid when nothing has previously been done by you to us? But we have granted safety to those near and to those distant, to the freemen and to the bondsmen, and, by the favour of God, nothing unpleasant has been caused by us to any one. Every one knows this; then wherefore do you fear, or why should one like you be afraid? On this account your fear is a wonderful thing. But the Sheikh Mohideen-al-

Akel visits us constantly, and is acquainted with our character and our mode of dealing with people, with our clemency and our justice. And if there should be anything against you in times past, for you there is now no chiding, and should there be anything against you of a later date still there is nothing which can be called a fault. So you have, up to the present time, a clean page; and we look forward to your coming to us that you may receive the good things and the high honour you deserve, and trust you will accompany the messenger now sent to our presence, and we promise you safety under the security of God, of His Prophet, of the Sultan of Al-Islam, and of ourselves, to come with him and return with him. So trust in this, and trust in God, and listen to the counsels of the messenger sent to you, for we have heard of the friendship between you and him. Upon you be peace,

No. 3

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received January 28.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, January 13, 1873.

I HAVE communicated to Khalil Pasha your Lordship's instructions in reference to any hostile operations against the Arab chieftains in the immediate neighbourhood of the British territory at Aden.

His Excellency said that no such operations had been commenced or could be undertaken without the orders of the Porte, which would not give them without previous communication with Her Majesty's Government.

Lahej or Lash is regarded by the Porte as forming a part of the territory of Yemen, which having lately been reduced to more complete submission to the authority of the Sultan, the chief in question had been invited by the Governor of the province to come with another neighbouring chieftain to make his profession of obedience; the other complied, but the Chief of Lash invaded and plundered his territory and forced him to return.

The Governor consequently represents the necessity of measures being taken to punish the aggressors, but the particulars of the case will be communicated to Her Majesty's Government, who may, at all events, rest assured of the most scrupulous respect being shown for the British territory.

I asked Khalil Pasha what had been the previous position of the chief whose submission it was now proposed to insist upon.

His Excellency replied that the report of the Governor-General of Yemen had only just been received, and he was not yet very fully acquainted with all the particulars.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 4.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

Foreign Office, January 30, 1873.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 13th of January, reporting at length your conversation with Khalil Pasha respecting the hostile operations threatened by the Turkish authorities in Arabia against the Arab Chieftains in the immediate neighbourhood of the British territory at Aden.

The Pasha's language, in so far as it contained a promise that no such operations would be undertaken without previous communication with the British Government, was satisfactory; not so his assumption of the right of the Porte to call upon those Chieftains to make a profession of obedience to the Porte, on the ground that the territory of Yemen is subject to the authority of the Porte, even though this assumption was qualified by the assurance of the most scrupulous respect being shown for the British territory.

I instructed your Excellency, by my despatch of the 23rd of this month, to state to the Porte that Her Majesty's Government would view seriously any proceedings on the part of Turkish authorities to disturb the country in the neighbourhood of Aden.

But, in consequence of Khalil Pasha's language, Her Majesty's Government consider it desirable that you should point out to the Turkish Government that the question is not that of the territory held by the British Government at Aden, in respect of which they do

not require any assurance from the Porte, but that the Sultan of Lahej, and other Arab Chiefs in friendly relations with the British Government at Aden, should not be molested or interfered with by Turkish authorities, on the alleged ground that the Province of Yemen belongs to the Porte, and that those Chiefs, as inhabiting part of that province, are subjects of the Porte.

Whatever rights of sovereignty the Porte in times long gone by might have had in Yemen, it is notorious that since the year 1633 Yemen has been under the rule of Arab Chiefs, independent of the Porte. Her Majesty's Government have, however, no desire to discuss that question generally; but they cannot, as matters stand, but intimate through you to the Porte, as was intimated by them to Mehemet Ali in the year 1839, that Her Majesty's Government wish that the independence of the native Chiefs in the vicinity of Aden should be respected; and that any attempt to subvert their authority would not be viewed with indifference by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c,
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 5.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received February 1.)

(Extract.)

Constantinople, January 24, 1873.

SINCE reporting to your Lordship, by my despatch of the 13th instant, that I had executed your telegraphic instruction, in reference to the threatened attack upon the Chief or Sultan of Lahej.

I have prepared the inclosed Memorandum for communication to the Porte, which, as far as I could perceive, seemed unconscious of the relation in which the Chief of Lahej stood towards the Government of Aden.

Inclosure in No. 5.

Memorandum.

Constantinople, January 24, 1873.

THE circumstances connected with Lahej, upon which explanations were asked of the Porte the other day, appear, from what can be ascertained from trustworthy sources, but not communicated by Her Majesty's Government, to be as follows:—

Lahej, which is within 15 miles of the garrison outposts of Aden, is the chief town of the low country, and commands the country from which Aden draws its supplies of grain, forage, fuel, water, &c.

Its Chief, or Sultan, as he calls himself, is a stipendiary of the British Government, receiving a monthly salary for the services of his people in feeding Aden and keeping the roads open, and has never been subject to the authority of the Porte.

Some months ago the Mushir established at Sana, not less than 150 miles off, took upon himself to summon this Chief, the stipendiary of the British Government, to attend his camp and submit himself formally to the Turkish Government, and to prepare camels, &c., for a descent into the low country of Lahej, commonly called El Hantash.

The Chief replied that he was the servant and stipendiary of the British Government, but no notice was taken of this answer by the Pasha.

It is certain that for generations the Porte has not exercised or pretended to a shadow of authority over the district in question, and the unwarranted attempt of the Pasha to reduce it to subjection could not be seen with indifference by Her Majesty's Government.

No. 6.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 15, 1873.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 24th ultimo; and I have to state to your Excellency, in reply, that I approve your having communicated to the Porte a Memorandum on the subject of the threatened attack on Lahej.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 7.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received February 16.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, February 3, 1873.

THE Grand Vizier called on me two days ago, when I took the opportunity of again speaking to him about the threatened attack on the Sultan or chieftain of Lahej, saying that I had been glad to receive from Khalil Pasha the assurance that no operations should be commenced against him until an understanding had been come to with Her Majesty's Government.

He said the Minister for Foreign Affairs was fully warranted in making the declaration; and, in order to render it more solemn, a decision to that effect had been come to by the Council, and was submitted to the Sultan's approval.

This afternoon I reverted to the subject in conversation with Khalil Pasha, stating the satisfaction with which I heard from the Grand Vizir the repetition of the assurances he had himself given me.

Khalil Pasha replied that the Council of Ministers had determined to act as he had said; but, at the same time, they had decided that he was to attempt to obtain the acquiescence of Her Majesty's Government to the Chief of Lahej making a purely nominal submission to the Sultan without tribute or service being required from him.

I said I hoped he would not make any such proposal, for I could assure him that there was no probability of its being entertained.

I expressed myself in the sense prescribed by your Lordship's despatch of the 23rd ultimo, and was able to show his Excellency that the ground now taken up was not new, and that, in 1839, Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, who was carrying out the subjugation of the Yemen, had stated that the mountains to the north of the plain of Lahej formed the boundary of Yemen, and that Her Majesty's Government had, at the same time, intimated that they would not see with indifference the subjugation of the independent tribes beyond the Straits of Bab el Mandeb.

It is evident to me that the Porte is most desirous of avoiding all action calculated to give umbrage to Her Majesty's Government, but is embarrassed to find a satisfactory mode of retreating from the position which has been made by the threatening proceedings of the Pasha of Sana.

The Sultan of Lahej having been called upon to make his submission, a demonstration of force, to coerce him in the event of a refusal, had been apparently made on his frontier; and it is feared that an abandonment of the demand might be regarded as a recognition of weakness injurious to the Sultan's authority in the districts now acknowledging it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 8.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received February 16.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, February 12, 1873.

CONSIDERING it of importance that the Porte should be put in full possession of the views of Her Majesty's Government in reference to any hostile operations against the Arab chieftains in the immediate neighbourhood of Aden, as contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 30th ultimo, I instructed Mr. Pisani to communicate to Khalil Pasha your Lordship's despatch, leaving with him a French translation of the same.

I have now the honour to transmit to your Lordship a Report from Mr. Pisani of his interview with Khalil Pasha, who repeated anew that the question of Lahej may be considered as settled in the sense wished for by Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(In the absence of Sir H. Elliot),
(Signed) SIDNEY LOCOCK.

Inclosure in No. 8.

Mr. Pisani to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

Pera, February 11, 1873.

IN obedience to your Excellency's instructions of the 8th instant, I communicated to Khalil Pasha, and left with him a copy in French of Earl Granville's despatch in answer to yours of the 13th ultimo relative to Lahej and Aden. I have likewise read to him your Excellency's despatch of the 13th to his Lordship in order that he might form an exact estimate of what you wrote.

I told his Excellency that you may perhaps have said too much in stating that the Porte looked upon Lahej as forming a part of Yemen, for you imagine it would have been more correct if you had said that the Pasha of Sana being of that opinion had sent the summons to the Chieftain upon that assumption. But the assurances which you have since received of this having been done without reference to the Porte disengages the latter from the responsibility of the initiative, or of its having shared in the impression which was the cause of it, and that you have stated this in subsequent despatches.

Khalil Pasha expressed thanks for your Excellency's explanations, and repeated anew that the question of Lahej may be considered as settled in the sense wished for by Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ET. PISANI.

No. 9.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 24, 1873.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 3rd instant, on the subject of the relations between the Porte and the Sultan of Lahej; and I have to state to your Excellency in reply that I approve the language you held to Khalil Pasha, as reported in that despatch.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 10.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received February 25.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, February 14, 1873.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 12th instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that, at an interview which Mr. Pisani had yesterday with the Grand Vizier, his Highness desired him to name to me that, by Imperial command, he had instructed the Governor-General of the Yemen to abstain from interfering with or molesting in any way the Ruler of Lahej, and leave matters as they formerly stood.

I have, &c.

(In the absence of Sir H. Elliot),

(Signed) SIDNEY LOCOCK.

No. 11.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 11, 1873.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatches of the 3rd, 12th, and 14th ultimo, on the subject of the relations between the Porte and the Sultan of Lahej, I have

to instruct your Excellency, in any future discussions which you may have with the Ottoman Ministers, firmly to maintain the position already taken up by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.]

No. 12.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 17, 1873.

HER Majesty's Government learned with much satisfaction from your despatch of the 14th of February, that the Governor-General of the Yemen had been instructed to abstain from interfering with, or in any way molesting, the Ruler of Lahej. Her Majesty's Government could certainly not have assented to the expedient proposed by the Porte, and reported in your despatch of the 3rd of February, that the Chief of Lahej should make a purely nominal submission to the Sultan, without tribute or service being required from him, and your Excellency did quite right in warning the Grand Vizier that there was no probability of its being entertained.

It is only necessary for me, as the matter now stands, to request your Excellency to continue to bear the question in mind, and, in any future discussions with the Turkish Ministers, firmly to maintain the position already taken up by Her Majesty's Government respecting it.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 13.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 15, 1873.

THE communications which you have made to the Porte under instructions from me during the present year, respecting the proceedings of the Turkish authorities in Arabia, must have satisfied the Porte that Her Majesty's Government were not prepared to acquiesce in any proceedings its officers might take in that quarter, indicating a disposition to extend its authority over the native Arab tribes, and interfere with such of them as were in friendship with the British Government, and so generally disquiet the territories in the neighbourhood of Aden.

I especially directed you, in my despatch of the 30th of January, to point out that for above 200 years Yemen has been under the rule of independent Arab Chiefs, and I said that although under those circumstances Her Majesty's Government had no desire to discuss this point generally, it was their wish that the independence of those Chiefs in the vicinity of Aden should be respected, and that they would not view with indifference any attempt to subvert the authority of those Chiefs.

The assurances which you received in general terms from the Porte were on the whole satisfactory at the time, but it is desirable that I should repeat, as regards this province generally, the instructions which, in my despatch of the 11th of March, I gave you as specifically applying to the Sultan of Lahej, firmly to maintain the position taken by Her Majesty's Government as regards Yemen.

I am the more inclined to do so at present by the account contained in the telegram from the Governor-General of India, dated May 10, of which I inclose a copy, and by which it appears that Turkish authorities are still interfering with native Chiefs in the neighbourhood of Aden, and are locating a body of troops among the Howshebee tribe living in the immediate vicinity of that place, which draws from among them important supplies. To this specific act of aggression your Excellency will at once call the attention of the Porte.

As regards the more general question of the Yemen, I have to inclose to your Excellency a copy of a despatch from the Governor-General of India, supplying the information which I requested the Duke of Argyll to obtain from the Indian Government as to

the right of the British Government to take directly under their protection the native Arab Chiefs, with whom they have Treaty engagements, and the extent to which such right might be claimed. The answers to these questions are contained in the inclosed despatch, and in your conversation with the Porte your Excellency will adopt those answers as the ground of your insistence with the Turkish Government against interference with the Arab tribes enumerated by the Governor-General.

I inclose copy of a map showing the locality of the several tribes referred to.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 13.

The Viceroy to the Duke of Argyll.

(Telegraphic.)

May 10, 1873.

FOLLOWING from Aden Resident, dated 5th:—

"Letter received by Turkish Agent at Aden from Civil Governor at Taizz, saying he has received orders from Mushir at Sana, to appoint Howshebee Sultan, Chief of Howshebee district on a monthly salary of 50 dollars, also Mushir has given orders that detachment of Turkish troops be sent to Howshebee Sultan to protect his country."

If true, these proceedings are opposed to assurances given by Khalil Pasha, as reported in Sir Henry Elliot's despatch of 13th of January, and in face of remonstrances made in Lord Granville's letter of 30th. idem. If troops have been sent I trust their recall will be peremptorily demanded and satisfactory explanation required of violation of assurances given.

Inclosure 2 in No. 13.

The Governor-General of India in Council to the Duke of Argyll.

(Extract.)

Fort William, April 11, 1873.

THE question of the right of the British Government to take these Chiefs under our protection may be viewed in two aspects, viz.:—1st, our right as regards the alleged claims of the Turkish Government; and, 2ndly, our right as regards the Chiefs themselves.

With reference to the first aspect of the question, we would state the following as being, in our opinion, the grounds on which the rights of the British Government to take these Chiefs under protection are based, viz.:—

1st. That the Chiefs are, and for the last century have been, independent of Turkish influence and control.

2nd. That the British Government has, as a matter of fact, already entered into Treaty relations with these Chiefs, without reference to Turkey or any other foreign Power, and may conclude fresh engagements with them if deemed expedient.

3rd. That the recent proceedings of the Turkish officials have been so prejudicial to British interests at Aden, as to afford good ground for such arrangements being concluded with the Chiefs as may be deemed best fitted to prevent a repetition of the evils. To such arrangements for the peace and security of our settlement no objection can reasonably be offered.

4th. That the Chief of the largest and most important tribe (the Abdalees) has distinctly claimed British assistance, and asked for protection.

5th. That while the Chiefs have been independent of Turkey, they have not been so of the British Government, which, for some years, has paid them stipends, and has frequently interfered to settle their inter-tribal quarrels. They have come to look on the Resident at Aden as their friend and adviser in all their difficulties. The question is, therefore, somewhat a domestic one.

Turning next to the question of the rights of the British Government as against the Chiefs themselves, we would observe that, while we consider ourselves free to impose any measures upon the Chiefs which we may deem essential for the safety of our Aden possessions, it is far from our intention to have recourse to any forcible measures. We

propose to secure the objects we have in view with the consent of the Chiefs and by negotiation with them.

We are of opinion that the protection of the British Government should extend to all the tribes marginally noted,* with whom Treaties have been, at various times, concluded. These Treaties will be found in the seventh volume of the collection of "Treaties, Engagements, and Sunnuds."

No. 14.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 23, 1873.

REPORTS from Aden state that Turkish troops, armed with breech-loaders, are quartered in Howshebec Sultan's house at Lahej. Press that they may be immediately withdrawn.

No. 15.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 5, 1873.

REPORTS from Aden, May 27, mention movements of Turkish soldiers in the vicinity of Aden not consistent with assurances received by you from the Porte. Lose no time in stating this to Ottoman Government, and call for immediate instructions to their authorities in Yemen to withdraw troops from that country and to desist from all intrigues and acts disquieting to tribes in friendship with this country and calculated to weaken the assurances made to Her Majesty's Government in that respect.

No. 16.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 8.)

My Lord,

Therapia, May 30, 1873.

YOUR Lordship's despatch of the 15th instant, and your telegram of the 23rd respecting the interference of the Turkish authorities with the independent tribes in the neighbourhood of Aden reached me almost simultaneously.

I have communicated them to the Porte and asked that orders should at once be sent for the removal of the troops which had been billeted in the house of the Howshebec Sultan.

The Grand Vizier and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, while saying that orders to this effect could not be transmitted without inquiring into the circumstances under which the troops had been sent, promised that they would immediately ascertain the position of things, as well as the engagements taken by their predecessors, to which I had recalled their recollection.

I read your Lordship's above despatch to Raschid Pasha, leaving an extract of it in the hands of his Excellency; and I informed him, according to the tenour of the letter from the Governor-General of India to the Duke of Argyll, that these Chiefs, having for the last century been independent of Turkish influence and control, Her Majesty's Government had, as a matter of fact, without reference to the Porte, entered into Treaty relations with many of them (as shown by those enumerated in Lord Northbrook's letter), and felt themselves free to make fresh engagements with them if it was thought expedient.

That the recent proceedings of the Turkish authorities had so closely touched British interests at Aden that Her Majesty's Government might be called upon to consider what further arrangements should be made to prevent their repetition, it not being admitted that objection could reasonably be offered to measures taken for the peace and security of the British Settlement.

That although the Chiefs had been independent of Turkey, they had not been so of Her Majesty's Government, which had for some years paid them regular stipends; and

* 1. The Abdalee (Lahej); 2. Foodhlee; 2. The Akrahee; 4. The Howshebec; 5. The Allowce; 6. The Ameer; 7. The Soobahee; 8. The Jaffee; 3. The Owlakee.

the British Resident at Aden had so frequently interfered to settle their inter-tribal quarrels that they had grown to look upon him as their adviser in all their difficulties.

I mentioned that the Chief of one of the most important tribes had already claimed British assistance and protection, and that although it was far from the intention of Her Majesty's Government to have recourse to forcible measures towards the Chiefs, protection would probably not be withheld from them if they should ask for it; and the responsibility for any measures which Her Majesty's Government may now feel it necessary to take must rest with those who had thought fit to disturb a state of things which had long existed.

Raschid Pasha said that, although he could not perceive how British interests could be affected by the authority of the Porte being recognized by the Chiefs, I might be assured that there was no disposition to do anything in the smallest degree distasteful to Her Majesty's Government, and that he would at once inquire into the question and then communicate with me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 17.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 9.)

(Extract.)

Therapia, June 1, 1873.

RASCHID PASHA has directed Mr. Pisani to inform me that the Porte, animated by the desire to comply with the wishes of Her Majesty's Government, will forthwith instruct the Governor-General of the Yemen to withdraw the troops which had been quartered in the house of the Howshebee Sultan.

His Excellency asked that this communication should for the moment be regarded as private and confidential.

No. 18.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 16, 1873.

I APPROVE the language held by your Excellency to Raschid Pasha upon the subject of the independent tribes in the neighbourhood of Aden, as reported in your despatch of the 30th ultimo.

I am, &c,
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 19.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 10, 1873.

I INCLOSE, for your Excellency's information, copies of despatches upon the subject of the affairs of the Yemen.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 19.

Brigadier-General Schneider to the Duke of Argyll.

My Lord Duke,

Aden, May 12, 1873.

I DO myself the honour to forward a copy of my latest despatch, dated the 12th May, 1873, to the Government of Bombay.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. W. SCHNEIDER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 19.

Brigadier-General Schneider to Mr. Gonne.

Sir,

Aden, May 12, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of Government, that the young Chief Ali bin Mookbil Abdul Hadee paid me a visit on the 9th May. He succeeded as Ameer of the Dhali tribe, on the death of his uncle Shafel bin Abdul Hadee, and was formally recognized as such by the Government of India, as intimated in Government Resolution, No. 4,024, in the Political Department, dated 5th July, 1872.

2. In paragraph 4 of my letter of the 5th instant, I mentioned that Turkish influence was being actively exercised in the country of the Ameer, and the object of the visit of Ali bin Mookbil, the first he has made since his accession to power, was to bring this personally to notice, and to seek advice as to how he should act.

3. The Ameer had obeyed the order he received from the Turkish authorities some months ago, and had been to Kattaba to make his submission, which has led to the appointment of a Moohafiz in his country, who is at present billeted in his palace. This officer levies a tax of 8 per cent. on all goods arriving from Aden which remain for sale at Dhali, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on those proceeding to Aden. The cesses derivable from the weekly fair held at Dhali have been farmed out for 222 dollars per annum to Mahomed Mussood, the Ameer's uncle; while the Ameer is pledged to pay the Turkish authorities at Kattaba 800 dollars per annum from his revenue, and he is to receive a monthly salary of 40 dollars. The Ameer has also been required to give a hostage for his good behaviour, who is required to reside in Taizz.

4. It will be observed that the information given in person by the Ameer is different from that given by me in paragraph 4 of my letter of the 5th instant, to which I have alluded in paragraph 2.

5. The young Ameer, whose territory is on the border of the district of Kattaba, felt himself unable to resist the pressure that was put upon him by the Turkish authorities, and expressed his anxiety to revert to his former independence.

6. I reminded Ali bin Mookbil of the intimation I had made to him, under the orders of the Government of India, viz., that the proceedings of the Turks in Yemen towards the Chiefs around Aden were believed not to be authorized by the Ottoman Government, and, I added, I had also some time ago addressed the Mootasarif at Taizz on the same subject.

7. On the Ameer asking what he should do, I again advised him to inform the Turkish authorities that he was the stipendiary of the British Government, and that the connection of the Ameer with us dated from a period long anterior to the time at which they commenced the conquest of Yemen. He was anxious to know whether he should forcibly reject the Moohafiz who had been appointed to his country. To this I replied I could not recommend him to do so, and that it would be better to leave matters as they stood, because I entertained the expectation that the Arab Chiefs with whom we have engagements would shortly be left undisturbed. I further stated that a friendly understanding existed between the British and the Ottoman Government, and that the Ameer should avoid the commission of any act that could be considered hostile to the Turks.

8. Government will perceive that the petty Chiefs and Sheikhs on the borders of Yemen who are allied to us by Treaty engagements or as stipendiaries, have a difficult part to play in resisting the overtures of their powerful neighbours and co-religionists with whom they wish to stand well, and that our position at Aden will continue to be disturbed until the Turkish authorities are required to abstain from all interference with them under pressure from the Home Government.

9. Copy of this communication has been forwarded to the Secretary of State for India,

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. W. SCHNEIDER..

No. 20.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

My Lord,

Therapia, June 6, 1873.

REFERRING to my despatch of the 1st instant, I have the honour to state that, before the receipt of your Lordship's telegram of yesterday's date, I had received

from the Porte distinct assurances that Ahmed Eyoub Pasha, the new Governor-General of the Yemen, who left Constantinople yesterday on his way to Hodeida, had been instructed at once to withdraw the troops quartered on the Howshebee Sultan, and to be careful to abstain from interfering in any way with the tribes in friendly relations with Her Majesty's Government enumerated in the letter of the Governor-General of India, inclosed in your Lordship's despatch of the 15th ultimo, unless with the previous authorization of the Porte.

There is no telegraphic communication between Constantinople and the Yemen by which these instructions could be sent.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 21.

Mr. Grant Duff to Mr. Hammond.—(Received July 9.)

Sir,

India Office, July 9, 1873.

WITH reference to previous correspondence respecting the proceedings of the Turkish authorities in the neighbourhood of Aden, I am directed by the Duke of Argyll to forward, for submission to Earl Granville, copy of a further telegram from the Resident at Aden, dated 27th June, on the same subject, and to suggest that some inquiry should be made, through Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, as to the steps taken by the Ottoman Government to restrain these hostile proceedings.

I have, &c.
(Signed) M. E. GRANT DUFF.

Inclosure in No. 21.

Brigadier-General Schneider to the Duke of Argyll.

(Telegraphic.)

Aden, June 27, 1873.

200 Turkish troops, and 200 Arab irregular corps arrived from Kattaba at Raha, capital Howshebee district; 500 Turkish troops at Mursad, in Soobahee country. Troops at Raha and Mursad are to meet at Zaida. Agreement of Ottoman Porte to withdraw troops quartered on Howshebee may not have reached Sana. I will inform Turkish officer of agreement by Ottoman Porte.

No. 22.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 18, 1873.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith the accompanying copy of a letter with its inclosure from the India Office respecting the proceedings of the Turkish authorities in the neighbourhood of Aden;* and I have to instruct your Excellency to ascertain from the Porte the steps that have been taken by the Ottoman Government to restrain these hostile proceedings.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 23.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received July 26.)

My Lord,

Therapia, July 18, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of the answer that I have received from Raschid Pasha to the communications which I had been instructed to make to him respecting the proceedings of the Turkish authorities towards the Arab tribes in the neighbourhood of Aden, and at Shuhur and Makulla.

The order to evacuate the dwelling of Howshebee Sultan was not given without repugnance, but its occupation is alluded to in the note as a regrettable accident, and

Her Majesty's Government may probably be satisfied that the Porte will have warned the military authorities against all aggressive acts from which they will be likely to have again to retreat,

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 23.

Raschîd Pasha to Sir H. Elliot.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Sublime Porte, le 15 Juillet, 1873.

LE Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique semble se préoccuper outre mesure de la politique du Gouvernement Impérial, dans le Yemen en général, et en particulier de l'attitude que nos troupes tendent à prendre dans ces localités.

Permettez-moi de faire observer à votre Excellence que cette préoccupation, je pourrai dire cette inquiétude, n'est nullement fondée, et que l'incident isolé de Hoschpy Sultan ne suffit pas, à lui seul, pour faire supposer au Gouvernement Impérial des intentions bien éloignées de sa politique traditionnelle.

Ce n'est pas ici le moment de chercher à constater ou à invalider l'indépendance séculaire que le Gouvernement Britannique invoque pour les neuf tribus de Lohidge, Faudaly, &c., et pour le pays d'Adramat, pas plus qu'il ne s'agit de contester la validité des Traités que le Gouvernement Britannique a conclus avec les tribus susdites; ce que je tiens à faire connaître, sans toutefois préjuger de l'avenir, c'est que la politique du Gouvernement Impérial n'a point varié dans le Yemen et que nos troupes ne sont pas animées de sentiments étrangers aux dispositions dont nous sommes pénétrés nous-mêmes.

L'incident, que j'appellerai volontiers l'accident, de la demeure de Hoschpy Sultan,—unique fait d'ailleurs dont le Gouvernement Britannique puisse se prévaloir,—présenté à distance et dépourvu de détails, n'est pas suffisant pour être considéré comme peignant une situation. D'ailleurs le Gouvernement Impérial a peine en a-t-il été informé que, sans hésiter sur les conséquences fâcheuses qui pourraient porter atteinte au prestige de son drapeau, il s'est empressé d'ordonner que la demeure de Hoschpy Sultan soit immédiatement évacuée. Je suis convaincu en outre que les détails que nous attendons sur cette occupation seront tels qu'ils expliqueront le fait d'une manière bien différente que le Gouvernement Britannique a pu l'interpréter.

A part ce fait je ne vois dans l'ensemble de la situation au Yemen que l'effet des rapports pleins de cordialité qui règnent entre nos autorités et les pays d'alentour. Cet échange de bons procédés et de sympathies mutuelles, puisant sa source dans le contact fréquent d'un bon voisinage, peut-être aussi dans le sentiment d'une religion commune, est de nature à rassurer le Gouvernement Britannique plutôt que de lui porter ombrage.

Je ne puis autrement expliquer l'apparition de nos employés dans le Chakha et Maùkalla, aussi bien que dans les neuf tribus alliées du Gouvernement Britannique. Quant aux navires sous pavillon Ottoman qui fréquenteraient Adramat, quelle conséquence peut-on retirer si ce n'est que le commerce est florissant, que les besoins des populations augmentent tous les jours par le fait de la civilisation—ce qui dénote la marche ascendante du progrès et du commerce, choses que l'Angleterre a toujours envisagées avec satisfaction. Rapports de bon voisinage et simplement amicaux, développement inévitable du progrès et de la civilisation, respect absolu des us et coutumes de nos voisins, telles sont les bases de notre politique et de notre programme dans le Yemen. Nous voyons avec plaisir que les tribus aux environs d'Aden entretiennent des relations cordiales avec les autorités Anglaises. Nous constatons avec satisfaction que ces peuplades trouvent un débouché avantageux et lucratif de leurs denrées sur les marchés d'Aden, et notre ferme intention n'est point certes de troubler un état de choses aussi satisfaisant. J'aime à penser que ces explications franches feront disparaître les préoccupations du Gouvernement Britannique et dissiperont jusqu'à l'ombre du doute que le fait regrettable et encore inexpliqué de Hoschpy Sultan aurait pu faire naître sur nos intentions.

Veillez, &c.
(Signé) RASHID.

(Translation.)

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Sublime Porte, July 15, 1873.

HER Majesty's Government appear to be excessively pre-occupied by the policy of the Imperial Government in the Yemen in general, and especially by the attitude which our forces are taking in those localities.

Permit me to observe to your Excellency that this pre-occupation—I might say anxiety—has no foundation, and that the isolated incident of the Howshebee Sultan is not sufficient, by itself, to allow of intentions widely opposed to its traditional policy being imputed to the Imperial Government.

This is not the moment for attempting to prove or to invalidate the secular independence invoked by the British Government for the nine tribes of Lahej, Faudaly, &c., and for the district of Adramat, any more than it would be to contest the validity of the Treaties concluded between the British Government and the above-named tribes; what I wish to state—but without prejudice to the future—is, that the policy of the Imperial Government has undergone no change in Yemen, and that our soldiers are not animated by any other sentiments than those which we ourselves profess.

The incident (which I shall willingly term the accident) of the dwelling of the Howshebee Sultan—the only act, indeed, of which the British Government can take advantage—viewed from afar and stripped of its details, is not sufficient to be considered as descriptive of the situation. Moreover, the Imperial Government—hardly informed of this act, and without any hesitation as to the unfortunate results which might sully the prestige of its flag—hastened to give orders for the immediate evacuation of the dwelling of the Howshebee Sultan. I am, besides, convinced that the details which we await respecting this occupation will be of a nature to explain the act in a manner very different from the interpretation put upon it by the British Government.

Apart from this act, I only observe in the situation in Yemen the results of the cordial relations which exist between our authorities and the surrounding countries. This exchange of friendly action and of mutual sympathies, arising out of constant and neighbouring contact, perhaps also from the feeling of a common religion, is of a nature rather to reassure than to give umbrage to the British Government.

I cannot otherwise explain the presence of our employés in Chakha and Maukalla, as well as among the nine tribes allies of the British Government. As regards the vessels under the Ottoman flag which frequent Adramat, the only inference to be drawn is that trade flourishes, that the wants of the inhabitants are daily increasing by the fact of civilization. This proves the ascending march of progress and of commerce, which have always been viewed with satisfaction by England. Terms of good and friendly neighbourhood, inevitable development of progress and of civilization, an absolute respect for the usages and customs of our neighbours—such are the bases of our policy and of our programme in Yemen. We observe with pleasure that the tribes in the neighbourhood of Aden keep up cordial relations with the English authorities. We recognize with satisfaction the fact that these populations find an advantageous and lucrative outlet for their produce in the markets of Aden, and our firm intention is certainly not to disturb such a satisfactory state of things. I hope and believe that these frank explanations will put an end to the preoccupations of the British Government, and will remove even the shadow of a doubt which the regrettable and still unexplained act of the Howshebee Sultan might have instilled regarding our intentions.

(Signed) RASHID.

No. 24.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 9, 1873.

I TRANSMIT for your Excellency's information the accompanying copy of a telegram, communicated by the India Office from the Resident at Aden, respecting the proceedings of the Turks in the neighbourhood of that place.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Inclosure in No. 24.

Brigadier-General Schneider to the Duke of Argyll.

(Telegraphic.)

Aden, July 30, 1873.

NEW Governor-General of Yemen has not withdrawn Turkish detachment from Shuka in Howshebee country. Thirty Arab irregular troops arrived there four days ago from Taizz.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received August 15.)

My Lord,

Therapia, August 5, 1873.

NOTWITHSTANDING the assurance officially given by the Porte by their note of the 15th ultimo, of which a copy was inclosed in my despatch of the 18th, with regard to the Arab tribes in the neighbourhood of Aden, as the Sultan's Ministers seemed very little acquainted with the proceedings of the late Governor-General of the Yemen, I thought it desirable to inform Raschid Pasha of the substance of General Schneider's despatch of the 12th of May,* which formed one of the inclosures to your Lordship's despatch of the 10th of July.

His Excellency had seemed to imagine that Her Majesty's Government had attached an exaggerated importance to the measures adopted by the Governor-General, and I wished to show him that there were sufficient grounds for looking at them in a serious light.

Raschid Pasha, on this occasion, repeated the declaration that Her Majesty's Government might rest assured that unequivocal instructions have been given to the new Governor-General of the Yemen to abstain from interfering with the tribes which are allied to the Indian Government by Treaty engagements.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 26.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 19.)

My Lord,

Therapia, September 8, 1873.

UPON my communicating to Raschid Pasha the substance of your Lordship's despatches of the 18th July and 9th of August, his Excellency at once telegraphed, through Egypt, to the New Governor of the Yemen, to abide strictly by his instructions in regard to the Arab tribes, and, if any troops still remained in the places named in those instructions, to withdraw them at once.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 27.

Mr. Grant Duff to Mr. Hammond.—(Received September 27.)

Sir,

India Office, September 27, 1873.

I AM directed by the Duke of Argyll to forward to you herewith, for the information of Lord Granville, copy of letter of the 21st ultimo, from the Political Resident at Aden, reporting certain hostile proceedings towards the Sultan of Lahej, on the part of Ahmed Ayoob Pasha, the newly appointed Governor-General of Yemen.

His Grace entirely concurs in the observations made by Brigadier Schneider in his letter on the proceedings of the Turkish Governor; and I am to request that, in laying these papers before his Lordship, you will move him to give such further instructions to Sir Henry Elliot as may insure the observance by the Turkish local authorities of the assurances made by the Sublime Ottoman Porte.

I am, &c.
(Signed) M. E. GRANT DUFF.

Inclosure 1 in No. 27.

Brigadier-General Schneider to the Duke of Argyll.

My Lord Duke,

Aden, August 21, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to forward, for your Grace's information, copy of my despatch of the 21st idem, from which it will be observed that the newly appointed Governor-

* Inclosure 2 in No. 19.

General of Yemen has written a threatening letter to the Sultan of Lahej, thus acting in a manner which appears to be entirely opposed to the assurances given by the Sublime Porte to Her Majesty's Government, as well as to the instructions which Ahmed Ayoob Pasha would appear to have received before he left Constantinople.

The Pasha's original letter is annexed to the correspondence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. W. SCHNEIDER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 27.

Brigadier-General Schneider to Mr. Gonne.

(Extract.)

Aden, August 21, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to forward translation of a letter addressed to the Sultan of Lahej by Ahmed Ayoob Pasha, the recently appointed Governor-General of Yemen, the original of which I propose to send to the Secretary of State for India to show that the Pasha has conveyed a covert threat to the Sultan notwithstanding the assurances that have been given by the Porte to the British Government.

I have thought it advisable to address the following communication to Ahmed Ayoob Pasha, so that he may know the Resident is acquainted with the orders and instructions he has received from the Ottoman Government:—

“We have to bring to your Excellency's notice that the detachment of Turkish regular and irregular troops sent by your predecessor, Ahmed Mookhtar Pasha, to Shuka, in the Howshebee country, have not yet been withdrawn.

“We received an intimation a short time since from the Great Government that your Excellency had been sent from Constantinople with instructions from the Sublime Porte to remove the above-mentioned troops from the Howshebee country,

“We trust your Excellency will promptly act in conformity with the orders you have received in respect of the matter we now bring to your notice, and so cause affairs to revert to their normal condition by abstention from interference with chiefs and tribes around Aden with whom the British Government has Treaties, or who are its stipendiaries.”

“We learn with regret that the Ameer Ali-bin-Mookbil, a stipendiary of the British Government, is still a prisoner at large.”

Copy of this letter will be forwarded to the Secretary of State for India.

Inclosure 3 in No. 27.

Ahmed Ayoob Pasha to Sheikh Fadhl bin Mohsin.

(Translation.)

(After compliments.)

Sana, 2 Samad al Akhir and 15 Jamo-az (July 27, 1873).

THE answer that you have sent to our predecessor his Excellency Ahmed Mookhtar Pasha, which is dated 5th Jamad (1st July) reached us, and its meaning was to the effect that you were obliged for the explanation afforded concerning the promise you saw in a letter that was sent by the above mentioned (Ahmed Mookhtar Pasha) to General Schneider, the Resident at Aden. Well, finally the above-mentioned explanation was not to any special purport. The object of that declaration was merely to show that action will be taken according to the orders that may be obtained from the Sublime Porte. Then, your mind has not grasped the end that naturally will result from the effect of the said declaration and by reason of your going in the path of negligence, and it will be proved that your negligence has overcome your discretion. Now, it must be borne in mind and considered that every Government will not relinquish the rights that revert to its sovereignty and that it guards and protects, and who has already tendered his submission and entered within the pale of subjection; likewise, he who has the ability to do so: nor does it delay to make an example of and punish those who walk in the path of evil and sedition.

May you remain in a good state.

No. 28.

*Sir John Kaye to Lord Tenterden.—(Received October 11.)**India Office, October 10, 1873.*

SIR JOHN KAYE presents his compliments to the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and forwards herewith, for the information of Earl Granville, copy of a telegram this day received from the Political Resident at Aden, respecting the refusal of the Turkish authorities in the Yemen to withdraw their troops from Shuka.

Inclosure in No. 28.

Brigadier-General Schneider to the Duke of Argyll.

(Telegraphic.)

Aden, October 10, 1873.

I HAVE received reply from Governor-General of Yemen to my letters of 19th August and 17th September, in which he was requested to withdraw Turkish troops from Shuka, according to orders and instructions he has received from the Ottoman Porte. He ignores these orders and instructions, and states Howshebee district is annexed to province of Taizz.

Government of India informed.

No. 29.

Lord Tenterden to Mr. Grant-Duff.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 13, 1873.

I AM directed by Earl Granville to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 27th ultimo and the 10th instant, with respect to the encroachment of the Turkish troops upon the independent territories now occupied by the Arab tribes in the vicinity of Aden; and, whilst referring you to Mr. Hammond's letter of the 24th ultimo,* I am to request that you will inform his Grace the Duke of Argyll, that copies of the despatches from the Political Agent at Aden, inclosed in your letters above referred to, will be forwarded to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, with instructions to press the Porte to issue further stringent instructions to the Governor-General in Yemen to put a stop to the proceedings complained of.

I am, &c.

(Signed) TENTERDEN.

No. 30.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 17, 1873.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 8th ultimo, I transmit to you copies of two further letters from the India Office with despatches from the Political Agent at Aden,† stating that no notice is taken by the new Governor-General in Yemen of the Porte's instructions to withdraw the Turkish troops from the countries now occupied by the Arab tribes in the vicinity of Aden; and I have to instruct your Excellency to communicate to Raschid Pasha the information contained in General Schneider's despatches, and to request that further stringent orders may be issued.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 31.

Mr. Merivale to Lord Tenterden.—(Received October 24.)

My Lord,

India Office, October 24, 1873.

WITH reference to previous correspondence respecting the proceedings of the Turks in the neighbourhood of Aden, I am directed by the Duke of Argyll to forward, for the

* Forwarding copy of No. 26.

† Nos. 27 and 28.

information of Earl Granville, copy of the telegrams noted on the margin, on the same subject; and I am to request that you will move his Lordship to state what steps he proposes taking in the matter, so that his Grace may be enabled to send early telegraphic instructions to the Viceroy of India, as requested in his telegram of 23rd instant, wherein it is stated that "matters are getting serious and instructions urgently requested."

I am, &c.
(Signed) HERMAN MERIVALE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 31.

Brigadier-General Schneider to the Dyke of Argyll.

(Telegraphic.)

Aden, October 20, 1873.

SOME followers of Abdoolla, brother of Sultan, having made an attack on Bazaar at Lahej, were beaten off by Sultan, with two killed, and ten wounded, on both sides. Sheikhs mediated between Sultan and his brother Abdoolla, who gives his son, and the son of Abdoolla Kureem, as hostages for good conduct. A detachment of about twenty-five Turkish soldiers from Shuka has entered and occupied the fortified house of Abdoolla in Lahej territory; and commanding officer asks Sultan to give hostages, as Abdoolla and the nephews have made their submission, and are Turkish subjects. Sultan declines. I have written to commanding officer, requiring him to vacate Lahej territory immediately, otherwise he will be answerable for consequences. Looking to conduct of Turkish officers, and disregard of orders from Ottoman Porte, I do not expect my letter will have effect. Commanding officer at Taizz meditates occupation of fort at Zaida, and has asked Sultan's permission to go there, which has been refused. I have recommended Sultan not to attack Turkish detachment in Abdoolla's house, as it would complicate matters; and commanding officer declares to Sultan he has had no hostile intention. If detachment is not withdrawn from Lahej, the time seems to have arrived to send troops there. I will dispatch an officer to Lahej, to support Sultan.

Copy sent to Government of India.

Inclosure 2 in No. 31.

Brigadier-General Schneider to the Duke of Argyll.

(Telegraphic.)

Aden, October 22, 1873.

TURKISH officer declines to remove Turkish detachment from Lahej territory, and states that he is there by order of Commander and Acting-Governor of Taizz to protect Abdoolla who is a subject of the Porte. In this emergency can Ottoman Porte be requested to send an order by telegraph to Governor of Taizz to care of Resident to withdraw troops from Howshebee country and Lahej. Copy to Government of India.

Inclosure 3 in No. 31.

The Viceroy of India to the Duke of Argyll.

(Telegraphic.)

Simla, October 23, 1873.

RESIDENT at Aden's telegram of 21st:—

"Matters at Aden are getting serious. I have authorized Resident to send troops to protect Sultan of Lahej but not to attack Turkish troops. Early orders are urgently required."

No. 32.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, October 25, 1873.

ADEN Resident states that Turkish Commander declines to withdraw his troops from Lahej, stating they are there by order of Acting-Governor of Taizz to protect

Sultan's brother Abdoolah. State this to Porte and express astonishment at failure of Ottoman Government to give effect to their assurances. You will press for immediate telegraphic instructions to new Governor to withdraw from Howshabee and Lahej.

No. 33.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received October 28.)

(Extract.)

Therapia, October 14, 1873.

IN consequence of a private letter from General Schneider, informing me that the new Governor of the Yemen had not withdrawn the troops from the Howshebee country, I made a fresh representation on the subject to the Porte; and renewed orders were sent to the Wali to abstain from all interference with the independent tribes, and holding him responsible for any hostile proceedings against them,

I have since spoken seriously to Raschid Pasha, warning him that, if the promise made to Her Majesty's Government on this matter is not observed, it will not be lightly regarded.

His Excellency said, that the orders to the Governor-General had been sufficiently distinct, and he could not account for their having been disregarded; but he was confident that those which had been repeated would produce their effect.

No. 34.

Mr. Merivale to Lord Tenterden.—(Received November 1.)

My Lord,

India Office, October 31, 1873.

WITH reference to previous correspondence, I am directed by the Duke of Argyll to forward, for the information of Earl Granville, copy of further papers respecting the proceedings of the Turks in the neighbourhood of Aden, and the steps taken by the Government of India in consequence thereof.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HERMAN MERIVALE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 34.

The Governor-General of India to the Duke of Argyll.

My Lord Duke.

Simla, October 2, 1873.

WE have the honour to invite your Grace's attention to a letter from the Resident at Aden, dated 26th August, 1873, as affording an illustration of the line of conduct pursued by the Turkish authorities in Yemen.

2. The Bombay Government authorized the Resident to issue the warning proposed by him, and we have approved their action.

We have, &c.

(Signed) NORTHBROOK.
NAPIER OF MAGDALA
R. TEMPLE.
B. H. ELLIS.
H. W. NORMAN.
A. HOBHOUSE.
E. C. BAYLEY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 34.

Brigadier-General Schneider to Mr. Gonne.

Sir,

Aden, August 26, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report that the Sultan of Lahej visited me yesterday and complained of the conduct of his brothers Abdoolah and Abdool Kureem, and of his nephew Fadhil, the son of the former.

2. It appears that the nephew was sent to Taizz and Sana without the permission of the Sultan, to make profession of obedience and submission to the Turkish authorities on behalf of the brothers Abdoollla and Abdool Kureem, and has brought back messages from the Pasha which are intended to lower the position of the Sultan in his territory.

3. I asked the Sultan why he had not summoned his brothers and nephew to his presence to give an account of their misconduct, on which he replied that he was afraid to do so, as they lived in a fortified house and would probably refuse to attend, when blood might be shed.

4. The Sultan observed that he must mark his sense of his brothers' disloyalty towards himself, and he proposed to do so by stopping their stipends for a time, and by directing that no one should cultivate their lands. I objected to the latter course, and pointed out to the Sultan that this would be punishing the cultivators; but I offered no opposition to the first measure, as I considered the treasonable acts of Abdoollla and Abdool Kureem should not be passed over.

5. I have advised the Sultan to issue the most peremptory orders to his brothers and nephew that they are to hold no communication with the Turkish authorities without his consent, and to say that, if they conducted themselves in any way calculated to undermine his authority, he will apply to the Resident to have them removed from Lahej.

6. I trust Government will allow me to convey a warning in its name, through the Sultan, to the brothers Abdoollla and Abdool Kureem and the nephew Fadhil that, if they persist in acting in a manner opposed to the wishes and orders of the ruling power in Lahej, Government will not hesitate to permit them to be deported from their country.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. W. SCHNEIDER.

Inclosure 3 in No. 34.

Brigadier-General Schneider to the Duke of Argyll.

(Telegraphic.)

Aden, October 27, 1873.

A FIELD force, composed of artillery, infantry, British and native, and sappers, 328 officers and men all told, under command of Colonel Mackenzie, marched on Lahej this morning, to support Sultan. Fifty sabres of Aden troop were at Lahej on 24th, with Captains Hunter and Gabb. Resident leaves this afternoon.

Government of India informed.

No. 35.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received November 8.)

My Lord,

Therapia, October 30, 1873.

YOUR Lordship's instruction of the 17th instant, and telegram of the 25th instant, relative to the continued presence of the Turkish troops in Lahej and other districts in the immediate neighbourhood of Aden, reached me on the same day.

I immediately instructed Mr. Pisani to bring the whole of the facts before the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and to press for telegraphic orders to the Governor-General of the Yemen to vacate immediately the Lahej and Howshebee territories; as also to express the astonishment of Her Majesty's Government at the failure of the Porte to carry out its repeated assurances.

I also furnished Mr. Pisani with a translation of the Governor's letter of the 27th of July to the Sultan of Lahej,* in which his Excellency pointed out in significant terms the advantages of submission to the Porte, and to the danger of persevering in the path of sedition.

At Raschid Pasha's own request, I subsequently supplied his Excellency with a French translation of the written instruction which I had given Mr. Pisani on the subject, and which he had already read out to him. I have now the honour to transmit a copy of it to your Lordship; as also of Mr. Pisani's report of his interview, in which he warned his Excellency, in accordance with instructions received on a previous occasion from your Lordship, that Her Majesty's Government would certainly not see with indifference an encroachment on the tribes in the vicinity of their possessions at Aden. His Excellency promised to bring the matter before the Cabinet, and urge the Minister of War to send the telegraphic orders requested by your Lordship.

* Inclosure 3 in No. 27.

In connection with this matter, I have further the honour to inclose in translation, and to call your Lordship's attention to, a Report from the Governor-General of Yemen to the Grand Vizier, dated August 6, and communicated to me by the Porte in Turkish just before the receipt of your Lordship's last instructions. It is therein stated that the inhabitants of the Howshebee country have, at their own desire, been accepted as subjects of the Porte, and that orders had been given to send, if necessary, a Turkish force into the district to preserve tranquillity and maintain the rights of the Porte, and that the only foundation which exists to justify the pretensions of this Embassy is the fact that the Chiefs of the tribes which dwell in the vicinity of Aden receive a little money from the British Government.

I have, &c.
(For Sir Henry Elliot),
(Signed) SIDNEY LOCOCK.

Inclosure 1 in No. 35.

Instructions to Mr. E. Pisani.

Therapia, October 26, 1873.

YOU will call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs and inform his Excellency that I have received instructions to communicate the following facts on the subject of the proceedings of the Ottoman civil and military authorities towards the Arab tribes in the vicinity of Aden.

On the 1st of July Her Majesty's Political Agent at Aden was able to report that he had to some extent succeeded in reassuring the Sultan of Lahej by communicating a portion of Ahmed Moohktar Pasha's letter in which he admitted having received orders from the Porte to respect the independence of Lahej. The Sultan, in replying to a letter from the late Governor, mentioned that he was aware of what had been written to the Resident. Thereupon the new Mushir, Ahmed Ayoob Pasha addressed a letter to the Sultan of Lahej which is being transmitted to the British Government, and a translation of which you will hand to his Excellency, in order that he may be able to judge how far it accords with the instructions of the Porte.

It contains in the latter part of it no very indistinct intimation that he will do well to make his submission to the Ottoman Government.

On the 19th August and again on the 17th September the Resident at Aden wrote to the new Governor Ahmed Ayoob Pasha mentioning that he was aware that his Excellency had been sent from Constantinople with instructions from the Sublime Porte to remove the Turkish troops from the Howshebee country, and expressing a trust that those instructions would be promptly acted upon.

On the 10th of this month Her Majesty's Government received a telegram from their Resident at Aden, stating that a reply had been received from Ahmed Ayoob Pasha ignoring the orders of the Porte, and announcing the annexation of the Howshebee country to the province of Taizz.

Lastly, Her Majesty's Government have just received another telegram from the British Resident reporting that the Turkish officer refuses to remove his troops from Lahej, on the ground that they are there by the order of the Acting Governor of the province of Taizz (to which the Governor had announced the annexation of the Lahej country) in order to protect Abdoolla, the Sultan's brother.

In communicating the above facts to his Excellency you will say that Her Majesty's Government are at a complete loss to understand their meaning. When they recollect the assurances that have been so repeatedly given by the Porte that positive orders were being sent to the Governor to withdraw the Ottoman troops and respect the independence of tribes around Aden with whom the British Government has Treaties, and who are moreover its stipendiaries, and when it connects those assurances with the acts of the very Governor who has been sent by the Porte to carry them into effect, their feeling is one of real astonishment.

You will request his Excellency to put me in a position to inform Her Majesty's Government in what view the Porte regards these fresh acts of the Governor of the Yemen, and will once again press for fresh telegraphic orders being sent for the immediate withdrawal of the Ottoman troops from the Howshebee and Lahej territories.

(For Sir Henry Elliot),
(Signed) SIDNEY LOCOCK.

Inclosure 2 in No. 35.

Mr. Pisani to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

Pera, October 29, 1873.

IN pursuance of your Excellency's instructions of the 26th instant, I called on Raschid Pasha, and informed him that instructions had reached Her Majesty's Embassy to communicate to the Porte certain facts on the subject of the civil and military authorities' conduct towards the Arab tribes in the vicinity of Aden.

After reading to him my instructions, I told his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government are at a loss to comprehend the meaning of the acts of the Government of Sana, after the repeated assurances of the Porte that orders were sent to the Government to withdraw the Ottoman troops from the house of Howshebee Sultan and to abstain from interfering with the independent tribes in the vicinity of Aden, and most urgently pressed his Excellency to move the Porte to issue telegraphic orders in the proper quarter for the immediate withdrawal of the Ottoman troops from Howshebee and Lahej territories.

I thought it expedient to remind his Excellency of what I told him at the time, that it was against the assumption of jurisdiction over the independent tribes in the neighbourhood of Aden and in alliance with us that Her Majesty's Government protested, long before the incident of Howshebee Sultan. I finally warned his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government will certainly not see with indifference what they consider an encroachment without adopting the measures which they may deem necessary.

Raschid Pasha having expressed a wish to be furnished with a French translation of my instructions for the consideration of his colleagues, I complied with his request.

He promised that he would lose no time in submitting the remarks of Her Majesty's Government in the first meeting of the Cabinet Council, and urge the Minister of War to send telegraphic orders to the military authorities of the Yemen to act in compliance with the demands of this Embassy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) E. PISANI.

Inclosure 3 in No. 35.

The Governor-General of Yemen to the Grand Vizier.

(Translation.)

August 6, 1873.

I HAVE made the necessary inquiries regarding the communication and pretensions of the British Embassy with reference to the sending of a coercive military force to certain parts of the Yemen territory, and opposing any interference with the normal administration of those parts, on the ground of their proximity to and relations with Aden.

Among these there is a district called Subeidjeh, some places on the coast side of which are, in fact, dependencies of the Kaza of Mocha, and the inhabitants have always been in a state of submission and tranquillity, whilst the inhabitants on the other side, led by their own inclination, and under the guidance of their Sheikhs and Imans, having decided on becoming subjects of the Porte are under the rule of the Kaimakan of Hedgrieh, who, in the exercise of his authority, levies the taxes and defrays the expenditure.

There is no necessity in consequence to send a military force to either of these districts. With regard to the small Nahib of Hawashib (Howshebee), the inhabitants of this district also having, at their own wish and desire, been accepted as subjects of the Porte, and being still governed as before by their own Mushir, Ali Mani Effendi, continue in a state of tranquillity and obedience. Therefore no necessity exists for employment of a coercive military force. But, as I was informed by the Mootasarif and the Commander of the troops at Nafr, that, owing to the eagerness manifested by the inhabitants of the last-mentioned district in placing themselves under the authority of the Porte, Fazil Mohsin, the Sheikh of Lahej, had become their enemy, and had commenced a system of persecution and encroachment, and that they had in consequence petitioned for their own protection, I wrote and recommended, in reply, that solely with the object of maintaining the rights of the Porte, and the tranquillity of the district, an adequate military force should be sent there in case of necessity.

Moreover, the above mentioned Sheikh Fazil, besides interfering vexatiously with the whole district of the Hawashib (Howshebee), has usurped the lands and encroached on the

rights of the inhabitants of the locality contiguous to Zaida, which is the property of the Moodeer Ali Mani Effendi, and the seat of the local Government. And as the complaints and murmurs of the people on this account are incessant, I have directed Sheikh Fazil to be civilly told, and made to understand, that if he has landed property in that district he will be allowed to maintain possession only on the condition of his not encroaching on the rights of others, and that he must either submit to the ordinances and authority of the Government or quit the country forthwith.

Notwithstanding, however, that most of the individual inhabitants of the districts referred to have manifested the wish to become Turkish subjects, they have, nevertheless, been left undisturbed in their former condition, and, as regards the relations entertained with the British Government by the tribes which dwell in the neighbourhood of Aden, this must consist of nothing but the fact that that Government gives and assigns a little money to the chiefs of the different tribes. We are, consequently, at a loss to understand here the real motive of the pretensions advanced by the British Embassy.

Abdoolla Mohsin, the elder brother of Fazil Mohsin, the Sheikh of Lahej, and another brother named Abdool Kerim, together with a number of their relations and dependents, spontaneously, and influenced solely by their zeal for Islamism, formerly enrolled themselves as Turkish subjects; and up to the present time have been firm and faithful in their allegiance to the Porte.

But, in consequence of the insults and persecution of their brother Sheikh Fazil, who has violently seized their lands and property, and encroached on their legal rights for a long time past, they have been petitioning for redress and protection, and have recently addressed a special letter to the Commander of the troops at Nafr. And Fazyl, the son of Abdoolla, and several notable members of the family, have been sent to Nafr, for the purpose of communicating personally on this subject.

These persons have reached Sana and having, together with the father and other relatives, taken refuge under the wing of the justice of the Sublime Porte, I have replied that, after their petition had been submitted to the Sultan, measures would be adopted in conformity with his Imperial commands.

No. 36.

Mr. Merivale to Lord Tenterden.—(Received November 14.)

My Lord,

India Office, November 13, 1873.

WITH reference to previous correspondence, I am directed by the Duke of Argyll to forward, for the information of Earl Granville, copy of a further despatch from the Resident at Aden, dated 11th October, respecting the proceedings of the Turks in the neighbourhood; as also a copy of a telegram from the Resident at Aden, dated 8th instant, on the same subject.

I am, &c.

(Signed) HERMAN MERIVALE.

P.S.—It is requested that the attention of Lord Granville may be directed to the suggestion contained in paragraph 2 of General Schneider's letter of 11th ultimo, respecting the letter from the Governor-General of Yemen.

H. M.

Inclosure 1 in No. 36.

Brigadier-General Schneider to the Duke of Argyll.

(Extract.)

Aden, October 11, 1873.

IN continuation of my letter of the 21st August and its annexment, I have the honour to transmit copy of my despatch of the 11th October, 1873, to the Government of Bombay, with its inclosures.

I also attach the original letter received from Ahmed Ayoob Pasha, the Governor-General of Yemen, in case your Grace should see fit to forward it, through the Foreign Office, to Constantinople.

Inclosure 2 in No. 36.

Brigadier-General Schneider to Mr. Gonne.

(Extract.)

Aden, October 11, 1873.

IN my letter of the 21st August last, I informed Government I had addressed Ahmed Ayoob Pasha, the newly-appointed Governor-General of Yemen, requesting him to withdraw the Turkish regular and irregular troops from the Howshebee country, agreeably to the orders he had received on the subject from the Ottoman Porte.

As no answer was received to the above communication up to the 16th September, I sent another letter to the Pasha on the 17th of the same month, to the following effect:—

“On the 19th August we had the pleasure to address your Excellency, which we forwarded through Mahomed Raschid Pasha, the Mootasarif of Taizz. We have received no reply to this communication, and fearing it may have miscarried, we now forward a copy thereof.

“Since addressing your Excellency we have received orders from Government to write and remind you of the assurances and instructions of your Government, and to require their fulfilment.

“We were favoured, some time ago, with a letter from Sir Henry Elliot, Her Britannic Majesty’s Ambassador at Constantinople, in which he informed us your Excellency had taken with you orders not to molest the Chiefs with whom the British Government has Treaties. And salutations.”

The reply of the Governor-General of Yemen to the above letter, translation of which is annexed, reached me on the 9th October, and its perusal will show that he quite ignores the orders and instructions he is supposed to have received from the Ottoman Porte, and he states that the Howshebee district has been annexed to the Government of Taizz. I reported this by telegraph, on the 10th of the month, to the Secretary of State for India and to his Excellency the Governor in Council.

It will also be observed that the Pasha refers to a house* and a garrison of troops at Zaida belonging to the Sultan of Lahej, and that he states he only admits the right of the Sultan to the occupation of this fort on condition of his obeying the orders of the local Government, as Zaida is in the centre of the Howshebee district.

I have explained to Government the circumstances under which the district of Zaida was ceded by Treaty to the Sultans of Lahej by the Howshebee, in the year 1868, and although the Sultan has not apparently cultivated any land beyond the place marked as Zaida in the map which accompanied Major-General Tremenhare’s Report of the 15th April, 1872, he has been in undisturbed possession of the country up to that point since the above date: that is to say, for several years before the Turks commenced the conquest of Yemen; and, therefore, the Pasha’s claim to exercise any jurisdiction over that part of the Howshebee district, even if its annexation to the province of Taizz were allowed, is simply preposterous.

I have only to record my conviction that, unless prompt and direct measures are adopted to insure the early withdrawal of Turkish troops from the Howshebee country, agreeably to the assurances given by the Ottoman Porte, it will only be a question of time to see all, if not a greater number, of the Chiefs around Aden make their submission to that Power.

As regards Ali bin Mookbil being appointed Member of Council at Taizz, I believe the statement to be wholly false. He is well known to be under restraint, and to be separated from his family at Dhali.

Copy of this letter has been sent to the Secretary of State, together with Ahmed Ayoob Pasha’s original letter in Arabic.

Inclosure 3 in No. 36.

Ahmed Ayoob Pasha to Brigadier-General Schneider.

(Translation.)

(After compliments.)

7 Shaaban, 1290. (Received October 9, 1873).

WE have received your letter of the 17th September, 1873, and the copy of a letter that was sent before. We have understood their contents. You write concerning the detachment of soldiers which were sent to Shuka by the order, and during the rule of the former Governor-General. This detachment is in the district of Zaida, a place which is the

* It is a small fort.

centre of the Howshebee country, and which is annexed to the Government of Taizz. If the Shuka to which you refer is the place within the limits of the Howshebee country, near Zaida, where the Sheikh of Lahej has built a house, and placed a garrison, be it known that such a house, although found in such a place (Zaida), of course belongs to the above-mentioned man (the Sheikh of Lahej). It is lawful that such house and garrison should remain under his control, and his real rights are not to be disputed; but the persons who live in the above-mentioned house must either obey the orders of the local Government, which will be given according to the law, or leave the house. As to the Ameer Ali Mookbil, if he is the man who was the Sheikh of Dhali, the country which joins the district of Kattaba, he is now in Taizz, and is appointed a Member of Council. It will not be said that he is stopped. We write this to you according to friendship. May you remain in good health.

Inclosure 4 in No. 36.

Brigadier-General Schneider to the Duke of Argyll.

My Lord Duke,

Aden, October 20, 1873.

I DO myself the honour to transmit a copy of my despatch of to-day's date, to the address of the Government of Bombay.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. W. SCHNEIDER.

Inclosure 5 in No. 36.

Brigadier-General Schneider to Mr. Gonne.

Sir,

Aden, October 20, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report that, shortly after I had informed the Sultan of Lahej that Government approved of a warning being conveyed to his brother and nephew in its name, to the effect referred to in paragraph 6 of my letter of the 26th August last, the Sultan paid me a second visit, and asked me to assist him in apprehending the above persons.

2. I pointed out to the Sultan that he was the ruler of his country, and should be able to perform his own police duties. I added, that the interference of Government in such a matter would weaken his authority among his people, and that I was sure Government would not consent to take part in the proceedings against his brothers and nephews, beyond receiving them in, and deporting them from, Aden.

3. The Sultan left me quite satisfied, and said he would watch for a favourable opportunity before acting.

4. It now appears that the nephews, Mohsin and Fadhil, paid another visit to Taizz, notwithstanding the prohibition given by the Sultan to his brothers, Abdoola and Abdool Kurreem; and on the return of the former a few days ago, some of Abdoola's followers made an attack on the bazaar at Lahej. The Sultan reports he drove off the aggressors, of whom seven were wounded, and one killed; and that the others had taken refuge in the fortified house occupied by the brothers, who doubtless prompted this outrage. On the Sultan's side, three Arabs were wounded; one has since died.

5. The Sultan had begged me to supply him with some powder and shot for his guns before this occurrence, and I was hesitating to do so; but on a renewal of his application after the attack, I thought it advisable to support him. I have accordingly given him, on payment, 400 lbs. of gunpowder, and some shot of various calibres, which should strengthen his position, and enable him to act against his brothers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. W. SCHNEIDER.

P.S.—Since writing this despatch, I have received a letter from the Sultan of Luhej, in which he informs me that through the mediation of his Sheikhs and Seyds, he has accepted his nephews, Mohsin and Fadhil, sons respectively of his brothers, Abdoola and Abdool Kurreem, as hostages for their good conduct, and that he has suspended hostile proceedings against them.

J. W. S.

Inclosure 6 in No. 36.

Brigadier-General Schneider to the Duke of Argyll.

(Telegraphic.)

Aden, November 8, 1873.

NO signs at present of withdrawal of Turkish troops from Lahej and Howshebee country. Twenty in Abdoolla's house with officer, forty at Shuka. Abdoolla endeavouring to negotiate indirectly with Sultan has been told no communication can be held with him while Turks occupy his house. All quiet at Lahej and around Aden. Not a case of sickness among troops. Government informed.

No. 37.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 13, 1873.

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that I approve of the steps you have taken, in compliance with my instructions regarding the occupation of the Lahej and Howshebee territories by Turkish troops, as reported in your Excellency's despatch of the 30th ultimo.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 38.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, November 14, 1873.

WHAT answer has been given to the representation you made to the Porte, reported in your No. 388 of the 30th October? Send immediate reply.

No. 39.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received November 16.)

(Telegraphic.)

Therapia, November 15, 1873, 6.20 P.M.

PORTE promises instructions for immediate withdrawal of troops from Howshebee shall be sent, and engages that these instructions shall be carried out.

No. 40.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received November 17.)

(Telegraphic.)

Therapia, November 16, 1873, 5.15 P.M.

TELEGRAM to Governor of Yemen has been dispatched. He is instructed immediately to withdraw from Howshebee and from any other part of Lahej where he may have dispatched troops.

No. 41.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received November 18.)

(Extract.)

Therapia, November 7, 1873.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 30th ultimo, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that when I saw Raschid Pasha on Monday I spoke very seriously to him of the line which had been adopted by the Turkish authorities in the Yemen with regard to the Arab tribes with whom Her Majesty's Government had Treaties.

Their proceedings had been so much in contradiction with the formal assurances given by himself on repeated occasions, that it would be impossible for me even to attempt to give your Lordship a satisfactory explanation of them.

The instructions with which we had been made acquainted, as those which the new Governor-General had received for his guidance, had been treated as so much waste paper. Her Majesty's Government had given a ready confidence to the assurances of the Porte; but finding it misplaced, they might now have to consider what course they may be compelled to follow with regard to the independent tribes, in whose incorporation into the Empire they are not disposed to acquiesce.

Raschid Pasha betrayed much embarrassment in answering, and seemed conscious that the complaint of Her Majesty's Government was well founded.

He asked if I had spoken to the Grand Vizier on the subject, and I said that I had just left his Highness, but that, knowing him to be pressed for time to make certain financial arrangements which brooked no delay, I had merely alluded to it, and observed that I was about to have a serious conversation with the Minister for Foreign Affairs upon the matter.

Raschid Pasha said that it was determined to send Kiamil Pasha, the Governor of Jerusalem, to the Yemen in the character of a Commissioner, to keep the Porte informed of the political position of the province, and promised that orders to the Governor-General not to molest the tribes in question should be forwarded.

I said I was glad to receive this promise from him, although its value was considerably diminished by the fact of its having already been made, more than once, without being followed by any result.

No. 42.

Mr. Merivale to Lord Tenterden.—(Received November 18.)

My Lord,

India Office, November 18, 1873.

WITH reference to previous correspondence, I am directed by the Duke of Argyll to forward, for the information of Earl Granville, copy of telegram, dated 18th instant, received from the Resident at Aden, respecting the proceedings of the Turkish authorities in the neighbourhood of Aden, together with some correspondence on the same subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) HERMAN MERIVALE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 42.

Brigadier-General Schneider to the Duke of Argyll

(Telegraphic.)

Aden, November 18, 1873.

TURKISH troops not withdrawn from Lahej and Howshebee country. Izzul Effendi Pasha with other Turkish officials arrived Lahej on 16th with letter from Governor Yemen, asking Resident to assist in making peace between Sultan and his brother Abdoolla. Pasha informed that British Government awaits withdrawal Turkish troops from Lahej and Howshebee country, agreeably to orders and assurances given by Ottoman Porte; that Sultan does not desire Turkish interference in settlement of affairs between himself and Abdoolla, and that unconditional submission of latter to Sultan is required. Pasha urges that Abdoolla is a Turkish subject, and therefore Turkish troops came to protect him against the Sultan. The absurdity of this position was pointed out to Pasha, who states he will report to Governor. Pasha admits orders have been received not to interfere with Lahej. Says no orders have been received as regards Howshebee and other Chiefs in Treaty relations with Government, which must be false. Government informed.

Inclosure 2 in No. 42.

Brigadier-General Schneider to the Duke of Argyll.

My Lord Duke,

Aden, October 25, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to forward a copy of my despatch dated 22nd instant to the address of the Government of Bombay.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. W. SCHNEIDER.

Inclosure 3 in No. 42.

Brigadier-General Schneider to Mr. Gonne.

(Extract.)

Aden, October 22, 1873.

AFTER writing my Report of the 20th October, the Sultan of Lahej paid me a hasty visit to represent that a detachment of Turkish troops has entered his brother Abdoola's house in his territory, and that the Commanding Officer had sent him a message asking him to release his nephews Mohsin and Fadhil, who had been given by Abdoola as hostages for his good conduct, and that of the other brother Abdool Kureem.

The Sultan explained more fully what has taken place in Lahej, and informed me that, after the skirmish in the bazaar, commenced by his brother Abdoola's followers, he had invested his house with the intention of capturing him and other male members of the family, who persisted in acting contrary to his wishes and orders, and that it was only at the mediation of his Sheikhs and Seyds that he consented to suspend operations against them.

The brother Abdoola after having given hostages, seems to have written for assistance to the Commanding Officer at Shuka, who thereupon entered Lahej and billeted twenty-five Turkish soldiers in his house, and sent a message to the Sultan that the brothers Abdoola and Abdool Kureem and the nephews Mohsin and Fadhil had made their submission and were Turkish subjects. The Commanding Officer further said he had come for no hostile purpose; that he was well aware that Lahej was under British protection, and that the Ottoman Government had consented to leave him undisturbed; that the English and the Turks were brethren, and were not likely to come to blows in his cause. The Commanding Officer also declared that if the hostages were not given up, he would write to Taizz for orders, when more troops would be billeted in Abdoola's house.

The Sultan then showed me a letter he had received from the Commanding Officer of the troops at Taizz in which he said the Ramazan was approaching; that the Turkish detachment at Shuka was inconveniently crowded, and asking permission to billet some of them at Zaida where the Sultan has a small fort and garrison. I advised the Sultan to refuse this permission, and to mention in his reply that he was aware the Ottoman Government had ordered the withdrawal of troops from the Howshebee district.

I also advised the Sultan to refuse to give the hostages back, and to avoid making any attack against the Turkish detachment. This last caution was unnecessary, for I saw at once he had no wish to come into collision with it, and relied on the assistance of Government to free him from his present position.

I addressed both the Mootasarif at Taizz and the Commanding Officer of the Turkish detachment in Abdoola's house regarding their proceedings, which I again informed them were entirely opposed to the orders and instructions issued by the Ottoman Government.

Captain Hunter, my first assistant, returned from the African coast on the morning of the 21st, and I sent him the same day to Lahej to reassure the Sultan and to support and advise him. If the detachment was not withdrawn before his arrival, he will explain to the Commanding Officer the absurdity of the position taken up by Turkish officials, viz., that if persons residing in Lahej territory, whoever they may be, make profession of obedience to the Ottoman Government and commit crimes and misdemeanors in the territory, and are punished by the ruling Power, that the Ottoman Government is justified in sending its troops to rescue and protect the offenders.

Copy of this letter will be sent to the Secretary of State for India.

No. 43.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, November 19, 1873.

RESIDENT at Aden telegraphs, November 18:—

"Turkish troops still in Howshebee and Lahej. Application has been made by the Turks to Resident at Aden, to put a stop to disputes between Sultan and his brother. Resident replied Turkish troops must first be withdrawn and Sultan does not want Turkish interference. Turks answer that Abdoolah is a Turkish subject and they are there to defend him."

No. 44.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 20, 1873.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch of the 7th instant, and I have to acquaint you that I approve the language held by you to Raschid Pasha on the Yemen question as reported therein.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 45.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received November 24.)

(Extract.)

Therapia, November 14, 1873.

SINCE the date of my despatch of the 7th instant, I have had several serious conversations with the Grand Vizier and Raschid Pasha on the continued occupation of the Howshebee country by the Ottoman troops; and I communicated to them extracts from the telegrams of the Viceroy of India, inclosed in your Lordship's despatch of the instant,* to convince them how much in earnest Her Majesty's Government were in the matter.

At my last interview, Raschid Pasha having said that the telegram to the Governor-General should at once be sent, I asked what assurance I could give to Her Majesty's Government that these instructions would be more faithfully executed than the last, and his Excellency said that the decision had been formally taken in the Council of Ministers and could not be disregarded.

No. 46.

Raschid Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, November 27.)

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, le 26 Novembre, 1873.

L'ENVOI d'Aden d'un détachement de 500 soldats pour empêcher l'occupation de Léhadj par les troupes Impériales est une mesure qui ne saurait être attribuée qu'à un malentendu provenant de l'incident d'un Cheikh de Léhadj qui avait eu recours aux autorités Impériales, et à la disposition de qui celles-ci ont cru à tort devoir mettre, sur sa demande, une escorte de zaptiés. Il est probable que la présence de quelques militaires sur le territoire de Léhadj ait éveillé l'attention des autorités Britanniques, et revêtu à leurs yeux le caractère d'un fait concordant avec des rapports exagérés. Or, ainsi que Sir Henry Elliot en a déjà reçu l'assurance, le Gouvernement Impérial n'a ni occupé ni même eu la pensée d'occuper ce district. Cela est si vrai que la Sublime Porte, aussitôt informée des interprétations désagréables qui ont été la suite de l'incident ci-dessus, s'est empressée de prescrire par télégraphe et catégoriquement aux autorités compétentes et aux troupes Impériales d'éviter dans leur attitude tout ce qui pourrait donner même une apparence de réalité à ces interprétations.

Veillez entretenir Lord Granville de ce qui précède, lui donner les assurances les plus formelles sur la sincérité de nos intentions, et lui démontrer l'inutilité d'une mesure qu'aucune nécessité ne commande.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, November 26, 1873.

THE despatch from Aden of a detachment of 500 soldiers to prevent the occupation of Lahej by the Imperial troops is a measure which can only be attributed to a misunderstanding arising from the incident of a Sheik of Lahej having applied to the Imperial authorities, who wrongly thought it their duty to place at his disposal, on his request, an escort of police ("zaptiés"). It is probable that the presence of some soldiers in the territory of Lahej has aroused the attention of the British authorities, and has confirmed in

* Forwarding copy of No. 31.

their judgment the character of an act agreeing with exaggerated reports. But as Sir H. Elliot has already been assured, the Imperial Government has neither occupied nor had any idea of occupying this district. This is true, as the Sublime Porte no sooner informed of the disagreeable interpretations consequent on the above incident, hastened to telegraph categorically to the competent authorities and to the Imperial troops to avoid in their attitude all that could give even an appearance of reality to these interpretations.

Be good enough to inform Lord Granville of the above, and give him the most formal assurances of the sincerity of our intentions, and prove to him the uselessness of a measure which is not required by any necessity.

No. 47.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 27, 1873.

THE Turkish Ambassador at this Court handed to me to-day the communication of which I inclose a copy,* and asked me whether, now that the affair of the occupation of the Lahej or Howshebee countries by Turkish troops is settled, the British force dispatched from Aden would retire.

I reminded Musurus Pasha that, for one reason or another, the previous promises of the Porte had not been fulfilled; that after the matter was completely settled, I did not imagine that there would be any object for English troops to remain, but that I would communicate with the Duke of Argyll on the subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 48.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received November 28.)

My Lord,

Therapia, November 16, 1873.

IN reply to your Lordship's telegram of the 14th instant, I had the honour to inform you yesterday that the Porte had promised that orders should at once be sent to the Governor-General of the Yemen for the immediate evacuation of the Howshebee country, and that they had engaged that those instructions should be executed.

I am now enabled to transmit to your Lordship a translation of the telegram that has been dispatched to the Governor-General, desiring him to withdraw his troops from the Howshebee, and any other part of Lahej to which they may have been sent.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 48.

The Grand Vizier to the Governor-General of Yemen.

(Translation.)
(Telegraphic.)

November 15, 1873.

I HAVE understood from your last communication that, on account of Lahej having no concern with the district Howshebee, and also owing to the request of some of the Sheikhs of the country, a military and police (zaptiehs) force had been dispatched by you to that locality.

In my opinion, you have acted under a misapprehension in sending troops there; you are consequently instructed to withdraw immediately those troops and Zaptiehs, as well as any others which may have been sent to any other part of Lahej, and to report to me the fact of your having acted according to this instruction.

No. 49.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, November 29, 1873.

YOUR telegram of 16th is obscure. Have orders been given to withdraw from Howshebee and Lahej and from countries of other tribes named by the Government of India.

No. 50.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received December 1.)

My Lord,

Therapia, November 21, 1873.

I COMMUNICATED yesterday to Raschid Pasha the substance of your Lordship's telegram of the 19th, in reference to the continued occupation of the Howshebee country by the Ottoman troops; and his Excellency replied, that he hoped that we might consider the incident as completely terminated by the instructions that had been sent, and which will insure the evacuation of the territory in question, as Howshebee was specifically mentioned in them.

I said that, to avoid future misunderstanding, I should wish to be distinctly informed whether the present instructions were to be understood as applying to the country of the whole of the tribes having Treaties with us, of which I had furnished him with the list, and which the Porte had promised not to molest.

Raschid Pasha replied that such was the meaning of his instructions.

I trust, therefore, that no further difficulties may now arise; for, while I entertain no doubt of the sincerity of the assurances of the Grand Vizier and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, they will, I believe, now have sufficient authority to insure their being observed.

I do not attempt to conceal from the Turkish Ministers the impression that must have been produced upon Her Majesty's Government by their late proceedings.

Many months ago a formal engagement had been taken by the Porte, and accepted in good faith by Her Majesty's Government, who, having protested when they found that it was not fulfilled, cannot but have expected that the Sultan's Government would at once and without hesitation redeem their promise, and express regret at the delay which had occurred.

Instead of this, unless I am entirely misinformed, the question of the expediency of maintaining or withdrawing the troops seems again to have been discussed, as though it were a matter upon which the Porte was still free to decide, and, although Her Majesty's Government will learn with pleasure that the troops are to be withdrawn, the decision will not inspire them with the same confidence in any future assurances that they may receive from the Porte, as would have been the case if it had been come to on the simple ground of being done in redemption of a former engagement.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 51.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, December 3, 1873.

HOW long will it take for the instructions to reach the Governor of Yemen?

No. 52.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 4, 1873.

MUSURUS PASHA called upon me to-day, and requested to be informed whether Her Majesty's Government had any reply to give to the suggestions he had made on the

27th ultimo, in conformity with Raschid Pasha's telegraphic instructions, that the British force might be withdrawn from the territories of the Sultan of Lahej.

I replied that it appeared, by a telegraphic despatch received on the 2nd instant from the Resident at Aden, that the Turkish forces had not yet withdrawn, either from Lahej, or from Shuka in the Howshebee district, and that the land two miles south of Zaida was being cultivated by the Howshebee tribe, who were supported by the presence of the Turkish Agent and of Turkish troops.

I said that I thought that this report of the continued presence of the Turkish forces was a sufficient answer to his inquiry. I could only ascribe their not having withdrawn to some unexpected delay which must have occurred in the transmission of the instructions which had been sent from Constantinople.

I requested him again to represent to his Government how serious was our reason for complaint, that the assurances repeated during the course of the year by the Sublime Porte had been so completely unfulfilled.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 53.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, December 9, 1873, 4.45 P.M.*

FOLLOWING telegram received from Resident at Aden, dated December 6:—

"Turks have withdrawn from Lahej and Shuka. Country cleared of Turkish troops between Lahej and Taizz. No occasion for reinforcements."

No. 54.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, December 9, 1873, 5 P.M.*

TWO brothers of Lahej Sultan have surrendered this morning to Resident, and have been sent as State prisoners to Aden pending the pleasure of Her Majesty's Government. Their forts are in hands of British troops, and will be destroyed. Pacification complete. Anticipating Government sanction, Resident will deal with Howshebee Sultan at an early date.

No. 55.

Sir Henry Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received December 12.)

My Lord, *Therapia, November 30, 1873.*

THE divergence upon which your Lordship remarks in your telegram of the 29th instant between the terms of telegraphic instructions to the Governor-General of the Yemen, and the previous promises of the Porte to abstain from aggression against all the Arab tribes near Aden which have treaties with Great Britain, had not escaped my attention.

My despatch of the 21st instant, which having been forwarded by post on the 22nd must be on the point of reaching your Lordship's hands, contains a report of the conversation I had had on the subject with Raschid Pasha who assured me that the late instructions are to be understood as applying to the country of all the tribes in question.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

I have, &c.

No. 56.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received December 12.)

My Lord, *Therapia, December 2, 1873.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a note that I have addressed to Raschid Pasha requesting him, with a view to prevent future misunderstanding, to send further

instructions to the Governor-General of the Yemen, stating distinctly that the orders to evacuate the districts of Lahej and Howshebee, apply equally to the territories of the other Arab tribes which have treaties with Her Majesty's Government.

I saw his Excellency yesterday before he had received the note, and having communicated the substance of your Lordship's telegram of the 29th ultimo, I obtained from him the promise that instructions, such as I asked for, should at once be sent by telegraph to the Governor-General.

He explained the mention of Lahej and Howshebee by name by saying that he was not aware of there being districts belonging to the other tribes that were occupied by the Ottoman troops.

The Porte, he repeated, had every intention of adhering faithfully to the resolution it had announced in reference to the tribes in question, and he hoped Her Majesty's Government would therefore also withdraw the troops which had been sent from Aden.

I said I had no information respecting these troops; but I had already warned his Excellency not to be surprised if in consequence of the non-execution by the Ottoman Commanders of the promises that had been made by the Porte, Her Majesty's Government should think it necessary to adopt measures for the protection of the threatened districts.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 56.

Sir H. Elliot to Raschid Pasha.

Sir,

Therapia, November 30, 1873

HAVING duly forwarded to Her Majesty's Government a copy of the telegraphic instructions which your Excellency had the goodness to communicate to me, by which the Governor-General of the Yemen was directed to withdraw the troops from the Howshebee territory, I have received a telegram from Earl Granville, pointing out that the wording of those orders do not make it clear that they apply to the country of the whole of those chiefs having Treaties with Great Britain whom the Sublime Porte, in July last, engaged not to molest.

Although your Excellency, when I pointed out the indistinctness of the telegram, assured me that the orders were to be understood as applying to the country of all the chiefs in question, it is so necessary to prevent the recurrence of any further misunderstanding, that your Excellency will, I hope, see the propriety of despatching such additional instructions to the Governor-General as shall leave him without the possibility of doubt on the subject.

I would beg your Excellency to believe that I make this request, not as implying the slightest doubt of the intentions and meaning of the Sublime Porte, as conveyed to me by your Excellency, but solely with the view of guarding against the occurrence of the misunderstanding which occurred when the former instructions were sent.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 57.

Raschid Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated by Musurus Pasha, December 12.)

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, Décembre 11, 1873.

LE Gouverneur-Général du Yémen informe la Sublime Porte, par un télégramme en date du 26 Novembre, de l'envoi aux autorités locales d'ordres catégoriques pour l'évacuation par les troupes Impériales du territoire de Havachib.

No. 58.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 17, 1873.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch of the 2nd instant, and I have to express to you my approval of the note which you addressed to Raschid Pasha respecting

the withdrawal of Turkish troops from Lahej and Howshebee, copy of which was inclosed in your despatch.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 59.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received December 22.)

My Lord,

Therapia, December 5, 1873.

UPON receiving your Lordship's telegram of the 2nd instant, I endeavoured to ascertain how long a telegram from hence to the Governor-General of the Yemen would probably be in transmission, but nothing at all precise was known at the Porte.

I found, however, that they take about a week in coming, while those from Constantinople are likely to take longer, having to be sent by messenger from Aden, who would probably not be so expeditious as those sent by the Governor-General.

According to a recent letter from the "Times" correspondent at Aden, telegrams to the Governor-General are forwarded by boat to Hodeida and then by messenger to Sana, from whence he has to transmit his orders to the Commanders of the troops of occupation.

The Porte appears convinced that the late orders will at once be executed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 60.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received December 22.)

(Extract.)

Therapia, December 7, 1873.

HAVING met the Grand Vizier yesterday at the Persian Legation, I again took the opportunity of speaking to him of the serious aspect which had been given to the question of the Arab tribes by the neglect of the Porte to fulfil the engagements taken to Her Majesty's Government in reference to them several months ago, and to the difficulty in avoiding a conflict if the Governor-General of the Yemen were now to hesitate in carrying out the last orders.

He said he felt no uneasiness on the subject, as he was convinced that by the present movement the Turkish troops must be withdrawn.

No. 61.

Mr. Merivale to Lord Tenterden.—(Received January 12.)

(Extract.)

India Office, January 12, 1874.

I TAKE this opportunity of forwarding, for Earl Granville's information, further copies of correspondence on the subject of the general affairs of Aden.

Inclosure 1 in No. 61.

Brigadier-General Schneider to the Duke of Argyll.

My Lord Duke,

Aden, December 8, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to forward a copy of my despatch, dated Lahej, the 7th instant, to the address of the Government of Bombay.

I have, &c.
(For Brigadier-General Schneider),
(Signed) E. V. STACE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 61.

Brigadier-General Schneider to Mr. Gonne.

Sir,

Lahej, December 7, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report that the Turkish troops evacuated Lahej and the Howshebee country on the 4th and 6th December respectively, I arrived at the former place on the evening of the 5th idem, and informed Abdoolla bin Mahsin that I wished to see him the following day. He was told that the Resident would guarantee his safe return to his fort.

2. Abdoolla bin Mohsin wrote in reply that he would gladly visit the Resident to state his grievances and he asked to be escorted by Captain Hunter.

3. He was brought to my quarters at 12 o'clock on the 6th December by the above officer, accompanied by his brother Abdool Kurreem and his son Fudhil.

4. Abdoollah then proceeded to state his grounds for complaint, which were in effect that he was the eldest brother of the family, that he had not fair division of the Lahej territory and the Government subsidy, and that he ought to exercise power as well as the Sultan.

5. I pointed out to him that there could only be one ruler in a country and that the present Sultan had been elected to reign by the suffrages of the Sheikhs and Sayeeds of the principality, and that he, his son and brother, were subjects of the Sultan, and had committed a great crime in rebelling against his authority and seeking the intervention of the Turks, instead of applying to the Resident for redress if he, and those with him, considered they had been wronged.

6. Abdoollah replied to this that he had not addressed the Resident as he had never been noticed or recognized by that functionary, and he referred, with some bitterness, to a slight he said he had received from a former Resident who had refused his hand when he extended it for the usual friendly salutations. I reminded him that I was not responsible for this act, and that I had sent him a warning against continuing to act in opposition to the Sultan's wishes by holding communications with the Turks, and Ali-bin-Mana the Howshebee, who was his brother's enemy.

7. Abdoollah replied that he had felt himself in such a strait that he accepted the assistance of any one against the Sultan, and he begged the clemency of Government for his conduct.

8. I listened patiently to everything Abdoollah had to say, and I then told him that his making his submission to the Turks, and calling their troops to his aid to invade Lahej territory after he had given hostages for future good conduct, had caused grave complications, and had given much trouble to the British Government, and that his acts could not be passed over, and I informed him the Resident required him, with his brother Abdool Kurreem and his son, to make their unconditional submission by 4 o'clock that afternoon, and also to make over the occupation of his fortified houses at the same hour to British troops.

9. Abdoollah was taken by surprise at these conditions, but I stated that they could not be abated one hair, and that, if not complied with by the time named, British troops would invest and capture his forts by force of arms. He demurred for a while, protesting that he, Abdool Kurreem, and his son, could not forsake their families, and that they would rather die under the ruins of their houses than submit to such humiliating terms.

10. I remarked to Abdoollah that the British Government did not war with women and children, and that he might rely on their families being treated in a manner befitting their position, and that this duty would be undertaken by Fudhil bin Ali, a nephew of the Sultan, with the permission of the latter.

11. After a little consultation among themselves, Abdoollah, on behalf of himself, his brother, and son, accepted unconditionally the terms offered to him, and he said he was prepared to go to Aden as a prisoner, with his son and Abdool Kurreem, and to make over his forts at once to British troops.

12. I accordingly ordered a detachment of troops, British and native, to parade for the purpose, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Edwards, and they were marched to the forts before 3 o'clock, accompanied by my Assistant, Captain Hunter, and the brother Abdoollah, Abdool Kurreem, and Fudhil bin Abdalla. The former ordered his garrison to vacate, which was done with great demonstrations of delight by the Arabs, and the troops took possession.

The families left at dusk, the aged mother of Abdoollah being carried on a dhoolie, and shortly afterwards Abdoollah and his son and Abdool Kurreem were taken to Aden by

Captain Hunter with an escort of the Aden troop, where they will await the orders of Government for their disposal.

14. I inspected the forts in the evening, and am satisfied they could only have been reduced by powerful artillery and mortars, owing to the great thickness of the walls and to their being built of white sun-burnt bricks. This morning the forts were entirely dismantled, and openings have been made in the walls, so that they are quite untenable, and I await the arrival of the Executive Engineer to further destroy a place which has been a standing menace against the Sultan of Lahej for the last ten years, and which enabled Abdoollah and other members of the family residing there to rebel against his authority with comparative impunity.

15. I anticipate the best results from the retribution that has overtaken Abdoollah, Abdool Kurreem, and Fudhil bin Abdoollah, and the people around recognize the influence and strength of the British Government, which has, apparently without an effort, not only forced Turkish troops to withdraw, with great loss of prestige, from positions they desired to occupy, but has also been able to inflict in a few hours a terrible punishment on the Chief who has hitherto defied the authority of the ruler of the country.

16. Copy of this letter will be forwarded to the Secretary of State for India.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. W. SCHNEIDER.

TURKEY. No. 1 (1874).

CORRESPONDENCE respecting Turkish Proceedings
in the Neighbourhood of Aden.

*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Com-
mand of Her Majesty. 1874.*

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

POST OFFICE (EAST INDIA, CHINA, AND JAPAN MAILS CONTRACT).

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 16 July 1874;—for,

COPY “of a CONTRACT dated the 8th day of July 1874, between the Postmaster General and the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company for the Conveyance of the EAST INDIA, CHINA, and JAPAN MAILS, together with COPY of a TREASURY MINUTE, dated the 14th day of July 1874, thereon.”

Treasury Chambers, }
16 July 1874. }

W. H. SMITH.

PENINSULAR AND ORIENTAL COMPANY.—CONTRACT of 8th July 1874.

EAST INDIA CHINA AND JAPAN MAILS.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT made this 8th day of July 1874 between the Right Honourable John James Robert Manners (commonly called Lord John Manners) Her Majesty's Postmaster General for the time being on behalf of Her Majesty of the one part and the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company of the other part witness that the Company for themselves their successors and assigns hereby covenant with the Postmaster General his executors administrators successors and assigns Her Majesty's Postmasters General for the time being in manner following (that is to say) :—

1. For all purposes of these presents the term “ mails ” shall be understood to comprehend all boxes bags or packets of letters newspapers books or printed papers and all other articles which under the existing regulations of the Post Office are transmissible by the post without regard either to the place to which they may be addressed or to that in which they may have originated and all empty bags empty boxes and other stores and articles used or to be used in carrying on the Post Office service which shall be sent by or to or from the Post Office.

Definition of term
“ mails.”

2. If at any time the Postmaster General shall desire to modify the existing regulations as to articles transmissible by the post either by prohibiting the transmission by the post of the articles which are now transmissible thereby or by authorising the transmission by the post of articles which are not now transmissible thereby he shall be at liberty so to do on giving reasonable notice to the company and in case the effect of such modification shall be to diminish the burden of the services hereinafter agreed to be performed a deduction shall be made from the annual subsidy hereinafter stipulated to be paid to the company and in case the effect of such modification shall be to increase the burden of the services hereinafter agreed to be performed an addition shall be made to such subsidy and the amount of such deduction or addition as the case may be shall be settled by agreement between the Postmaster General and the Company or failing agreement by arbitration in manner hereinafter provided.

Power to modify
regulations as to
articles transmissible
by post.

3. The Company will at all times during the continuance of this Agreement or so long as the whole or any part of the services hereby agreed to be performed ought to be performed in pursuance thereof provide keep seaworthy and

Company to provide
vessels.

CONTRACT FOR THE CONVEYANCE OF THE

and in complete repair and readiness for the purpose of conveying as hereinafter provided all Her Majesty's mails which shall at any time and from time to time by the Postmaster General or any of his officers or agents be required to be conveyed as hereinafter provided on all the routes specified in the first Schedule hereunder written a sufficient number of good substantial and efficient steam vessels of adequate power and speed and supplied with first rate appropriate steam engines and in all respects suited to the performance of the services herein agreed to be performed within the respective times herein stipulated.

Vessels to be furnished with machinery, tackle, &c.

And manned with certificated officers, &c.

And a medical officer, &c.

Also a small steamer at Bombay.

Vessels unfit to be withdrawn when required.

Equipments officers and crew may be inspected.

Periods in which the mails are to be conveyed between certain places.

4. The vessels to be provided under this Agreement shall be always furnished with all necessary and proper tackle stores oil tallow fuel provisions machinery engines anchors cables boats fire-pumps and all other proper and requisite means for extinguishing fire lightning-conductors charts chronometers proper nautical instruments and all other furniture and apparel and whatsoever else may be requisite and necessary for equipping the said vessels and rendering them constantly efficient for the said services and manned with competent officers with appropriate certificates granted pursuant to the Act 17 & 18 Vict. c. 104, or to the Act or Acts in force for the time being relative to the granting certificates to officers in the Merchant Service and also with competent engineers and a sufficient crew of able seamen and other men and with a competent surgeon to be subject to the approval of the Postmaster General.

5. The Company shall land and embark the mails at Bombay by means of a small steam vessel and accordingly the Company shall in addition to the vessels hereinbefore mentioned provide a small steamer which shall be kept at Bombay in complete repair and ready for landing and embarking the mails. And also in addition to the vessels hereinbefore mentioned the Company shall provide and maintain in complete repair an efficient tug steamer which shall be kept in the Suez Canal for the purpose of assisting the other vessels of the Company in speedily and safely passing through the said canal in the performance of the services herein agreed to be performed.

6. If Her Majesty's Postmaster General shall consider any of the Company's vessels unfit for the conveyance of mails he may by writing under his hand or under the hand of the Secretary or one of the Assistant Secretaries of the Post Office require the said Company to show cause why such vessel should not be withdrawn from the service and unless within six weeks after such requisition the said Company shall show cause to the contrary to the satisfaction of the said Postmaster General he may at any time after the expiration of the said period of six weeks by writing under his hand or under the hand of the Secretary or one of the Assistant Secretaries of the Post Office declare such vessel to be unfit for the conveyance of mails and after such declaration shall have been made it shall not be lawful for the said Company to employ such vessel in the performance of this contract. And in order to determine whether the said Postmaster General shall be justified in declaring any vessel unfit for the conveyance of mails or whether the said Company shall be able to show cause to the contrary a special examination shall be made of the hull and machinery of any such vessel by such person or persons as may be selected for that purpose by the Postmaster General.

7. The equipments officers engineers and crew of each vessel when such vessel is in any British port shall be subject at all times to the inspection of the said Postmaster General or of such other person or persons as he shall at any time or times authorise to make such inspection.

8. The Company shall convey the said mails from Brindisi to Bombay in 422 hours and from Bombay to Brindisi in 424 hours and from Brindisi to Point de Galle in 472 hours and from Point de Galle to Brindisi in 488 hours and from Brindisi to Shanghai in 965 hours and from Bombay to Southampton in 666 hours and from Point de Galle to Southampton in 730 hours and from Brindisi to Calcutta in 646 hours and from Hong Kong to Yokohama in 170 hours and from Yokohama to Hong Kong in 170 hours and each of the periods of hours hereinbefore specified is to be reckoned as inclusive of stoppages for the purpose of the delivery and reception of the mails. And the arrangements for determining and recording the exact time of the arrival and departure of the vessels

EAST INDIA, CHINA, AND JAPAN MAILS.

vessels at and from the several places above named and the period of every delay which shall take place on any voyage shall be under the exclusive regulation of the Postmaster General whose decision upon all questions relating to those matters shall be final.

9. One of the vessels to be provided under the 3rd Article of this Agreement shall on such days of the week and at such hours as the Postmaster General shall appoint and immediately after the mails are embarked put to sea from touch and arrive at the several ports or places respectively mentioned in the said first Schedule hereunder written and all such vessels shall convey the said mails as mentioned in such Schedule and all the stipulations matters and things therein contained shall form part of this Agreement and be observed and performed by the Company accordingly And the Company shall convey in such vessels to and from and cause to be delivered and received at such of the ports or places mentioned in the said first Schedule from or at which the said vessels are to start touch and arrive in the performance of this Agreement all such mails as shall or may be tendered or delivered to or received by the Company or any of their agents officers or servants by or from the Postmaster General or any of his officers or agents.

Departure and arrival &c. of vessels.

10. Should it be deemed by the Postmaster General his officers or agents requisite for the public service that any such vessel to be employed under this Agreement should at any time or times delay her departure from any port from which the mails are to be conveyed under this Agreement beyond the period appointed for her departure therefrom the Postmaster General his officers or agents shall have power to order such delay (not however exceeding 24 hours) by letter addressed by him or them to the master of any such vessel or person acting as such and which shall be deemed a sufficient authority for such detention.

Power to delay departure of vessels.

11. In the event of any vessel of the Company whilst passing through the Suez Canal on an outward voyage in the performance of any of the services hereby agreed to be performed becoming unable by reason of the stranding of such vessel in the said canal or of any other difficulty or obstruction incident to the navigation thereof to complete its passage through the said canal in due course the Company shall use their utmost endeavours to prevent any delay in the delivery of the mails and with that object shall employ in the subsequent conveyance of any mails on board such stranded or impeded vessel to their destination any other vessel belonging to the Company which may be at Suez and available for the service.

As to stranding &c. in Suez Canal.

12. The Company shall land at Ismailia all mails from Gibraltar or Malta for Alexandria and shall embark at Ismailia all mails from Alexandria for Malta or Gibraltar and shall convey at the expense of the Company all such mails by despatch boat from Port Said to Ismailia and from Ismailia to Port Said whenever the employment of such means of conveyance shall be found more expeditious than landing the mails at Ismailia direct from the mail packet or embarking them at Ismailia on board the packet and shall repay to the Postmaster General and indemnify him from all expenses which may be incurred with the Egyptian Post Office in respect of the conveyance of such mails between Ismailia and Alexandria in either direction.

As to mails between Gibraltar or Malta and Alexandria.

13. If at any time the Company shall desire to modify the services hereby agreed to be performed by substituting Plymouth or Liverpool for Southampton as one of the ports to and from which mails are to be conveyed under this Agreement they shall be at liberty so to do on giving three calendar months' notice in writing of such their desire and in such case and from and after the time named for that purpose in such notice the services specified under the head route No. 1 in the first Schedule hereunder written shall no longer be performed and in lieu of such services there shall be substituted the services specified in the second or third Schedule hereunder written as the case may be and except as herein otherwise expressly provided all the provisions of this Agreement shall thereafter apply to the last-mentioned services in the same manner in all respects as if the services specified in route No. 1 of the said first Schedule had been omitted therefrom and the services specified in the said second or third Schedule as the case may be had been inserted in the place

Company may substitute Plymouth or Liverpool for Southampton.

thereof Provided always that the amount of the consideration or subsidy to be paid to the Company as hereinafter provided shall not be increased or diminished by reason of the substitution aforesaid And provided also that in the event of the substitution aforesaid the periods of time within which the Company ought in obedience to this Agreement to convey the mails from Southampton to Bombay and from Bombay to Southampton respectively shall in case Plymouth be adopted be decreased in proportion to the diminished distance and in case Liverpool be adopted be increased in proportion to the increased distance.

Postmaster General may alter times of departure and arrival.

14. If at any time or times the Postmaster General shall desire to alter the particular days times or hours of departure from and arrival at any of the ports or places to or from which Her Majesty's mails are for the time being to be conveyed under this Agreement he shall be at liberty so to do on giving three calendar months' notice in writing of such his desire to the Company provided such alterations do not necessitate an increase of speed.

And otherwise modify services.

15. If at any time or times the Postmaster General shall desire otherwise to modify the services hereby agreed to be performed (as for example to increase or decrease the frequency of the conveyance of mails between any of the ports or places to or from which such mails are to be conveyed under this Agreement or to extend the conveyance of such mails to any other ports or places not specified in this Agreement or to discontinue the conveyance of such mails to or from any port or place specified in this Agreement) he shall be at liberty so to do on giving reasonable notice to the Company and on paying to them for such increased or extended services such further consideration and in the event of the services hereby agreed to be performed being reduced on his paying to them such reduced consideration as may in either of such cases be mutually agreed upon between the Company and the Postmaster General or failing such mutual Agreement by arbitration in the manner hereinafter provided.

Altered times and modified services to be observed.

16. The particular days times and hours of departure from and arrival at any of such ports or places or other services (if any) which may be appointed by any alteration under the two preceding clauses or either of them shall for the time being be deemed to be the days times and hours of departure and arrival of mails and other services under this Agreement and shall be observed and kept by the Company accordingly.

Penalties for delay on voyage from Brindisi.

17. If on any outward voyage commencing at Brindisi the Company shall fail to deliver Her Majesty's mails at any port of destination whether the same be Bombay Point de Galle or Shanghai for 12 hours or more after the time at which the same ought to be delivered according to the provisions of this Contract which shall for the time being be in force then and in every such case the Company shall forfeit and pay to Her Majesty her heirs and successors the sum of 100 £. for every complete period of 12 hours during which the delivery of such mails shall be delayed beyond the time at which the same ought to be delivered as aforesaid Provided always that the payment of any such penalty as aforesaid shall not be enforced against the Company if it be shown by them to the satisfaction of the Postmaster General that the delay has arisen from damage to the vessel or the machinery thereof.

The like on voyage to Southampton.

18. If on any homeward voyage from Bombay or Point de Galle to Southampton the Company shall fail to deliver Her Majesty's mails at Southampton for 12 hours or more after the time at which the same ought to be delivered according to the provisions of this Contract which shall for the time being be in force then and in every such case the Company shall forfeit and pay to Her Majesty her heirs and successors the sum of 100 £. for every complete period of 12 hours during which the delivery of such mails shall be delayed beyond the time at which the same ought to be delivered as aforesaid Provided always that the payment of any such penalty as aforesaid shall not be enforced against the Company if it be shown by them to the satisfaction of the Postmaster General that the delay has arisen from damage to the vessel or the machinery thereof.

The like on voyage to Brindisi.

19. If on any homeward voyage from Bombay or Point de Galle to Brindisi the Company shall fail to deliver Her Majesty's mails at Brindisi for 12 hours or more after the time at which the same ought to be delivered according to the provisions of this Contract which shall for the time being be in force then and

and in every such case the company shall forfeit and pay to Her Majesty her heirs and successors the sum of 50 *l.* for every complete period of 12 hours during which the delivery of such mails shall be delayed beyond the time at which the same ought to be delivered as aforesaid. Provided always that the payment of any such penalty as aforesaid shall not be enforced against the Company if it be shown by them to the satisfaction of the Postmaster General that the delay has arisen from causes over which they the Company had not and could not have had any control.

20. If in any case not hereinbefore provided for the Company shall fail to deliver Her Majesty's mails at any port at which the same ought to be delivered in pursuance of this Contract for 24 hours or more after the time at which the same ought to be delivered according to the provisions of this Contract which shall for the time being be in force then and in every such case the Company shall forfeit and pay to Her Majesty her heirs and successors the sum of 50 *l.* for every complete period of 24 hours during which the delivery of such mails shall be delayed beyond the time at which the same ought to be delivered as aforesaid. Provided always that the payment of any such penalty as aforesaid shall not be enforced against the Company if it be shown by them to the satisfaction of the Postmaster General that the delay has arisen from causes over which they the Company had not and could not have had any control.

The like in cases not before provided for.

21. Provided always and it is hereby declared that during the prevalence of the south-west monsoon 96 additional hours shall be allowed for the voyages from Bombay to Southampton from Bombay to Brindisi or from Calcutta to Suez and from Shanghai to Bombay and during the prevalence of the north-east monsoon 96 additional hours shall be allowed for the voyage from Bombay to Shanghai and 24 additional hours shall be allowed for the voyage from Hong Kong to Yokohama.

Allowance for monsoon seasons.

22. If the Company fail to provide an efficient vessel at any of the several ports or places at which such vessel ought to be provided in accordance with the terms of this Agreement ready to put to sea on and at the appointed day and hour then and so often as the same shall happen the Company shall forfeit and pay unto Her Majesty her heirs and successors the sum of 500 *l.* and also the further sum of 100 *l.* for every successive 24 hours which shall elapse until such vessel actually proceeds to sea on her voyage in pursuance of this Agreement provided always that the total amount of the penalties last aforesaid shall not in the aggregate exceed the part of the subsidy of 430,000 *l.* hereinafter made payable to the Company which shall be applicable to the voyage in respect of which default shall have been made by a sum greater than the sum of 1,000 *l.*

Penalty for failure to provide vessel.

23. The Company shall whenever required by the Postmaster General so to do receive and allow to remain on board of each of the said vessels while employed in the performance of this Agreement to the east of Suez and also while remaining at Suez or at any port or place east of Suez and whether such vessel shall be with or without mails on board an Officer in Her Majesty's Navy to be appointed by the Postmaster General to take charge of the said mails and also a servant of such officer (if required) and every such officer shall be recognised and considered by the Company their officers agents and seamen as the agent of the Postmaster General in charge of mails and as having full authority in all cases to require a due and strict performance of this Agreement on the part of the Company their officers servants and agents and to determine (so far as relates to the levying of penalties) every question whenever arising relative to proceeding to sea or putting into harbour or the necessity of stopping to assist any vessel in distress or to save human life and the decision of such officer as aforesaid shall in every such case be final and binding on the Company unless the Postmaster General on appeal by the Company thinks proper to decide otherwise provided however that the words "to determine every question" shall not confer upon such officer the power of control over the commander of the vessel conveying the said mails.

As to naval officer.

24. If the Postmaster General at any time or times thinks fit so to do he shall be at liberty to substitute for such naval officer a civil officer in the service of the Post Office to have charge of the said mails and thereupon and in every

As to civil officer.

case in which a civil officer shall be appointed to be in charge of mails such last-mentioned officer shall be received and be allowed to remain on board each of the said vessels as hereinbefore provided with respect to any such naval officer but when any civil officer in the service of the Post Office shall be in charge of the said mails his duties shall be confined to the Post Office business.

Accommodation for naval or civil officer.

25. A suitable first-class cabin with appropriate bed bedding and furniture shall at the cost of the Company be provided and appropriated by them for the exclusive use and accommodation of every such naval or civil officer and every of the said officers shall be victualled by the Company as a chief cabin passenger without any charge either for his passage or victualling.

Sorters to be conveyed and accommodated east of Suez.

26. The Company shall also receive and allow to remain on board each of the said vessels while employed in the performance of this agreement to the east of Suez and also while remaining at Suez or at any port or place east of Suez and whether such vessels shall be with or without mails on board in addition to the officer in charge of the mails such a number of officers in the service of the Post Office as shall be reasonably required for the purpose of sorting and making up the mails conveyed or to be conveyed by such vessel and shall provide suitable accommodation and victualling for such additional officers either as chief cabin passengers or as fore cabin passengers at the option of the said Postmaster General.

As to mail and sorting rooms.

27. The Company shall at their own cost provide on each of the vessels to be employed under this Agreement a separate and convenient room for the convenient and secure deposit of the mails under lock and key and shall also at the like cost (if and when they shall be required so to do by the said Postmaster General) erect and provide on each of such vessels employed under this Agreement to the east of Suez a separate and convenient room for sorting and making up the said mails and shall provide in such room all such furniture lamps fittings and other conveniences as shall be necessary or convenient for the purpose of sorting and making up the said mails and all such furniture lamps fittings and other conveniences shall be from time to time cleansed and kept in repair and the oil for the lamps supplied by the servants and at the cost of the Company and the services of the crew of every such vessel shall from time to time be given in the conveyance of the mails between the mail room and the sorting room.

Mail officers to be conveyed on shore.

28. At each port or place where the said mails are to be delivered and received the officer having charge of the mails shall whenever and as often as by him shall be deemed necessary for the public service and either with or without his assistant or servant be conveyed on shore and also from the shore to the vessel employed for the time being in the performance of this Agreement together with or (if such officer shall consider it necessary for the purposes of this Agreement so to do) without mails in a suitable and seaworthy boat of not less than four oars to be furnished with effectual covering for the mails and properly provided manned and equipped by the Company.

Masters of vessels to take charge of mails on routes west of Suez, and also, in absence of mail officer, on routes east of Suez.

29. The Master or Commander of each of the said vessels employed in the performance of this agreement to the west of Suez and in all cases where the officer or other person appointed to have charge of the mails shall be absent the Master or Commander of each of the said vessels employed in the performance of this Agreement to the east of Suez shall without any remuneration (other than the sum herein provided to be paid to the Company) take due care of and the Company shall be responsible for the receipt and delivery of the said mails and each of such masters or commanders shall make the usual declaration or declarations required or which may hereafter be required by the Postmaster General in such and similar cases and furnish such journals returns and information to and perform such services as the Postmaster General or his agents may require and every such master or commander or officer duly authorised by him having the charge of mails shall himself immediately on the arrival at any of the said ports or places of any such vessels deliver all mails for such port or place into the hands of the Postmaster or other person at such port or place whom the Postmaster General shall authorise to receive the same receiving in like manner all the return or other mails to be forwarded in due course.

30. The

30. The Company shall not nor shall any of the masters of any of the vessels employed or to be employed under this Agreement receive or permit to be received on board any of the vessels employed under this Agreement any letters for conveyance other than those duly in charge of the said naval officer or other person authorised to have charge of the said mails or which are or may be privileged by law nor any mails for conveyance on behalf of any colony or foreign country without the consent of the Postmaster General and in case of any such default respectively the Company shall be liable to be proceeded against for breach of this Agreement.

No letters or mails (other than British) to be conveyed.

31. The Company and all commanding and other officers of the vessels employed in the performance of this Agreement and all agents seamen and servants of the Company shall at all times punctually attend to the orders and directions of the Postmaster General his officers or agents as to the mode time and place of landing delivering and receiving mails.

Orders of Postmaster General to be obeyed.

32. The Company shall and will when and as often as in writing they or the masters of their respective vessels shall be required so to do by the said Postmaster General or by any naval or other officers or agents acting under his authority (such writing to specify the rank or description of the person or persons to be conveyed and the accommodation to be provided for him or them) receive provide for victual and convey to and from and between any of the places to which any of the said vessels are to proceed in the performance of this contract (in addition to the naval officer authorised to have charge of the said mails and to officers of the Post Office employed in connection with the mails conveyed by such vessel) any number of naval military and civil officers in the service of Her Majesty not exceeding eight in any one ship with or without their wives and children as chief cabin or first class passengers and any number of non-commissioned and warrant officers not exceeding four in any one ship with or without their wives and children as fore cabin or second class passengers together with servants of both chief and fore cabin passengers and any number of seamen marines soldiers or artificers in Her Majesty's service not exceeding 10 in any one ship with or without their wives and children as deck or third-class passengers to be always provided with effectual protection from rain sun and bad weather and not exposed on deck without such competent shelter and to have hammocks or bunks (subject to the approval of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty) placed between decks.

Government passengers to be conveyed.

33. The passengers who shall be conveyed in pursuance of the last preceding clause (who are hereinafter designated Government passengers) with their families shall be treated in no respect whether as regards food cabin or other accommodation or aught else in a way inferior to that of ordinary passengers of the same class or that required by the Regulations of Her Majesty's Transport Service. The messing of the first and second class Government passengers shall include in each day an imperial pint of good sound bottled or draught ale or beer and that of the first class in addition an imperial pint of good foreign wine either port or white. The several classes of passengers shall mess in separate places and medical attendance medicine and medical comforts mess utensils and fittings cooking utensils articles for table use and mess places fuel lights requisite articles of bedding and all other necessities shall be provided for them in like manner as for ordinary passengers of the like classes respectively.

Their accommodation.

34. The passage money for Government passengers and their families respectively shall be the same as that charged by the Company for ordinary passengers of a similar kind and shall include all the particulars mentioned in the last preceding clause and whenever any alterations of rates for ordinary passengers may be made the Postmaster General and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty shall be immediately apprised of such alterations.

Passage money.

35. Returns of the embarkation and disembarkation of all Government passengers shall be furnished to the Director of Transport Services immediately after the departure and arrival of each vessel.

Returns of Government passengers.

36. Payments for passage money for Government passengers shall be applied for by invoices according to a form to be obtained from the office of the Director of Transport Services and shall be made upon the production to such

Passage money how to be paid.

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Director of the orders for the passages together with a certificate under the hand of the commanding officer specifying the number of the third-class passengers (men women and children) conveyed with the ages and sexes of the latter and stating the periods during which they have been respectively regularly supplied while on board with provisions and also of a certificate under the hand of each first and second class passenger of his or her having been landed at the place of destination and of having been properly accommodated and messed during the voyage and specifying the dates from and to which they were so messed computed from the first to the last dinner meal.

As to baggage of Government passengers.

37. The Company shall convey for every Government passenger free of charge the same quantity of baggage (whether such quantity shall be estimated or ascertained by bulk or weight) which according to the regulations of the Company for the time being they convey free of charge for an ordinary passenger of the same class and freight shall be payable for any extra baggage of a Government passenger after the same rate as the freight payable according to the same regulations for extra baggage of an ordinary passenger of the same class.

Passage money of families of officers not conveyed at public expense.

38. The passage money for the wives and families of commissioned and civil officers when not ordered to be conveyed at the public expense shall be paid to the Company by the officers themselves.

Government passengers to have precedence of ordinary passengers if not room for both.

39. In all cases where an officer in the civil naval or military service of Her Majesty who may not be entitled to a passage at the public expense shall require a passage on board any of the vessels employed in the performance of this contract the Company shall be bound when they have room to provide a passage for such officer in preference to private passengers and shall charge no higher rate for such passage than is chargeable for an ordinary passenger.

Packages and stores to be conveyed for Admiralty.

40. The Company shall receive on board each of the vessels employed in the performance of this contract and shall convey on behalf of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty any small packages which may be ordered for conveyance and also (on receiving from the Postmaster General or his officers or agents or from the British naval officer in command of the station two days' previous notice) shall receive on board any naval or other stores not exceeding 10 tons weight or 15 tons of 40 cubic feet each in measurement at any one time in any one vessel (packages and stores of a dangerous or damaging nature excepted in accordance with the general regulations of the Company) and shall convey and deliver such small packages and stores at the lowest rate of freight charged by the Company for private goods of a similar character or description and the Company shall give immediate notice to the Postmaster General and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty of any alteration in such rate of freight and shall in all cases be responsible for the custody and safe and speedy delivery of such packages and stores.

Subsidy.

41. And in consideration of the due and faithful performance by the Company of all the services hereby contracted to be by them performed the Postmaster General doth hereby covenant that there shall be paid to the Company (out of such aids or supplies as may from time to time be provided and appropriated by Parliament for that purpose) so long as they perform the whole of such services in manner and with such vessels as hereinbefore respectively provided the sum of 430,000 £. per annum by equal quarterly payments on the 1st day of January the 1st day of April the 1st day of July and the 1st day of October in every year and so in proportion for any less period than a quarter.

Account of penalties to be prepared half yearly.

42. On or as soon as conveniently may be after the 1st day of April and the 1st day of October in every year during the continuance of this Agreement an account shall be made out of the amount payable by the Company to the Postmaster General on account of penalties incurred by the Company and if it shall appear by such account that any sum is due from the Company to the Postmaster General the same shall be forthwith paid by the Company to the Postmaster General or at his option may be deducted from the next quarterly payment due to the Company.

Subsidy to be in full for all services save as otherwise expressly provided.

43. Except where otherwise expressly provided none of the services performed or to be performed by the Company under this Contract shall entitle

entitle them to any remuneration beyond the said subsidy of 430,000 £. per annum and such other sum or sums of money (if any) as are hereinbefore expressly made payable.

And it is hereby further agreed and declared between and by the parties hereto as follows : (that is to say)

44. It shall be lawful for the Postmaster General at any time and from time to time to delegate any of the powers vested in him by virtue of these presents to such person or persons as he shall think fit. Postmaster General may delegate his powers.

45. The Company shall undertake for themselves all arrangements relative to quarantine as connected with the due and regular performance of the conditions of this Contract. As to quarantine.

46. The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty shall at any time during the continuance of this Contract if they shall consider it necessary for the public interest have power and be at liberty to purchase all or any of the said vessels at a valuation or to charter the same exclusively for Her Majesty's service at a rate of hire to be mutually fixed and agreed on by them and the said Company but if any difference should at any time or times arise as to the amount of valuation or hire so to be paid such difference shall be settled by arbitration in manner hereinafter provided and the said Commissioners in the case of hiring any such vessel shall return the same to the said Company in the same state and condition as she was in at the time of any such hiring reasonable wear and tear excepted and if any difference should arise upon that point the same shall be settled in the same manner as the amount for the hiring is to be settled in case of difference And it is further agreed that in case of such purchase or hire the service hereby contracted to be performed shall be performed by other vessels of the Company of a similar description to the vessel or vessels purchased or hired if they can in due and proper time furnish them and in the event of the said Company being allowed by the Postmaster General to continue to perform only a portion of the service there shall be paid to the said Company such annual sum of money as shall be agreed upon by the said Postmaster General and the said Company and in case of their differing as to the amount the difference to be settled by two arbitrators or an umpire to be chosen respectively as aforesaid. Admiralty may purchase or charter vessels at a rate to be settled by arbitration in case of difference.

47. This Contract shall commence on or as from the 15th day of August 1874 and shall continue in force until the 1st day of February 1880 and shall then determine if the Postmaster General shall by writing under his hand or under the hand of the Secretary or one of the Assistant Secretaries for the time being of the Post Office have given to the Company or if the Company shall have given to the Postmaster General 24 calendar months' notice that this Contract shall so determine but if neither the Postmaster General nor the Company shall give any such notice this Contract shall continue in force even after the said 1st day of February 1880 until the expiration of a 24 calendar months' notice in writing as aforesaid which may be given by either of the parties hereto to the other of them and which last-mentioned notice may be given at any time after the 1st day of February 1878. Commencement and determination of Contract.

48. The Contract dated the 6th day of August 1870 and made between the Postmaster General of the one part and the Company of the other part shall remain in force until the said 15th day of August 1874 and no longer and as from the last-mentioned date the same is hereby terminated and annulled. Contract of 6th August 1870 determined.

49. If on the determination of this Agreement any vessel or vessels shall have started or shall start with the mails in conformity with this Agreement such voyage or voyages shall be continued and performed and the mails be delivered and received during the same as if this Agreement had remained in force with regard to any such vessels and services And with respect to such vessels and services as last aforesaid this Agreement shall be considered as having terminated when such vessels shall have reached their port or place of destination and such services shall have been performed but the said Company shall not be entitled to receive any payment or compensation for the same. Voyages to be completed after termination of Contract.

Penalties to be considered as ascertained damages.

50. All and every the sums of money hereby stipulated to be paid by the Company unto Her Majesty Her heirs and successors shall be considered as stipulated or ascertained damages whether any damage or loss has or has not been sustained and shall and may be retained by the Postmaster General out of any moneys payable or which may thereafter become payable to the Company or the payment may be enforced as a debt due to Her Majesty with full costs of suit at the discretion of the Postmaster General Provided however that the payment by the Company of any sums of money (by way of penalties) shall not in any manner prejudice the right of the Postmaster General to treat the failure (if any) on the part of the Company to provide a proper vessel or to perform any voyage at or within the time for the time being appointed for the performance thereof as a breach of this Agreement.

As to service of notices.

51. All notices or directions which the Postmaster General his officers agents or others are hereby authorised to give to the Company their officers servants or agents other than any notice of termination of this Contract may at the option of the Postmaster General his officers agents or others either be delivered to the master of any of the said vessels or other officer or agent of the Company in the charge or management of any vessel employed in the performance of this Agreement or left for the Company at their office or house of business in London or any other place and any notices or directions so given or left shall be binding on the Company Provided always that any notice of termination of this contract shall be served on the Company their officers servants or agents at their office or last known office in London.

Company not to part with contract.

52. The Company shall not assign underlet or dispose of this Agreement or any part thereof without the consent of the Postmaster General signified in writing under his hand or under the hand of the Secretary or one of the Assistant Secretaries of the Post Office and in case of the same or any part thereof being assigned underlet or otherwise disposed of or of any great or habitual breach of this Agreement or any covenant matter or thing herein contained on the part of the Company their officers agents or servants and whether there be or be not any penalty or sum of money payable by the Company for any breach it shall be lawful for the Postmaster General if he shall think fit (and notwithstanding there may or may not have been any former breach of this Contract) by writing under his hand or under the hand of the Secretary or one of the Assistant Secretaries of the Post Office to determine this Agreement without any previous notice to the Company or their agents nor shall the Company be entitled to any compensation in respect of such determination and such determination shall not deprive the Postmaster General of any right or remedy to which he would otherwise be entitled by reason of such breach or any prior breach of this Contract.

Disputes to be referred to arbitration.

53. If at any time during the continuance of this Agreement or after the determination thereof any dispute shall arise between the parties hereto or their successors respectively concerning any breach or alleged breach by or on the part of the Company of this Agreement or the sufficiency of any such breach to justify the Postmaster General in putting an end to the same or concerning the amount of consideration to be paid to or allowed by the Company as the case may be for such altered services as hereinbefore in that behalf mentioned or concerning any of the covenants matters or things herein contained or in anywise relating thereto and notwithstanding the power herein contained to determine this Agreement and any execution or attempted execution of such power such dispute shall be referred to two arbitrators one to be chosen from time to time by the Postmaster General and the other by the Company and if such arbitrators should at any time or times not agree in the matter or question referred to them then such question in difference shall be referred by them to an umpire to be chosen by such arbitrators before they proceed with the reference to them and the joint and concurrent award of the said arbitrators or the separate award of the said umpire when the said arbitrators cannot agree shall be binding and conclusive upon both parties.

Submission thereto may be made rule of Court.

54. Any submission to arbitration in pursuance of this Agreement may be made a rule of any of Her Majesty's courts of record pursuant to the statute in that case made and provided on the application of either party.

55. In

55. In pursuance of the provisions contained in the Act of Parliament passed in the 22nd year of the reign of King George the Third intituled "An Act for restraining any Person concerned in any Contract Commission or Agreement made for the Public Service from being elected or sitting and voting as a Member of the House of Commons" no Member of the House of Commons shall be admitted to any share or part of this Agreement or to any benefit to arise therefrom contrary to the true intent and meaning of the said Act.

No M.P. to be interested in Contract.

56. This Agreement shall not be binding until it has been approved by a resolution of the House of Commons.

Contract to be approved by House of Commons.

57. And lastly for the due and faithful performance of all and singular the covenants conditions provisoes clauses articles and agreements hereinbefore contained which on the part and behalf of the said Company are or ought to be observed performed fulfilled and kept the said Company do hereby bind themselves and their successors unto our Sovereign Lady the Queen in the sum of 45,000 £. of lawful money of the United Kingdom to be paid to our said Lady the Queen her heirs and successors by way of stipulated or ascertained damages hereby agreed upon between the Postmaster General and the Company in case of the failure on the part of the Company in the due execution of this contract or any part thereof.

Bond.

In witness whereof the said Lord John Manners Her Majesty's Postmaster General hath hereunto set his hand and seal and the said Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company have caused their common seal to be hereunto affixed the day and year first above written.

FIRST SCHEDULE.

ROUTE No. 1.

ONCE A WEEK.

Through the Suez Canal.

From Southampton to Bombay, calling at Gibraltar, Malta, Suez, and Aden, and back from Bombay to Southampton, calling at Aden, Suez, Malta, and Gibraltar.

ROUTE No. 2.

ONCE A WEEK.

From Brindisi to Alexandria, and back from Alexandria to Brindisi.

ROUTE No. 3.

ONCE IN EVERY TWO WEEKS.

From Suez to Calcutta, calling at Aden, Point de Galle, and Madras, and back from Calcutta to Suez, calling at Madras, Point de Galle, and Aden.

ROUTE No. 4.

ONCE IN EVERY TWO WEEKS.

From Bombay to Shanghai, calling at Point de Galle, Penang, Singapore, and Hong Kong, and back from Shanghai to Bombay, calling at Hong Kong, Singapore, Penang, and Point de Galle.

ROUTE No. 5.

ONCE IN EVERY TWO WEEKS.

From Hong Kong to Yokohama, and back from Yokohama to Hong Kong.

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SECOND SCHEDULE.

ONCE A WEEK.

From Plymouth to Bombay, calling at Gibraltar, Malta, Suez, and Aden, and back from Bombay to Plymouth, calling at Aden, Suez, Malta, and Gibraltar.

THIRD SCHEDULE.

ONCE A WEEK.

From Liverpool to Bombay, calling at Gibraltar, Malta, Suez, and Aden, and back from Bombay to Liverpool, calling at Aden, Suez, Malta, and Gibraltar.

JOHN MANNERS.

Signed sealed and delivered by the above-named John James Robert Manners, Her Majesty's Postmaster General, in the presence of

L.S.

F. A. R. Langton, Private Secretary to the
Postmaster General, General Post Office; London.

The Common Seal of the above-named Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company was hereunto affixed in the presence of

P. D. HADOW,
WILLIAM H. HALL,
J. R. ENGLEDDUE,
H. BAYLEY, } Directors.

The Seal of
the Peninsular
and Oriental
Steam Navigation
Company.

A. M. BETHUNE, Secretary.

Z. BROOKE,
General Post Office, London.

TREASURY MINUTE, dated 13 July 1874.

My Lords read a letter from the Postmaster General, dated 10th instant, forwarding a copy of the Contract, dated 8th July 1874, between Her Majesty's Postmaster General and the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, under which the vessels conveying the heavy portion of the India, &c., mails, are to be permitted to make use of the Suez Canal, and the Company agree to give up 20,000 *l.* a year of the subsidy enjoyed by them under their present Contract (which Contract is to terminate on the 15th August next), thus reducing such subsidy from 450,000 *l.* to 430,000 *l.* a year; and other advantages accrue to the public.

Provision is also made in the new Contract empowering the Company to modify the services performed by them by substituting Liverpool (as in the present Contract) or Plymouth for Southampton as one of the ports to and from which mails are to be conveyed on giving three months' notice of their desire to do so.

The new Contract to continue in force until same date as the Contract under which the Company have been for some years working, viz., 1st February 1880, if 24 months' previous notice has been given.

The following Treasury Minute, dated 24th ult., which my Lords again read, sets out fully the whole case, and the reasons which have induced them to consent to the conclusion of another Contract with the Company in substitution for that dated 6th August 1870, which is to terminate on the 15th August next, as above stated.

" My

" My Lords have before them a letter from the Postmaster General, dated the 10th instant,* stating that he communicated to the Directors of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company the decision contained in the letter from this Board of the 15th ult., founded on the Treasury Minute of 13th May, referred to in the next page, with respect to the conditions to which the Company were willing to agree, if permitted to carry the heavy portion of the India mails through the Suez Canal, and requested them to state whether they had any new proposals to submit for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

*[June].

" Lord John Manners forwards copy of the reply received from the Directors, dated the 6th instant, in which they state the whole of the circumstances connected with their application to adopt the Canal route for the carriage of the heavy mails, and offer, if the Government prefer such an arrangement, to surrender one-half of the Company's profits above 8 per cent. in lieu of a fixed annual deduction of 20,000 *l.* from the subsidy.

" My Lords have also again before them the letter from the Postmaster General, dated the 31st March last, wherein he states, with reference to the application of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, that 'as the Canal route has now come into general use for steam vessels, it seems to him' that 'to insist upon the mail packets, which, of course, carry passengers and cargo, as well as mails, going out of their course for the purpose of landing or embarking the mails at Alexandria, would be acting harshly towards a Company which has served the public most efficiently for a great number of years, has invested an enormous capital in its undertaking, and has promptly met every suggestion made from time to time for an improvement in the mail service'; and that, impressed with this feeling, he has communicated freely with the Directors on the subject of the change which they desire to make in the mail route, and has obtained from them an offer to the following effect, which he recommends should be accepted:—

" First. That the Company will maintain a tug in the Suez Canal for the purpose of guarding against any casual difficulties of navigation.

" Second. That a fixed number of hours shall be allowed for the voyage.

" From Brindisi to Bombay	-	} 24 hours less than the number allowed from port to port by existing time table.
Point de Galle	-	
Shanghai	-	

" [In a memorandum from the Company, dated 20th January last, it is represented that the mails would be delivered in Australia nearly two days in advance of the dates required by the present time table.]

" Bombay to Brindisi	-	} Same number as by existing time table.
" Point de Galle ditto	-	

" Bombay to Southampton	}	Same number as by existing time table.
" Point de Galle ditto		

" Third. That no premiums be in future paid for delivery of mails earlier than the Company is bound to deliver the same.

" Fourth. That on the outward steamers from Brindisi and homeward steamers to Southampton a penalty of 100 *l.* be incurred for any excess of time after the packets are 12 hours over-due, and a further 100 *l.* for every complete 12 hours additional, to whatever cause the delay may be attributable, other than damage to vessel or machinery.

" The penalties and time allowed in the other portion of the service being the same as at present; the penalties between Bombay or Point de Galle and Brindisi as at present, being 50 *l.* for every 12 hours of delay.

" Fifth. That the Company will submit to an abatement of 20,000 *l.* from their annual subsidy, in consideration of the above arrangement being carried into effect.

" It is also stated in the Company's offer, that in the event of a steamer grounding in the canal, so as to be entirely unable to carry on her own mails (such an occurrence never having happened), the Company will have their intermediate Bombay steamer available in such an emergency so as to prevent delay,

“ delay, and the Company will also undertake the delivery of the local mails
 “ from Gibraltar and Malta at Alexandria *viâ* Ismailia, and *vice versâ*, either by
 “ landing them direct from the mail steamer or forwarding them in a despatch
 “ boat from Port Said ; and with regard to the mail between this country and
 “ Alexandria, Lord John Manners states that he does not think there will be any
 “ difficulty in suppressing it altogether, and sending the correspondence, which
 “ is small in amount, either *viâ* Brindisi or by French packet from Marseilles.

*[May].

“ My Lords also read their Minute of the 13th ultimo,* wherein, after
 “ adverting to all the circumstances of the case, they came to the conclusion that
 “ they would not be warranted in entertaining favourably the offer of the Penin-
 “ sular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, on the ground that the pro-
 “ posed surrender of 20,000 *l.* does not seem in any degree adequate to the value
 “ of the concession sought, even by the Company’s own estimate ; and they have
 “ also perused with attention the correspondence of their predecessors with the
 “ Post Office and the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, in
 “ regard to the application preferred by the Company:

“ Having reference to the communication from the Peninsular and Oriental
 “ Steam Navigation Company, dated the 6th instant, now before them, and to
 “ the renewed recommendation of the Postmaster General that the offer of the
 “ Company should be favourably entertained, Lord John Manners, in his letter of
 “ the 10th instant, stating that he feels it his duty to observe that he adheres to
 “ the opinion expressed in his letter of the 31st March last, that the terms offered
 “ on the part of the Company were fair and reasonable, and that he has no
 “ hesitation in saying that it would, in his opinion, be to the interests of the
 “ public that they should be accepted ; my Lords feel it incumbent on them
 “ again to have the whole question under consideration.

“ In the letter from the Company, it is observed that their proposals are —

“ 1st. To accelerate the outward mails 24 to 40 hours.

“ 2nd. To quadruple the existing penalties in case of delay at terminal
 “ points.

“ 3rd. To make these penalties absolute (except in case of shipwreck or
 “ damage to machinery), instead of being contingent on weather and minor
 “ circumstances, as they are at present.

“ 4th. To abate 20,000 *l.* from the present subsidy.

“ The three first of these proposals are clearly beneficial to the public, and are
 “ therefore such as should be entertained. It is with respect to the last of these
 “ proposals that my Lords and their predecessors took exception as not being
 “ sufficiently favourable to the Government, in the event of the request of the
 “ Company to be allowed to run their steamers with the heavy portion of the
 “ India mails through the Suez Canal being complied with.

“ From the correspondence now before them, my Lords find that, in the opinion
 “ of their predecessors, the Company should consent to an abatement of 60,000 *l.*
 “ a year in consideration of their application being acceded to ; and my Lords,
 “ by their letter of the 15th instant, declined to entertain favourably the applica-
 “ tion of the Company, on the grounds that ‘ the proposed surrender of 20,000 *l.*
 “ ‘ does not seem in any degree adequate to the value of the concession sought
 “ ‘ even by their own estimate.’

“ With regard to the observation in the Treasury letter as to the inadequacy
 “ of the amount which the Company propose to surrender, the Directors remark
 “ that such observation seems to imply that, as the ‘ Company’s position was
 “ ‘ altered for the worse by the opening of the Suez Canal, the Company would,
 “ ‘ by using the canal, retrieve that position, and that the Government in
 “ ‘ giving permission for the mail service to be worked by that route would be
 “ ‘ entitled to share in the benefit thus to be regained by the Company,’ and
 “ they state that in thus seeking to maintain their position, viz., ‘ that of earning
 “ ‘ a moderate return upon their capital and maintaining the stability of the
 “ ‘ Company, the Directors did not, as implied in the Treasury letter, form any
 “ ‘ higher estimate for the future ;’ and with the view to show that any estimate
 “ of large profit would be fallacious they submit the following facts :

“ ‘ The revenue of the Company for the year to 30th September 1869

“ ‘ (the canal opened in November that year), in freight and passage money,

“ ‘ amounted to 1,885,397 *l.* To the same date in 1873 the revenue from

“ ‘ the same sources was 1,571,166 *l.*’

“ ‘ But.

“ But it is now shown ‘ that in the latter year the Company’s steamers, whether
 “ using the railway or the canal, were quite full, and they carried a larger
 “ number of passengers and a much larger amount of cargo than in 1869,
 “ when the revenue was 314,000 *l.* greater.’

“ The Company show that the great difference in the revenue arises from the
 “ reduction in passenger and cargo rates caused by the competition of steamers
 “ using the canal. The Directors also state that, contrary to their own convictions
 “ of the justice of the case, but with the desire of closing a matter which, in its
 “ present state, is disadvantageous to the public as well as to the Company, they
 “ have offered an abatement of 20,000 *l.* from their subsidy, while at the same
 “ time they have offered an improved service which can only be carried on at a
 “ largely increased expenditure; and they further state that if ‘ their Lordships
 “ are of opinion that the views of the Directors are less sanguine than the
 “ ‘ prospect of the canal service warrants,’ that they will be happy, in lieu of sur-
 “ rendering 20,000 *l.* of their subsidy to share with the Government in equal
 “ proportions the profits of the Company above 8 per cent., arising out of the
 “ mail service now subsidised by Her Majesty’s Government.

“ My Lords are decidedly of opinion that it is not advisable to accept the
 “ above proposal of the Directors of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Naviga-
 “ tion Company that the Government should, in lieu of an abatement of 20,000 *l.*
 “ a-year being made from the subsidy, payable to the Company, share the profits
 “ of the Company above 8 per cent., in consideration of the Company being
 “ permitted to make use of the Suez Canal for their vessels conveying the heavy
 “ portion of the India mails; but upon a review of all the circumstances con-
 “ nected with this matter, and having again given the whole subject their most
 “ attentive consideration, they have come to the conclusion that they will be
 “ warranted in deferring to the strongly expressed opinion of the Postmaster
 “ General, and in, therefore, consenting to his acceding to the proposals of the
 “ Company as contained in the letter from the Company, dated the 25th March
 “ last, which was forwarded in his Lordship’s letter of the 31st of the same
 “ month.

“ In consenting to reduce the amount of the abatement from the Company’s
 “ subsidy in consideration of their offer being accepted, from the sum demanded
 “ by their predecessors, viz., from 60,000 *l.* to 20,000 *l.*, and thereby reversing
 “ their own previous decision, my Lords deem it right to remark, that they are
 “ greatly influenced by the fuller explanation given by the Company as to the
 “ causes of the reduction of their revenue, and the slight probability of any con-
 “ siderable increase resulting from the contemplated changes in their service, and
 “ also that the following advantages will be obtained from accepting the offer of
 “ the Company, viz., a promised arrival of the outward mails at their destina-
 “ tion 24 hours earlier than at present (in Australia nearly two days).

“ An arrival of those mails at least 12 hours earlier guaranteed by a penalty
 “ of 100 *l.*

“ An arrival of those mails at the present table time guaranteed by a penalty
 “ of 200 *l.*

“ An arrival of those mails within 12 hours after the present table time gua-
 “ ranteed by a penalty of 300 *l.*, while no penalty is now incurred when the delay
 “ does not extend to 24 hours.

“ An arrival of those mails within 24 hours after the present table time gua-
 “ ranteed by a penalty of 400 *l.* instead of 50 *l.*, with a penalty of 100 *l.* for every
 “ further delay of 12 hours, instead of one 50 *l.* for every 24 hours.

“ An arrival at Southampton of the mails from Bombay and Point de Galle
 “ within 12 hours after the table time guaranteed by a penalty of 100 *l.*, while
 “ no penalty is now incurred when the delay does not extend to 24 hours.

“ An arrival of those mails within 24 hours after the table time guaranteed by a
 “ penalty of 200 *l.* instead of 50 *l.* as at present, with a penalty of 100 *l.* for every
 “ further delay of 12 hours instead of one of 50 *l.* for every 24 hours.

“ The substitution of absolute penalties for penalties not payable when the
 “ cause of delay arises from causes beyond the Company’s control.

“ A saving of 20,000 *l.* a year in the subsidy.

“ An estimated saving of 2,000 *l.* a year in the premiums now paid to the
 “ Company for voyages performed within the time allowed.

“ A saving of 2,000 *l.* a year in the amount to be paid to the Egyptian
 “ Government for the transit of the mails by the railway.

16 CONTRACT:—EAST INDIA, CHINA, AND JAPAN MAILS.

“The question now arises as to the manner in which effect should be given to the decision of this Board in this case; and although my Lords are of opinion that they have power to alter the terms of the present contract in the manner proposed, the effect of such alteration being a material reduction in the amount of the subsidy payable to the Company, they consider that it will be advisable that the question should be submitted for the consideration of the House of Commons; and with that view they have come to the conclusion that the proper course will be for a new contract to be entered into with the Company embodying the proposals to which my Lords have given their assent, and terminating at the same date as the contract now in existence.”

My Lords desire that a copy of the contract, together with a copy of the foregoing Minute, be laid upon the Table of the House of Commons.

POST OFFICE (EAST INDIA, CHINA,
AND JAPAN MAILS CONTRACT).

COPY of a CONTRACT, dated the 8th day of July 1874,
between the Postmaster General and the Peninsular
and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, for the
Conveyance of the EAST INDIA, CHINA, and JAPAN
MAILS; together with COPY of a TREASURY MINUTE,
dated the 14th day of July 1874, thereon.

(Mr. William Henry Smith.)

*Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
16 July 1874.*

301.

Under 2 oz.

COMMERCIAL. No. 1. (1874).

TREATY

OF

COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION

BETWEEN

GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE.

Signed at Versailles, July 23, 1873.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1874.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

[C.—886.] Price 1d.

Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Great Britain and France.

Signed at Versailles, July 23, 1873.

[Ratifications exchanged at Paris, August 4, 1873.]

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the President of the French Republic, being equally animated with the desire to draw closer the ties of friendship which unite the two countries, and of placing on a satisfactory footing the commercial and maritime relations between the two States, have, with this object, determined to conclude a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, and they have accordingly appointed their respective Plenipotentiaries, that is to say :

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable Richard Bickerton Pemell Lord Lyons, a Peer of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, one of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council and Her said Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the French Republic, &c., &c., &c. ;

And the President of the French Republic, M. le Duc de Broglie, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Vice-President of the Council, Chevalier of the National Order of the Legion of Honour, &c., &c., &c. ;

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles :—

ARTICLE I.

The Treaty of Commerce concluded on the 23rd of January, 1860, between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and France, as also the Supplementary Conventions of the 12th of October and 16th of November of the same year, are again put in force in all their stipulations and in their full tenour, and shall continue to have effect as before the Act of Denunciation of the 15th of March, 1872.

The High Contracting Parties guarantee

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SA Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, et le Président de la République Française, également animés du désir de resserrer les liens d'amitié qui unissent les deux pays, et de placer sur un pied satisfaisant les relations commerciales et maritimes entre les deux Etats, ont décidé de conclure, dans ce but, un Traité de Commerce et de Navigation, et ont nommé pour leurs Plénipotentiaires respectifs, savoir :

Sa Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, le Très Honorable Richard Bickerton Pemell Lord Lyons, Pair du Royaume Uni, Grand-Croix du Très Honorable Ordre du Bain, Membre du Conseil Privé de Sa Majesté Britannique, Son Ambassadeur Extraordinaire et Plénipotentiaire près le Gouvernement de la République Française, &c., &c., &c. ;

Et le Président de la République Française, M. le Duc de Broglie, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Vice-Président du Conseil, Chevalier de l'Ordre National de la Légion d'Honneur, &c., &c., &c. ;

Lesquels, après s'être communiqué leurs pleins pouvoirs, trouvés en bonne et due forme, sont convenus des Articles suivants :—

ARTICLE I.

Le Traité de Commerce conclu le 23 Janvier, 1860, entre le Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande et la France, ainsi que les Conventions Supplémentaires des 12 Octobre et 16 Novembre de la même année, sont, dans toutes leurs dispositions et teneur, remis en vigueur et continueront d'avoir leurs effets comme avant l'Acte de Dénonciation du 15 Mars, 1872.

Les Hautes Parties Contractantes se garan-

B 2

to each other reciprocally, as well in the United Kingdom as in France and Algeria, the treatment, in all respects, of the most favoured nation.

It is, therefore, understood that, in conformity with the stipulations of Article XIX of the Treaty of Commerce, concluded on the 23rd of January, 1860, and of Article V of the Supplementary Convention of the 16th of November of the same year, each of the High Contracting Parties engages to give the other, immediately and unconditionally, the benefit of every favour or immunity, every privilege or reduction of Tariff in regard to the importation of merchandize, whether mentioned or not in the Treaty and Conventions of 1860, which have been or may be conceded by one of the High Contracting Parties to any foreign nation whatsoever, whether within or beyond Europe.

It is likewise understood that, in all that relates to transit, warehousing, exportation, re-exportation, local dues, brokerage, Customs formalities, samples, designs for manufactures, and likewise in all matters relating to the exercise of commerce and industry, British subjects in France or in Algeria, and French in the United Kingdom, shall enjoy the treatment of the most favoured nation.

ARTICLE II.

British ships and their cargoes shall, in France and in Algeria, and French ships and their cargoes shall, in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, from whatever place arriving, and whatever may be the place of origin or destination of their cargoes, be treated in every respect as national ships, and their cargoes.

The coasting trade, however, is excepted from the preceding stipulation, and remains subject to the respective laws of the two countries.

ARTICLE III.

The High Contracting Parties agree to settle by means of a Supplementary Convention, the ratifications of which shall be exchanged before the 31st of January, 1874, such arrangements as may appear to them to be necessary in regard to Consular attributions, to transit and Customs regulations affecting entry of goods, expertise, samples, and any other matters of the like nature, and they agree, moreover, to substitute this Supplementary Convention for the stipulations about similar matters comprised in the Treaties and Conventions of 1860.

tissent réciproquement, tant dans le Royaume Uni qu'en France et en Algérie, le traitement, sous tous les rapports, de la nation la plus favorisée.

Il est donc entendu, conformément aux dispositions de l'Article XIX du Traité de Commerce conclu le 23 Janvier, 1860, ainsi que l'Article V de la Convention Supplémentaire du 16 Novembre de la même année, que chacune des Hautes Parties Contractantes s'engage à faire profiter l'autre immédiatement et sans conditions de toute faveur ou immunité, de tout privilège ou abaissement de Tarif pour l'importation des marchandises mentionnées ou non dans les Traités et Conventions de 1860, qui ont été ou pourront être accordés par l'une des Hautes Parties Contractantes à une nation étrangère quelconque, soit en Europe soit en dehors.

Il est également entendu que pour tout ce qui concerne le transit, l'entrepôt, l'exportation, la ré-exportation, les droits locaux, le courtage, les formalités de Douane, les échantillons, les dessins de fabrique, de même que pour tout ce qui a rapport à l'exercice du commerce et de l'industrie, les sujets Britanniques en France ou en Algérie, et les Français dans le Royaume Uni, jouiront du traitement de la nation la plus favorisée.

ARTICLE II.

Les navires Anglais et leur cargaison en France et en Algérie, et les navires Français et leur cargaison dans le Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, à leur arrivée d'un port quelconque et quel que soit le lieu d'origine ou de destination de leur cargaison, jouiront, sous tous les rapports, du même traitement que les navires nationaux et leur cargaison.

Il est fait exception à la disposition qui précède pour le cabotage, dont le régime demeure soumis aux lois respectives des deux pays.

ARTICLE III.

Les Hautes Parties Contractantes conviennent d'établir, au moyen d'une Convention Supplémentaire dont les ratifications seront échangées avant le 31 Janvier, 1874, les dispositions qui leur paraîtront nécessaires au sujet des attributions Consulaires, ainsi que du transit et des règlements de Douane relatifs à l'entrée des marchandises, à l'expertise, aux échantillons, et à toute autre matière analogue. Elles conviennent en outre de substituer cette Convention Supplémentaire aux dispositions en pareille matière comprises dans les Traités et Conventions de 1860.

ARTICLE IV.

Mineral oils of British origin shall be admitted into France and Algeria from the 1st of January, 1874, or sooner, if possible, at a Customs duty of 5 per cent., that is to say, at the rate of duty levied previously to the passing of the Law of the 8th of July, 1871. It is, nevertheless, agreed³ that the said oils shall, in conformity with the stipulations of Article IX of the Treaty of the 23rd of January, 1860, again put into force by Article I of the present Treaty, be likewise subject to the duty of 5 fr. or 8 fr. per 100 kilog. established on crude or refined oils by the Law of the 16th of September, 1871, or that which may be hereafter levied on the like oils manufactured in France.

A Commission, consisting of one member on the part of each Government, shall meet at Paris immediately after the ratification of the present Treaty, in order to settle, as hereinafter directed, questions concerning duties levied in France on British mineral oils, as well as to consider and report on any other questions which the High Contracting Parties agree, or shall agree, to refer to it.

The benefit of the above provisions shall be extended to British mineral oils, to be supplied to persons in France under contracts entered into before the promulgation of the Law of the 8th of July, 1871.

The Commission shall examine how far it would be possible to effect reimbursement of duties levied in excess of the duty of 5 per cent., and the tax of 5 fr. or 8 fr. per 100 kilog. above referred to, in the case of British mineral oils introduced into France since the promulgation of the Law of the 8th of July, 1871, otherwise than in pursuance of contracts previously entered into.

In regard to the contracts above referred to, the settlement shall include indemnification for actions for breaches of contracts entered into before the enforcement of the Law of the 8th of July, 1871.

The High Contracting Parties, before the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty, shall name some third person to act as Arbitrator in regard to any points in connection with the questions above referred to which relate to mineral oils and on which the Commissioners may themselves differ in opinion. The Commission shall refer any such points to the Arbitrator, whose decision shall be binding on the Commissioners, and shall be reported by them accordingly.

The High Contracting Parties shall forth-

ARTICLE IV.

A partir du 1 Janvier, 1874, ou plus tôt si faire se peut, les huiles minérales d'origine Britannique seront admises en France et en Algérie, au droit de Douane de 5 pour cent, c'est-à-dire au taux du droit en vigueur avant la Loi du 8 Juillet, 1871. Il demeure cependant convenu que les dites huiles devront, conformément aux dispositions de l'Article IX du Traité du 23 Janvier, 1860, remis en vigueur par l'Article I du présent Traité, acquitter en outre les droits de 5 ou 8 fr. par 100 kilog. établis sur les huiles brutes ou raffinées par la Loi du 16 Septembre, 1871, ou ceux qui seraient ultérieurement établis sur les mêmes huiles fabriquées en France.

Une Commission, qui sera composée d'un membre nommé par chaque Gouvernement, se réunira à Paris immédiatement après la ratification du présent Traité pour régler de la manière ci-dessous prévue les questions relatives aux droits perçus sur les huiles minérales d'origine Britannique; et en même temps pour examiner toute autre question que les Hautes Parties Contractantes conviennent ou conviendront de lui soumettre, et en faire l'objet d'un rapport.

Le bénéfice des dispositions précédentes sera étendu aux huiles minérales d'origine Britannique, ayant fait l'objet de marchés pour la livraison des dites huiles en France avant la promulgation de la Loi du 8 Juillet, 1871.

La Commission examinera dans quelle mesure il sera possible d'effectuer le remboursement des droits perçus en plus du droit de 5 pour cent et de la taxe de 5 ou 8 fr. par 100 kilog. ci-dessus indiquée, dans le cas où des huiles minérales d'origine Britannique auraient été introduites en France depuis promulgation de la Loi du 8 Juillet, 1871, autrement que pour l'exécution de contrats préalablement passés.

En ce qui concerne les contrats ci-dessus visés, le règlement comprendra une indemnité des poursuites exercées pour défaut d'exécution des contrats passés avant l'application de la Loi du 8 Juillet, 1871.

Les Hautes Parties Contractantes, avant l'échange des ratifications du présent Traité, nommeront une tierce personne destinée à intervenir comme Arbitre sur toute matière en rapport avec les questions ci-dessus désignées qui se rattachent aux huiles minérales et sur lesquelles les Commissaires ne seront pas d'accord. La Commission déférera toute difficulté de cette nature à l'Arbitre, dont la décision sera obligatoire pour les Commissaires, qui feront leur rapport en conséquence.

Les Hautes Parties Contractantes pren-

with carry out the decision come to by the Commission or by the Arbitrator.

ARTICLE V.

The present Treaty shall remain in force until the 30th of June, 1877. In case neither of the two High Contracting Parties should have notified twelve months before the said date the intention of putting an end to it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the two High Contracting Parties shall have denounced it.

ARTICLE VI.

The President of the French Republic engages to apply to the National Assembly for the necessary authorization to ratify and give effect to the present Treaty immediately after its signature.

The ratifications shall be exchanged at Paris as soon as possible, and the Treaty shall immediately come into force.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty, and have thereto affixed the seals of their arms.

Done in duplicate at Versailles, the 23rd day of July, in the year of our Lord 1873.

(L.S.)

(L.S.)

dront sans retard les mesures nécessaires pour l'exécution des décisions de la Commission ou de l'Arbitre.

ARTICLE V.

Le présent Traité restera en vigueur jusqu'au 30 Juin, 1877. Dans le cas où aucune des deux Hautes Parties Contractantes n'aurait notifié douze mois avant la dite date son intention d'en faire cesser les effets, il demeurera obligatoire jusqu'à l'expiration d'une année à partir du jour où l'une ou l'autre des Hautes Parties Contractantes l'aura dénoncé.

ARTICLE VI.

Le Président de la République Française s'engage à demander à l'Assemblée Nationale, immédiatement après la signature du présent Traité, l'autorisation nécessaire pour ratifier et faire exécuter le dit Traité. Les ratifications en seront échangées à Paris le plus tôt que faire se pourra, et le Traité entrera immédiatement en vigueur.

En foi de quoi, les Plénipotentiaires respectifs ont signé le présent Traité, qu'ils ont revêtu du cachet de leurs armes.

Fait en double expédition à Versailles, le 23^e jour du mois de Juillet de l'an mil huit cent soixante-treize.

LYONS.

BROGLIE.

COMMERCIAL. No. 1 (1874).

Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between
Great Britain and France.

Signed at Versailles, July 23, 1873.

*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command
of Her Majesty. 1874.*

LONDON:

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

EAST INDIA (BOMBAY RIOTS).

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 14 July 1874;—for,

COPIES “of all DESPATCHES received at or sent from the India Office in
reference to the recent RIOTS at *Bombay* :”

“Of all REPORTS by the Commissioners of Police at *Bombay* relating to the
said RIOTS, or subsequent Proceedings consequent thereon :”

“And, of the MEMORIAL from the Parsee Community at *Bombay* to the
Secretary of State for India in Council, and of the REPLY thereto.”

India Office, }
16 July 1874. }

H. L. ANDERSON,
Secretary, Judicial Department.

NOTE.—The only Papers which have been received with the Memorial of the Parsee Community, and which have not been presented with this Return, are the proceedings of certain meetings of Parsees held in Bombay, and the reports of the investigation before the magistrate, and the reports of the trials in the High Court. These have been omitted on account of their great length, but they can be presented in a supplementary Return.

H. L. A.

(*Mr. Dunbar.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
17 July 1874.

COPIES of all DESPATCHES received at, or sent from, the India Office, in reference to the recent RIOTS in *Bombay*:—Of all REPORTS by the Commissioners of Police at *Bombay* relating to the said RIOTS, or subsequent Proceedings consequent thereon:—And, of the MEMORIAL from the Parsee Community at *Bombay* to the Secretary of State for India in Council, and of the REPLY thereto.

(No. 3 of 1874.—Judicial Department.)

To Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India in Council, London.

My Lord Marquis,

WE regret that it now becomes our duty to report to your Lordship that during the last fortnight the peace of this city has been seriously disturbed by disputes that have arisen between the Mahometan and Parsee sections of its inhabitants, in which some lives have been lost, some property has been destroyed and stolen, and a Parsee place of worship has been ransacked and desecrated.

2. Disputes between these two classes have on other occasions caused much mischief here, and the feelings of mutual dislike between the races are widely spread and enduring.

3. The immediate cause of the present disturbance was the publication by a Parsee, possibly with no evil design, of a book in the Guzerathi language, in which a concubine of Mahomet was spoken of, for want of any more correct term, as a "kept mistress." For some time it remained unnoticed, until an article in a Native newspaper attracted attention to it, and immediately aroused the anger of the Mahometans.

4. The Commissioner of Police on hearing what was passing, made every effort to pacify the Mahometans and to bring about the suppression of the publication, in which last effort he was in a great degree successful. A large meeting was held at the principal mosque, about which we are not yet in possession of details, at which the leading persons present professed themselves to be satisfied with the steps that had been taken, and, ostensibly, at any rate, exhorted the multitude to abstain from any further demonstration, and undoubtedly those on whom the Commissioner of Police most relied for accurate information gave him to understand that he need be under no further apprehension of violence on the part of the Mahometans.

5. About one o'clock on that same afternoon (Friday the 13th February), however (whether with or without some further trifling provocation is a matter in dispute), a large body of the lowest orders of the Mahometan population assembled, and before the police could overcome them, ransacked and desecrated a Parsee Temple, broke into and destroyed the contents of one or more Parsee houses, and stole money and jewels to a considerable amount; while in one or two other parts of the town some damage was done to the property of Parsees.

6. The police we learn succeeded by 2 p.m. in suppressing the riot and making prisoners of a large number of the rioters, of whom some received severe injuries in the fight, and one, a Parsee, has since died in hospital.

7. The Parsees became exceedingly alarmed, and the Commissioner of Police was authorised, if he found it necessary, to apply for military assistance; which on Sunday led to small detachments of Native infantry being placed in the most disturbed quarter. No disturbance of importance occurred on Saturday

the 14th, although there were two or three isolated fights, in one of which a Mahometan was so severely injured that he has since died in hospital.

8. On the next day, Sunday the 15th, matters became worse. The funeral of a Mahometan who had been killed in a previous riot took place, and although the police had taken charge of, and made arrangements for escorting the funeral procession, a large body of Parsees gathered near the burial ground. The Mahometans allege that the latter began the attack by throwing stones, while the Parsees assert that the Mahometans came provided with bludgeons. A severe fight took place, in which again several were severely wounded and more prisoners were made by the police. Seven Parsees and 16 Mahometans were taken to hospital, of whom one of the former and four of the latter have since died.

9. It now became evident that energetic steps must be taken by the Government to maintain peace and order. The police, whose reduced numbers had been shown to be insufficient for the control of the vast population of this city under unusual pressure, had been incessantly employed for successive days and nights; and the Mahometan festival of the Mohurram, which is always more or less a cause of anxiety, was close at hand.

10. It was therefore decided at a meeting of Council held on Monday the 16th, that the usual processions through the streets should on this occasion be prohibited. It was at first proposed that this prohibition should extend only to processions by night; but further consideration and representations entitled to respect, showed the expediency of prohibiting them altogether.

11. The processions in question partake of the character of an annual celebration of an important historical event which divided the believers in Islam into two great sections. They are more an exhibition of triumph than a ceremonial connected with religious worship, and are strongly objected to by the stricter adherents to the law of the Koran. These practices have existed for so great a number of years, and so much importance is attached to them by large numbers of the more ignorant Mahometans, that the Government could not overlook the serious character of the step it was about to take, or the dissatisfaction which would be felt by many who were possibly innocent of any participation in the riots. It was considered, however, that during the excitement that prevailed among the two hostile races, further collisions would be inevitable, if the usual processions were permitted; and to prevent further risk to life and property, it was resolved, after careful deliberation, as above stated, to put an interdict on all processions through the public streets on this occasion in the interest of the entire community.

12. To carry out this order, and to make it plain that resistance would be hopeless, a large reinforcement of troops was ordered by telegraph from Poona. In the course of the following day, the 17th, a regiment of Native infantry, half a regiment of European infantry, and some cavalry, arrived. On the 18th more cavalry arrived, and a few guns were got in readiness. On the same day, the 18th, another meeting of Council was held, at which the Advocate General and some of the principal civil and military servants were directed to attend, and which resulted in the issue of the notification, of which a copy is enclosed.

• 13. On the following days, the 19th and 20th, the city was quiet. But on the evening of the 21st, some Mahometan labourers, who had just landed from their daily work on board ships, and who on their way to their homes had to pass through a street thickly inhabited by Parsees, were set upon by the latter in large numbers, and, before the police could gather in force, received severe injuries. Two Parsees and six Mahometans were taken to hospital, but all are still alive.

14. On the 23rd a petition was presented by the representatives of one body of Mahometans, praying that the prohibition of the processions might be withdrawn; of which, and of the answer given after their interview with the Governor, copies are enclosed.

15. On the same day also, his Excellency had an opportunity of impressing upon some leading Parsee gentlemen the importance of their exerting themselves

selves to check the spirit of retaliation which the lower classes of the Parsees had on several occasions exhibited, and of their giving their support to the efforts at promoting a reconciliation, which had been made by Mr. Narayan Wassoodeo, a Hindoo Legislative Member of Council.

16. It was pointed out to them also by his Excellency, not only that their own position might in the future be very inconvenient to them, but also that revenge might be taken on Parsees residing in other parts of the country, where the same amount of military protection could not be at once available.

17. These representations were respectfully received, but are not proved to have influenced the bearing of the Parsees.

18. On the 24th nothing particular occurred. On the 25th, the representatives of various bodies of Mahometans waited on the Governor to present another petition for the withdrawal of the prohibition of the processions; and copies of the petition, and of the answer given after a long conference, are enclosed.

19. It may be mentioned that from time to time the military authorities had been requested to send detachments of troops to different places, which appeared to stand in need of such precautionary measures. On the 26th all was quiet.

20. The night of Friday, the 27th, was the time at which, according to custom, the processions should have taken place, and accordingly the arrangements described in the enclosed memorandum were made by the brigadier commanding the troops, and the night passed off very quietly.

21. In conclusion, we have to state that this Despatch has been written while we are still without any official report of the commencement and progress of these disturbances. The time of the Commissioner of Police has been so fully occupied throughout, both by day and by night, that he has found it impracticable to frame a detailed report. We have, therefore, in this communication abstained from any expression of opinion; pending the receipt of the report and the inquiry we propose to make without delay, we have confined ourselves to a simple narrative of what has occurred.

We have, &c.
(signed) *P. E. Wodehouse.*
H. P. St. G. Tucker.
A. Rogers.

Bombay Castle, 2 March 1874.

THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Thursday, 19th February 1874.

PART I.—NOTIFICATION.

Judicial Department.—Bombay Castle, 19th February 1874.

WHEREAS it has been found necessary to station troops in different quarters of the City of Bombay, for the preservation of the public peace during the Mohurram Festival, and it is desirable that in the event of such troops being called on to act for the suppression of a riot, a justice of the peace should accompany them, the following gentlemen have been selected for that duty, and have been requested to place themselves in communication with the proper military authorities:—

Mr. E. W. Ravenscroft.
Mr. J. B. Peile.
Mr. W. G. Pedder.
Mr. F. R. S. Wyllie.
Major A. T. Moore.

Surgeon Major J. Lumsdaine.
Mr. E. Cordeaux.
Mr. H. E. James.
Mr. W. Loudon.

By order of His Excellency the Governor in Council,—

C. Gonne,
Secretary to Government.

To Sir Philip E. Wodehouse, K.C.B. and G.C.S.I., Honourable Governor and President in Council, Bombay.

May it please your Excellency,

THAT your Excellency's poor petitioners beg leave most humbly to lay these few lines before your Excellency, with the full confidence and with the sanguine hopes that the same will meet your kind and favourable consideration.

We beg leave to inform you that one book was published by Rustomji Hormusji Jalbai and others, regarding the life of prophets, which contains much against the life of Mahomed; the publication of this volume came to our knowledge, which hurted very much the feelings of all Mahomedans, therefore our kazi and other influential men came to know also about the contents of this volume, from whence they thought that great disturbance and row would take place, and in order to keep the peace they thought better to bring this to the notice of Mr. Souter, the Commissioner of Police, whereupon our kazi and other influential men went and saw Mr. Edginton, and then Mr. Souter, and gave him the information regarding the publication of this book, who received them with greatest respect, and thanked them to bring this information to his knowledge, and at the same time sent immediately to Rustomji Hormusji Jalbai, who came with the police havildar sent by Mr. Souter; no sooner he came he had some kind of conversation with Mr. Souter, and shortly afterwards promised that he would bring all the copies of the above book the following day to Mr. Souter which he had in his possession (this information we had from Mr. Souter), and Mr. Souter should do whatever he thinks right with these books, and Mr. Souter promised our kazi and other influential men, that he would endeavour his utmost to destroy these books, and they should try and keep the peace. Upon this information we were quite pleased and satisfied, relying on Mr. Souter that he would do something good to us; and also we tried our best to keep the peace for about four or five days. On Thursday evening, about 8 or 9 p.m., the 12th instant, our kazi held a meeting. To this meeting few of Shiahhs and Soonees attended; our kazi recommended them, and all who attended the said meeting, to forgive Rustomji Hormusji for his publishing the above book, and also to keep peace and forget bad feelings. To this all of them unanimously consented, relying on Mr. Souter that he would try and destroy these books, and do everything good for us, and to keep the peace, and then we all left the meeting. The next day being Friday, some of Mahomedans went to the Jumah Musjid for prayers as usual, and after the prayers our kazi informed them about Thursday evening's meeting, and recommended them that they should try and keep the peace, so they all left the mosque. On their way home some of the boys were saying Deen, deen, up to they came to Battlewalla Molla, or Abdool Rahim-street; your Excellency will find that from the above mosque to the Battlewalla Molla, there are a good many shops belonging to Parsees who were present at the time, but none of them were hurt or insulted, neither the Mahomedans, but one Framjee, the police constable. At that time Framjee came down from his house, where he was living, and struck the boys for calling Deen, deen, and made them quiet for his own caste people. At that time that some of our caste people who did not attend the meeting asked Framjee the cause of his striking the boys; these men he also insulted, and some of them were also struck, and at the same time some bottles and other injurious things were thrown from the windows of the said Framjee's house, in that vicinity; thereupon the present row and disturbance is going on, also some of the Mahomedans who returned from mosque, further up than Framjee's house, towards the northern side, they also perceived something coming down from the windows of the other houses belonging to Parsees, where the Parsees live at time, that some serious disturbance took place for which we are very sorry, and on the same day similar disturbances took place in other places, also the next day, and also on Saturday. On Sunday, the 15th instant, our caste were prohibited from making any disturbance; and while some Seedeas and others who were burying the dead body, good many stones were thrown on them by lot of Parsees, and good many of them were hurt, and on their returning home, good many Parsees came with the sticks in their hands and struck them severely; and good many of our caste people were also struck and injured with pistols, swords, and sticks, and some of our caste people were killed and severely struck. On account of such disturbance, good many of our

our caste people are in custody, and none of the Parsees are arrested, because we are to be blamed and not the Parsees, it is to our great surprise and astonishment. And since that time we were trying our best to stop our caste people to keep peace, but on the contrary, our caste people are yet struck now and then, and here and there, and since then we perceived that good many of our caste people are suffering very much; consequently a general meeting was held on Wednesday, the 18th instant, at that meeting Honourable Narrayen Wassooden, Doctor Blaney, and Mr. Raghoonath Narrayen Khotey, and several other Mahomedans of different races were present; at that time our caste people unanimously consented to keep the peace; at that time Honourable Narrayen said that he would induce the Parsees to do the same; since that time we thought that Honourable Narrayen would stop every disturbance, and after this we were very glad that everything would be stopped, and was stopped for four days, but suddenly again on Saturday the 21st instant, it is to our great surprise that four or five Seedees, while returning from boardship from Apollo Bunder, they were severely attacked, at the Hornby-road, by the Parsees and severely injured, now they are in hospital. Under these circumstance we earnestly beg your Excellency will be graciously pleased to render us protection and assistance. On the request of Parsees asking to stop the Mohurram procession, thereupon Government, under Section 77, of Act No. 13 of 1856, passed a resolution, dated 17th February 1874 instant, stopping such procession, which is great imposition on us, as it was carried for 900 years or more, but never was stopped in any way. In conclusion, we further beg your Excellency will have the goodness as to allow us permission as to carry on the Mohurram's procession as usual, and also render us military force during the holidays.

Similar disturbance took place in the year 1851, on account of some mischief done by the Parsees against us, and then Parsees asked excuse, and have guaranteed in writing us for not occurring similar thing again.

Your Excellency's Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray,

(signed) In native character,
Hajee Hafiz Abdool Khan Kadeer.
Chandlay Shutree Syrang, or
Poogla Tandel, Street House, No. 17,
 and others.

Bombay, 23 February 1874.

(No. 989 of 1874—Judicial Department.)

To *Hajee Hafiz Abdool Cadur* and others, inhabitants of the City of Bombay.

Gentlemen,

IN reply to your petition of 23rd instant, I am directed to state that his Excellency the Governor in Council has given full consideration to your request that you may be allowed to carry on the Mohurram processions as usual, and that military aid may be rendered to you during the holidays, and much regrets that he considers it to be his duty to decline to withdraw the prohibition of processions of any kind in the city of Bombay during the Mohurram Festival of the present year.

2. Government do not doubt that many of the persons who have signed this petition are desirous of doing all in their power to allay the prevailing agitation, and to prevent further breaches of the peace; but their ability to do so under present circumstances, if the processions be allowed at all, is extremely questionable.

3. A casual insult offered to a procession by some reckless individual would inevitably lead to dangerous riots, for the suppression of which the troops would be put in action and a loss of life of persons of, perhaps, all classes would ensue, for which the Government must feel they would be to blame.

4. Government would not for any light cause interfere with the established customs of any class of the community. Their first duty is to protect life and property, and they are satisfied that on the present occasion this can best be

done by prohibiting the processions in Bombay. In such a course they hold themselves entitled to the earnest support of all the respectable inhabitants of the city.

5. The other circumstances mentioned in your petition will receive due consideration at the proper time.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. Nugent*,
Acting Under Secretary to Government.

Bombay Castle, 24 February 1874.

To His Excellency The Right Honourable Sir *P. E. Wodehouse*, K.C.B., G.C.S.I.,
Governor and President in Council, Bombay.

The humble Petition of the Mahomedan Inhabitants of Bombay,

Sheweth,

THE disturbances which have recently taken place between the Parsee and Mahomedan community are in no way connected with their religious processions. A few only of the disorderly classes of both communities have been assaulting each other. The respectable portion of the Mahomedan community have in no way been connected with the disturbances or assaults.

Your Excellency's order, prohibiting the usual Taboot procession, is felt by the whole of the Mahomedan community to be an extreme invasion of their religious privileges.

That your Memorialists submit that the religious customs of erecting Taboots, &c., and of the procession thereof respectively, have been in existence in India for several centuries, during which it was on no occasions stopped by any of the Government, whether native or foreign, not even during the disturbances of 1851, nor during the disastrous Mutiny in 1858.

Your Memorialists are quite willing to carry the Taboots in procession only through streets inhabited by the Mahomedan community; your Memorialists also submit that if proper and necessary guards are placed near the approaches to the Parsee quarters, all possibility of any disturbances will be avoided. Moreover, your Memorialists submit that in the year 1851, under a similar state of disturbances, the processions were not prohibited, and your Memorialists submit that the present state of feeling between the two communities is not of so bitter and hostile a character as to require, by the prohibition of the procession, such an invasion of the religious privileges of the Mahomedan community.

Your Memorialists point confidently to the fact that the leading members of the Mahomedan community have shown a most conciliatory disposition towards the Parsees, and that they are supported in showing that conciliatory tone by nearly the whole of the Mahomedan community.

Under these circumstances it would be extremely unfair to deprive the Mahomedan community of the exercise of one of their most valued religious rights, on account of the improper conduct of a very small portion of their community; and your Memorialists hope that your Excellency would be pleased to allow the procession of their Taboots through such streets and in such a manner that no cause of disturbance could arise.

Your Memorialists further submit that if arrangements are made by which the processions can be carried out, all possibility of any ill-feeling being entertained by any portion of the Mahomedan community, on the ground that their religious rites have been interfered with through the agency of the Parsees, will be removed, and friendly feelings between the two races will certainly be more speedily re-established.

Your Memorialists, therefore, most earnestly hope that your Excellency will graciously take the case into your kind consideration, and will not allow the long prevailing and uninterrupted religious customs and usages of your Memorialists'

rialists' community to be violated, and which said customs and usages have nothing to do with the present ill-feeling between the lower orders of the Parsee and Mahomedan communities.

And your Memorialists, as in duty bound, shall ever pray,

(signed) *Md. H. Chorghay and others.*

Bombay, 25 February 1874.

(No. 1063 of 1874.--Judicial Department.)

From *John Nugent*, Esq., Acting Under Secretary to Government, Bombay, to Mr. *Md. H. Chorghay and others*, Mahomedan inhabitants of Bombay, dated 26 February 1874.

Sirs,

IN reply to your Petition, dated the 25th instant, I am directed to inform you that it was not without full consideration or much regret that his Excellency the Governor in Council arrived at the conclusion that it was necessary, on the occasion of the present Mohurram, to prohibit, in the city of Bombay, the processions which for so long a series of years certain classes of the Mahomedan community have been accustomed to conduct through the public streets. The desire of the Government was to prevent, above all, loss of life, and secondarily the unlawful destruction of property. They believed that, for the attainment of those objects, the prohibition of the processions was indispensable, and they felt that the antiquity of the custom could not be accepted as a justification for endangering the lives of the community.

2. His Excellency in Council fully sympathizes with the respectable members of the Mahomedan persuasion, who are in no way implicated in the disturbances that have taken place, but who are, nevertheless, of necessity subjected to an unwelcome interference with customs to which they attach much value. He would also gladly promote the restoration of good feeling between the Mahomedans and Parsees to which allusion is made in the Petition, and without which it is to be feared that both classes will suffer inconvenience in the future. But, unfortunately, up to the present moment there is no substantial indication of a change in that direction, nor, in the opinion of his Excellency, is there anything to warrant the withdrawal of the orders given for the preservation of life and property.

3. On these grounds his Excellency regrets that he must decline to sanction the conveyance of the Taboots through the streets of the city.

I have, &c.

(signed) *John Nugent*,
Acting Under Secretary to Government.

Bombay Castle,
26 February 1874.

EXTRACT from DISTRICT ORDERS by Brigadier General *Gill* commanding the District.

Bombay, 27 February 1874.

THE Byculla station posts to be abandoned (leaving one sowar to bring telegraphic messages), and to take post at Bhendy Bazaar, Abdool Raymon's stables, at 5 p.m.

The permanent garrison will consist of two guns detachment R.A.

Captain Owen's detachment Poona horse from Nowrojee's stables when relieved by Major La Touche.

1. Company British Infantry 68th regiment, L. I.

2. Companies Native Infantry 20th Regiment, N. I., and will furnish the following detached posts,—

Erskine Road. One native officer, 25 rank and file.

Khetwady. One native officer, 50 rank and file.

Obelisk Road. Two tanks, one havildar, and 14 rank and file.

Major La Touche leaving 20 sowars in his camp, will occupy Nowrojee's, stables, support Captain Owen's party, and look after the Khetwaddy and Obelisk road posts.

The Pydhounnee picquet will be permanently occupied by two Companies of Native Infantry, 8th Regiment, N. I. 50 sowars 1st Light Cavalry, and will be reinforced at night by one Company of British Infantry, 68th Regiment, L. I., and will furnish the following posts,—

Abdool Raymoon-street, two Naiques, and six privates.

Donjee Dongre-street, Parsee Wada, two Naiques, and six privates.

The Dhobie Talao picquet will be doubled as to Native Infantry (8th Regiment N.I.) from 5 p.m. this evening, doubling the detached posts, and will be reinforced at night by 25 rank and file.

British Infantry (1/2nd Queen's) and one officer.

The British Infantry 2nd Queen's from Colaba will be brought in to join the camp on the Esplanade, handing over charge of their barracks to the Royal Artillery as a temporary measure.

The Grant-road station post is to be increased to,—

Two guns detachment R.A.

One Company N.I., 21st Regiment N.I.

Ten sowars, 1st Light Cavalry,

The usual detachment British Infantry 2nd Queen's will proceed to Grant-road direct this evening, and march to camp Esplanade in the morning, and to-morrow evening will march from the camp at 5 p.m.

The officer in command of this post will cause all the roads leading to Cumballa Hill, to be watched by videttes placed at the railway bridges and cross roads, not forgetting Chowpatty level crossing.

If the Bhendy Bazaar post, Abdool Raymon's stables, requires support, it is to be furnished from the Grant-road post.

Infantry are to be furnished with 40 rounds per man, and a further supply of forty rounds per man to be placed at the Bhendy Bazaar, Pydhouse, Dhobie Talas, and Grant-road posts.

The officer commanding 8th Regiment N. I. will detail a party of 25 rank and file to mount immediately at the Boree Bunder under the command of a native officer, to remain at the post until Sunday morning.

This party will act under the orders of the inspector of water police.

Officers in command of the Bhendy Bazaar post will inform civil officers of change of distribution.

The brigadier-general will pass the night at the Pydhouse picquet, and all reports are to be sent to him there.

True copies,

(signed) *G. Miles.*

Assistant Secretary to Government.

To his Excellency the Honourable the Governor in Council, *Bombay.*

(Judicial, No. 5.)

Sir,

India Office, London, 23 April 1874.

1. THE despatch of your Excellency in Council, dated 2nd March, No. 3, of 1874, reporting serious riots arising from some disputes between the Mahomedan and Parsee sections of the population in the city of Bombay, has been considered by me in Council.

2. I much regret these occurrences, but I will refrain from remarking upon them

them until I am placed in possession of the official report on the commencement and progress of these disturbances, alluded to in the last paragraph of the Despatch under reply.

I have, &c.,
(signed) *Salisbury.*

(No. 10 of 1874.)

Government of India—Home Department—Judicial—Police.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Salisbury*, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for *India*.

My Lord Marquis,

Fort William, 10 April 1874.

THE judicial Despatch to your Lordship from the Government of Bombay, No. 3, dated the 2nd ultimo, contained a preliminary account of the riots in the town of Bombay in February last. We now transmit for your Lordship's information, a copy of a letter * which we have since received from the Government of Bombay, containing, among other papers, a report regarding these disturbances, drawn up by the Commissioner of Bombay, together with a copy of our letter† to the Government of Bombay on the subject.

* No. 1453, dated
16th March 1874.

† No 108, dated
2nd April 1874.

We have, &c.,
(signed) *Northbrook.*
B. H. Ellis.
H. W. Norman
A. Hobhouse,
E. C. Bayley.

From *W. Wedderburn*, Esq., Acting Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Judicial Department, to *A. C. Lyall*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India (No. 1458); dated Bombay Castle, the 16th March 1874.

WITH reference to the Despatch from this Government to the address of the Secretary of State, No. 3, of 2nd instant, of which a copy was forwarded to you with Mr. Acting Under Secretary Nugent's Letter, No. 1187, of 4th idem, I am directed to transmit, for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying copy of a letter from the Police Commissioner of Bombay, No. 464, dated the 28th ultimo, and of its enclosures, reporting on the disturbances which took place in the town of Bombay, on Friday the 13th February 1874, and on the subsequent occurrences up to the date of the Report. Copy of a resolution passed by this Government on Mr. Souter's letter is also appended.

2. I am desired also to forward copy of a letter from the Quartermaster General of the Army, No. 79 B., dated 6th instant, and to state that his Excellency in Council has ordered the reduction of the force now in Bombay to the extent suggested by his Excellency the Commander in Chief, as this Government is of opinion that the measure may be safely carried out.

From *F. H. Souter*, Esq., c.s.i., Commissioner of Police, Bombay, to *C. Gonne*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Judicial Department (No. 464); dated Bombay, the 28th February 1874.

I HAVE the honour to submit a report of the disturbances which took place in the town of Bombay on Friday, the 13th instant, and of the subsequent occurrences up to the present time.

2. It was my anxious desire to have furnished this report at an earlier date, but I have necessarily been so much in the saddle night and day, and have had so many other pressing duties to attend to, that I have found it impossible to devote to it the time required.

3. I will now endeavour to lay before Government as brief and correct a narrative as possible of the unfortunate disturbances which have taken place, and which originated solely

with Soonee Mahomedans, and also to show what were the apparent causes which led to them.

4. Ill-feeling arose amongst the Mahomedans against the Parsees in consequence of a book, styled "The Renowned Prophets and Nations," having been written and published by a Parsee named Rustomjee Hormusjee Jalbhoy. The book is in the Goozerathi language, and in it a passage appears, the interpretation of which is to the effect that Mahomed had a son named Ibrahim born to him by a kept prostitute; a phrase which implies that the prophet was the protector of a public woman. The Mahomedans look upon the above expression as an insult to themselves and defamatory of their Prophet.

5. The book in question was, it seems, published some 10 months ago, but was circulated principally amongst the Parsees, and was only brought to the notice of the Mahomedans very recently, when a deputation of them, headed by their Kazee Abdool Luteef, waited upon me to represent their grievances.

6. Under ordinary circumstances I should probably have taken little notice of the matter, but seeing that the Mohurram was so close at hand, and well knowing the excitement which prevails during this festival amongst all classes of the Mahomedan community, I deemed it advisable to exercise my influence in checking, as far as possible, a spread of ill-feeling between the Mahomedans and Parsees.

7. With this view I sent privately for the author of the book, who stated that he had not written regarding Mahomed with any idea or intention of insulting or wounding the feelings of his followers, and at my recommendation he willingly agreed to deposit in my office all the printed copies of his book which at that time remained in his possession. He also furnished me with the names of the subscribers to his work, each of whom I addressed by letter (copy of this letter is appended and marked A.), urging the advisability of their temporarily entrusting to my care any copies in their possession, and explaining to them my reasons for recommending this step.

8. I will here mention that the day the Kazee Abdool Lateef waited on me with his deputation to represent their grievance was the 9th of February, or four days previous to the outbreak of the disturbance. The Kazee then stated that he would get together and represent to those few of his community who had become aware of the publication of the book the steps I had promised to take, and he gave me every reason to believe that he would bring about a reconciliation and that no further trouble would arise; at the same time he promised to communicate with me at once in the event of any dissatisfaction being evinced among his people.

9. After the Kazee's deputation left my office, I at once, in consultation with my deputy, Mr. Edginton, called up our chief detectives and gave them strict orders to watch the Kazee's proceedings, and also to adopt immediate measures to keep themselves and me informed of the feelings and proceedings of the Mahomedans in connection with this matter.

10. Nothing particular transpired on the 10th. On the 11th Mr. Jalbhoy sent 85 copies of his work to the office, and called himself at night to see Mr. Edginton, to whom he expressed fears that a Mussulman neighbour named Sooliman, who he believed had brought about the agitation regarding his book, would probably annoy him during the approaching Mohurram, and asked that police protection might be accorded to him at that time. The detectives reported that all was quiet this day, and that no excitement of any kind was observable.

11. On Thursday, the 12th, one of the leading members of the deputation who waited on me on the 9th, again called and informed me that a meeting of certain Mahomedans was to be held that evening with the object of discussing all particulars connected with the book, and the measures taken to remove the insult to their religious feelings, and he assured me that the matter would now be peaceably and satisfactorily settled. I directed the chief officers of my detective force to attend this meeting, which they accordingly did and reported to me the following morning (Friday) that the proceedings were in every respect conciliatory and calculated to allay any feelings of irritation which might exist in the minds of the people. This report was corroborated by a member of the deputation who had waited on me on the 9th, and who called again at my office on Friday morning.

12. From all the information I had gathered there certainly appeared no reason whatever to apprehend any disturbance on the 13th; and though I considered that under the circumstances any unusual display of police would only create unnecessary alarm and anxiety, I ordered Inspector Khan Bahadoor Abdool Ali of the detective force with some of his agents to be present in the Jumma Musjeed during the time of prayer, and it was arranged that an experienced European inspector and constable (the statements of these men are appended and marked B. C. D.) should also be at the mosque in plain clothing. I took this precaution not because I in any way anticipated disturbance on the 13th, as the Mohurram festival (during which, if at all, popular commotion would naturally occur) had not begun, but in order that the police might ascertain and make known to me the feelings of the people and report at once if anything extraordinary should occur.

13. About a quarter to one o'clock the European inspector at the mosque sent a report to his superintendent, Mr. Smith, to the effect that there was rather a large gathering, but that all was perfectly quiet; the superintendent of the division to whom this report was made

made happened to be with me in the police office at Mazagon at the time it was received. I therefore ordered him to proceed to the mosque at once and to let me know without delay if anything unusual was going on.

14. Mr. Smith had not been out of office many minutes when a report was brought by a sepoy that some Mahomedans had attacked Parsee shops and houses in Bhendy Bazaar and in Syed Abdool Rohimon-street.

15. Not a moment was lost in getting the few available policemen of the reserve force together, and, with the six mounted policemen then in the lines, my deputy, Mr. Edginton, and I started with all possible haste for the scene of disturbance.

16. Passing through Bhendy Bazaar we found considerable agitation in the streets, and learnt that a Parsee fire temple had been entered, the sacred fire put out, and all property in it mischievously destroyed. A few prisoners were here taken, and such precautionary measures as men and time would admit of having been put in force to prevent a fresh outbreak and keep up the communication, we went on at a gallop to Syed Abdool Rohimon-street, where it was reported that further mischief was being done.

17. On entering the above-named street we observed an immense mob of Mahomedans, composed chiefly of Arabs and Seedees, armed with bludgeons and sticks, in possession of the place, the main body seemed to be approaching us, and others were seen actively engaged in the work of destruction; some of them rushing out of houses with property in hand.

18. Nothing could have excelled the conduct of the small party of police, particularly of the Europeans, at this moment; they dashed into the midst of the mob and at once scattered them, and many of the offenders were immediately ironed or otherwise secured. From one house alone, that of Jeejeebhoy Dhunjeebhoy in which of all others most destruction was committed, about 40 of the rioters, principally Seedees and Arabs, were taken. Of these several made most desperate efforts to escape by rushing through the police; but they were mostly knocked down and made prisoners. In about half-an-hour from the time the police arrived at the scene, the whole disturbance was quelled and order restored. Sixty-four rioters in all were apprehended in this street, and but for the paucity of the police and the formidable men they had to deal with, many more prisoners would have been arrested.

19. It has been affirmed that the neighbourhood of Syed Abdool Rohimon-street was in the possession of an excited mob for some hours. Fortunately I am able to state exactly the time which elapsed from the outbreak of the riot to its suppression. The report of the European Inspector that all was quiet was brought to me at about a quarter to one o'clock; at about ten minutes past one by the office clock the news that an attack on Parsee houses was being made arrived at the Mazagon Office, and according to the statement* of a gentleman who arrived on the scene immediately after the disturbance, the riot was entirely suppressed, and the last of the rioters in custody by a few minutes before two o'clock. This corresponds with my own and Mr. Edginton's recollections of the matter.

* Further corroborated by letter marked E, and appended.

20. When order was restored I, in consultation with my deputy, made such prompt arrangements as seemed to us best calculated to prevent any further disturbance; European and Native police were massed in and about the localities inhabited by Parsees, and the few mounted police available patrolled the streets throughout the night. I also at once took measures to ascertain the amount of injury done to persons and property during the riot, and from the inquiries made regarding this and all subsequent disturbances have made out returns marked F. and G. respectively, which show plainly the number of fire temples and houses, &c., entered by Mahomedan rioters, with alleged value of property destroyed or stolen, and also the total number of persons of different sects injured. On this day five Parsees and eight Mahomedans were injured, of whom one Parsee has since died.

21. On Saturday morning, the 14th, my deputy, Mr. Edginton and Superintendent Mills personally placed all the prisoners, numbering 91, apprehended the previous day, before the senior magistrate, by whom they were remanded till the 4th March, and lodged in jail. There was a slight disturbance on this day, which from the evidence would seem to have originated by some Mahomedans of the weaver caste throwing stones at a Parsee house in Falkland-road. One stone, which is said to have been hurled at a policeman while endeavouring to restore order, accidentally struck one of the Mahomedan aggressors and caused fracture of the skull; the man was taken to hospital, but died the following day. Beyond a few panes of glass being broken, no other harm was done. I was on the spot with a party of police soon after the disturbance and succeeded in making 29 prisoners, the ringleaders being amongst them.

22. It appears that on Saturday, the 14th, a Mahomedan funeral party proceeding to the cemetery at Sonapore had been in some way annoyed or interfered with by Parsees who reside in that neighbourhood. This circumstance probably excited the resentment or the fears of the Mahomedans, as on Sunday morning, the 15th, three funerals, one that of a Seedee, which started from different parts of the town, met on the way to Sonapore and were attended by more than the usual number of persons. About 10 a.m. Mr. Superintendent Mills receiving information that these funerals were on their way, collected immediately a body of 30 native constables and one sowar and overtook them in Bholeshwur-

road.

* See Mr. Mills' deposition on oath, marked L.

road. On the way the number of attendants was augmented by men dropping in by ones and twos. Mr. Mills states,* that the members of the procession at this time did not appear to be armed in any way, though some of them may have had sticks under their clothes, while others probably armed themselves subsequently with clubs and bludgeons from a wood depôt against the grave-yard wall, and by taking bamboos from sheds and fences inside. When nearing Sonapore, the procession, now numbering about 300 persons, escorted by the police passed through a locality occupied by Parsees, a great number of whom were standing on both sides of the road, but Mr. Mills exhorted them to be quiet and they did not in any way interfere. At the cemetery Mr. Mills was joined by Inspectors Austin and Brewin and 10 sepoys. The processions passed quietly into the burial ground and the ceremonies commenced.

23. In consequence of the number of people assembled, Mr. Mills sent off orders to the officers at the nearest police station to bring up to his assistance with all haste as many policemen as were available, and also despatched a sepoy in a buggy to call the Commissioner and his deputy to his aid with further help. Before the conclusion of the funeral ceremonies about 300 or 400 Parsees armed with sticks and bludgeons came up a back lane from the direction of the Dhobee Talao and commenced throwing stones into the graveyard. This excited the indignation of the Mahomedans, several of whom having armed themselves with sticks and stones thereupon rushed to the wall and retaliated upon the Parsees. Some of the Mahomedans assisted the police to restore order, but 40 or 50 Seedees jumped over the wall, rushed at the Parsees and put them to flight. The police however succeeded in getting most of them back again into the cemetery, and the tumult was for the time quelled; but in consequence of this disturbance, and fearing further outbreak, Mr. Mills despatched Inspector Austin to call out the military, who had after the disturbance on Friday been warned by me that their services might be required at any moment, and by order of the Brigadier General commanding the district were in readiness in case of need. The ceremonies being over, the processions were reformed, and started on their homeward journey in charge of the police.

24. It appears that a Seedee who did not return to the burial-ground was discovered down a bye-lane by the flying Parsees, who set upon him and left him for dead. Mr. Mills endeavoured to send off the injured man to the hospital before this deed was found out by the Mahomedans, but in this did not entirely succeed, and the Seedees were impressed with the belief that one of their party had been killed. Shortly afterwards a body of Parsees were seen drawn up in the Breach Candy-road, armed with bludgeons, which they brandished in a threatening manner. Two European police officers in succession went up and called upon them to disperse, which they refused to do. In the meantime the procession arrived at the place and the two bodies came into collision, the police being unable to restrain them. The Parsees eventually fled and the Seedees thereupon commenced an attack upon the Parsee houses in the locality. The police did their utmost to keep them in check until the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Edginton, who with a small party of European and Native police, reached the scene of the affray just before me, led his men into the midst of the mob in a manner entitling him and his small party to all praise; the mob was immediately dispersed, and but for the timely arrival of the additional police the Parsees would doubtless have suffered very severely. Thirty-six of the Mahomedan rioters were arrested, and in this disturbance 13 Mahomedans and seven Parsees were injured, of whom four Mahomedans and one Parsee have since died. The reason why all the prisoners here taken were Mahomedans is, that by the time the police were reinforced the Parsees had been beaten off and the Mahomedans were then attacking their houses. The Mahomedans, therefore, appeared at the time to be the aggressors, and the party guilty of a breach of the peace. Shortly after the disturbance was quelled the military arrived on the scene, but their services were not required.

25. I am sorry to say that after the Mahomedans had been routed by the police as mentioned in the preceding paragraph, some of the Parsees seem to have pursued and attacked the stragglers with unjustifiable ferocity; one old man of about 80, in particular, who could have had little or nothing to do with the riot, was hunted down, brutally beaten, and left for dead. He was removed to the hospital where he died the following day.

26. On the same morning between 11 and 12 o'clock some Mahomedans were without provocation attacked by Parsees in two different places in and near the fort, and three were seriously wounded. A crowd of Parsees also assembled in front of their fire temple, and upon Inspector O'Connor going to assist a police sepoy who was being hustled by the Parsees, he received a very severe blow on the head from a stick which but for his helmet would have probably killed him. The Municipal Commissioner, Mr. Pedder, and Mr. James, Under Secretary to Government, arrived on the spot immediately after this occurred, and nothing further happened. The Parsee who struck the inspector escaped into the fire temple, and has not as yet been identified.

27. In consequence of the disturbances which had ensued I deemed it necessary, in order to reassure the people, to apply for military to be posted in the town and for cavalry pickets to patrol at night. These arrangements were at once carried out under the orders of the Brigadier General Commanding the District, and have been in force ever since.

28. On Monday, the 16th, one of the Mahomedans who had been severely injured in the affray on Sunday died, and it was reported to me that his funeral passing through the town would probably excite the sympathy of his caste and rouse them to some act of revenge. I therefore, after taking certain police precautions, immediately proceeded in person to the military authorities and obtained the aid of two companies of the Marine Battalion, with whom I escorted the funeral about 2 p.m. to the Mahomedan burial-ground, and all passed off quietly. Nothing else particular transpired between Sunday the 15th and Saturday the 21st to disturb the peace of the town. The Parsees however during this time evinced much agitation and seemed to be troubled with all manner of misgivings.

29. On the evening of the 21st about half-past seven o'clock some 20 Seedees and other Mahomedans were returning quietly to their homes from on board ship where they had been working. They took the direct route to the native town, and had thus unfortunately to pass Hornby Row, a locality almost entirely inhabited by Parsees. From my inquiries it has been shown beyond doubt that when these men reached the above neighbourhood, a sudden alarm was raised by some Parsees who in a large body made a murderous attack upon them. One Seedee had his leg and arm broken; several others were more or less seriously injured; and but for the timely arrival of a few policemen, it is impossible to say what would have been the fate of these unhappy people. As the onslaught was made in the dark it has unfortunately been impossible for the police to find out the principal offenders. It is true that one Parsee was stabbed in this disgraceful attack; but I have been informed by the medical officer of the Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy Hospital under whose treatment this man has been that the wounds from their nature must have been inflicted by some person while on the ground. It is evident therefore that they were given in self-defence, and it must be noticed that all labourers on board ship wear their sailor knives to enable them to do their work.

30. My reputation as a police officer having been loudly assailed in the public prints for not having taken such precautions as the events previous to Friday, the 13th, are said to have called for, I would ask for a careful perusal of paragraphs 4 to 13 of this Report, and also beg to attach original letters received from the Mahomedan gentlemen noted in the margin who were present at the important meeting held the evening previous to the outbreak. It will be seen that these gentlemen, two of whom are justices of the peace and the most influential men of their community, fully believed the ill-feeling regarding the publishing of the book had entirely subsided, and that they had no apprehension whatever of any disturbance arising. One of the gentlemen, Mahomed Ali Rogay, it will be seen, was himself at prayer in the Jumma Musjeed on Friday, the 13th, and observed no indication of excitement amongst his people, or any signs of disturbance. The testimony of this gentleman is unimpeachable. He has incurred great unpopularity among the Mahomedans, as they think he has taken the side of the Parsees, and has in consequence temporarily left Bombay.

Mahomed Ali Rogay, Esquire, Justice of the Peace. Cumroodin Tyebji, Esquire, Justice of the Peace. Mirza Ali Akbar Khan Bahadur. Mirza Hoossein Khan, Esquire.

31. From my searching inquiries and all that has transpired I am decidedly of opinion that if the disturbance was premeditated as generally affirmed, the plot must have been confined to a very few of the Mahomedan roughs of Bombay, and its secrecy thus secured.

32. I would further submit in support of this opinion that had any fear whatever of a disturbance being likely to take place existed in the minds of the public, the Parsee community in particular, against whom the attack was certain to be directed, would have shown their anxiety, and some member of that large body would assuredly have come forward in the interests of their people and for their own safety have given notice to the police and applied for protection. The only Parsees who expressed any alarm to me were a few who live near the house of Jalbhoy, the author of the obnoxious book, and they only stated that during the Mohurram they were apprehensive of being molested in consequence. The Municipal Commissioner also, who is in daily intercourse with many Parsees, tells me that he never had a hint of danger from any of them till after the riot of Friday, the 13th. These facts show that the stories of the Parsees, that they were aware previous to the 13th that an attack would be made on them on that day, are inaccurate.

33. It has been my endeavour in this report to describe minutely every case of riot and all severe attacks upon individuals which have been brought to the notice of the police. Other petty assaults have occurred in connection with the present disturbances, but I have not considered it necessary to mention them at length, or to comment on the numerous absurd or exaggerated rumours which have prevailed, all of which have however been immediately inquired into.

34. I must here explain how it was that at the commencement of the riots a sufficient police force could not be brought to the scene of the disturbance sooner, and the riot quelled even more promptly. The Bombay police force, in consequence of their having no barracks or lines, are scattered about the city wherever they are able to hut themselves; thus the bulk of the men do not reside in the division or section to which they are attached for duty, and on an emergency arising the only policemen that can be quickly got together are those actually on their posts. At the Mazagon Police Office the 13 native mounted police have lines, and here also a few of the reserve force happen to reside. It is therefore

the only place where a small body of police can be quickly assembled if suddenly required.

35. The want of proper quarters for the Europeans and lines for the native police in central and suitable localities impairs most seriously the efficiency and satisfactory working of the police force. This fact has repeatedly been brought by me to the notice of Government and the municipality, and will form the subject of further report.

36. Most severe criticisms have been published on my own conduct and that of the police generally in reference to these unfortunate disturbances.

37. As regards myself I willingly and confidently leave it in the hands of Government, without attempting a defence to decide, whether I am deserving of the strictures passed upon me, merely asking for careful consideration of all the facts stated at the commencement of this report.

38. But with respect to and in defence of the force which I have the honour to command, I beg most respectfully to urge in justice to them that their conduct throughout these disturbances has been such as to merit commendation, and in substantiation of this I would beg to adduce the following facts :

Even on the first day, unprepared as we were, the riot was completely suppressed within an hour, and upwards of 60 prisoners captured in the act of riot and plunder.

Since 2 p.m. on Friday, the 13th, notwithstanding the violent excitement of both parties, and the intense hostility which existed between them, not a single house has been plundered, nor fire temple defiled.

During the excitement which has prevailed it has been impossible to foresee at what particular point a disturbance might arise, but in every instance of riot the police alone have promptly met and effectually suppressed it, notwithstanding the demands upon them in all quarters of the city.

I would beg to point out also that this has been done by a police force considerably reduced below the strength fixed by Colonel Bruce in 1864 as requisite for the efficient performance of the police duties of this city.

The police force recommended by Colonel Bruce, then Inspector General of Police for all India, and which received the sanction of Government and was entertained in 1865, was of the strength shown below :—

46 European police of all grades, and
1,411 Native police of all grades.

Colonel Bruce in fixing the above force remarked, to use his own words, " And I am unable to perceive that the work can possibly be done with fewer hands." But in spite of the opinion of so experienced a police officer, the Bombay police force was reduced in 1868, 1871, and 1872 by—

6 European police of all ranks, and
108 Native police of all ranks.

39. Government will thus fully understand how severe the strain has been upon the police, notwithstanding which all the Europeans have been most steady and cheerfully performed their harassing duties, and have at all times displayed courage, promptitude, and discretion, entitling them to the highest praise; the Native police have also behaved extremely well, and have been steady and energetic in the performance of their duties. From the 13th up to the present time the police, European and Native, may be said to have been on perpetual duty night and day, for they have scarcely ever left their posts.

40. To say that Native constables are not as intelligent, energetic, and self-reliant as would be desirable is merely to say that they are Natives; but they have behaved extremely well and followed their European leaders with considerable courage, and have been most steady and obedient. The assertion that the majority of Native constables are Mahomedans is erroneous—the proportion to Hindus and other castes being about 25 per cent., and I should regret to see it reduced, as Mahomedans make in some respects the best policemen.

41. With reference to the accusation that not only have the Bombay police behaved badly in these disturbances, but that their general efficiency has fallen off of late years, I would in refutation respectfully point to the annual returns which will show that for several years past there has been a marked diminution in the number of crimes committed, and the amount of property stolen, while the proportion of convictions and of recoveries of stolen property has vastly increased. These results have received repeated commendation from Government and from Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, and have been acquired notwithstanding the large decrease in the strength of the force.

42. Throughout these disturbances which have so severely taxed all hands of the police force, I have received most invaluable aid from my deputy, Mr. Edginton, and from Superintendents Mills, Bailey, and Moffat, and Deputy Superintendents Smith, Crumney, and Brown, who have all by their praiseworthy zeal and devotion to their duties shown an admirable example to the more subordinate members of the force.

43. As

43. As regards the allegation brought by the public papers against the detective force, that they not only failed in their duty, but that they deceived me, I would here remark that I believe these accusations to be as undeserved as they are unjust. The detective officers selected to watch the actions and to ascertain the feelings of the people in this matter,—Khan Bahadoor Meer Akbar Ali and Khan Bahadoor Meer Abdool Ali,—are both tried and faithful servants of Government in whom I repose every confidence, and believe that they would keep no information from me which it was their duty to acquaint me with. The last-named officer has very recently had the title of Khan Bahadoor conferred upon him by the Viceroy, at the recommendation of this Government, in acknowledgment of the excellent service from time to time rendered by him. This officer was by my orders present at the Jumma Musjeed during prayer on Friday, the 13th, and his report of what occurred on that occasion is appended in original and marked (B). It will be seen from the statement of this intelligent officer, corroborated as it is by the appended statements of the European inspector and constable, that at the mosque prayers were said as usual, and that there were no signs whatever of excitement or agitation amongst the congregation. I would submit that it was impossible on this occasion for the police to foresee the sudden and unpremeditated outbreak of a fanatical mob.

44. The presence of the troops has been most valuable in restoring confidence among the timid and to overawe the rioters, but in no case have they been called on to act. They have not only not fired a shot, but have never come into collision with the people. Their presence was required, not because there was any prospect of the mob overpowering the police, but because the police was not sufficiently numerous to guard effectually the whole city at a season of disturbance, and it was physically impossible for them without assistance to endure the fatigue of this anxious fortnight.

45. Before closing this report I would wish to acknowledge the ready and prompt assistance I have at all times received from Brigadier General Gell whenever it has been necessary to call upon him for military aid, and also the consideration he has always shown to my suggestions in stationing military posts and guards in such localities of the city as circumstances have rendered necessary.

46. I would also mention that since the outbreak on the 13th, I have been in constant communication with the Municipal Commissioner, Mr. Pedder, and that in many of the precautionary measures I have from time to time put in force for the preservation of peace and restoration of order, I have acted in consultation with that officer, whose cordial and valuable co-operation I desire to acknowledge.

(A.)

Police Commissioner's Office, Bombay,
13 February 1874.

My dear Sir Cowasjee,

A book has lately been published by Mr. Rustumjee Hormusjee, styled "The Renowned Prophets and Nations, &c., &c.," and I understand that you subscribed for and received several copies of the work. It seems that the Mahomedans have taken great offence at some of the passages which they consider to defame their Prophet Mahomed; and as there is some excitement about the matter, I write in the interests of peace to ask if you would kindly allow the copies which you have in your possession to be sent to me for safe custody for the present, or till such time as the excitement may have blown over.

Believe me, &c.

(signed) F. H. Souter,
Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

To Sir Cowasjee Jehangeer, K.C.S.I.

A similar letter was sent to the undermentioned gentlemen:—

Framjee Nasserwanjee Patell, Justice of the Peace; Ardaseer Hormusjee Wadia, Justice of the Peace; Dinshaw Manockjee Petit, Justice of the Peace; Muncherjee Hormusjee Cama, Justice of the Peace; Nasserwanjee Manockjee Petit, Justice of the Peace; and Byramjee Jeejeebhoy, Justice of the Peace.

(B.)

From Khan Bahadoor Meer Abdool Ali, Inspector of Police, Bombay, to F. H. Souter, Esq., C.S.I., Commissioner of Police, Bombay; dated Bombay, the 27th February 1874.

I BEG to report that, in obedience to your order, I attended the Mahomedan meeting held at Dada Mukba's bungalow, at Byculla, on the 12th instant.

2. The meeting was composed of more than 100 members of the different sects of the Mahomedan community, and most of them were persons of weight and respectability. The subject of Mr. Jalbhoy's book, and the steps taken by you regarding it, were fully and

calmly discussed; your action was unanimously approved, and the excitement occasioned by the publication of the book seemed to be peacefully and perfectly set at rest.

3. The proceedings of the meeting were of so thorough and peaceful a character that I could not reasonably suppose that any riot or disturbance would at any time afterwards break out in connection with the question which the meeting had apparently disposed of.

4. In accordance, however, with your further instructions, I, with three detectives, went to the Jumma Musjeed at noon on the following Mahomedan Sabbath, Friday, the 13th idem, to watch the proceedings, &c., of the congregation. I remained in the principal hall of the mosque on the ground floor. I did not see Kazee Abdool Luteef, but was informed that he was then in the mosque. The usual prayers were recited; the congregation did not appear to be excited or agitated in any way, and nothing whatever occurred to lead me to suspect that any riotous outbreak was at all contemplated or likely to take place.

5. On conclusion of the prayers I stationed myself at the main gate of the mosque, and the members of the congregation came out and went away quietly in different directions. I did not see any of them armed with sticks or other weapons either inside or outside the mosque. By about 1 o'clock p.m. all the congregation had quietly quitted the mosque and its immediate neighbourhood, and I and the other policemen in plain clothing who had been sent on duty there, left the place.

6. When I arrived at the junction of Syud Abdool Rohimon and Shaikh Ally Junjerkur streets, I saw a crowd of people near the small police chowkee in Syud Abdool Rohimon-street, and on going there I saw a number of men and boys throwing stones at the windows of the houses of the Parsees. I sent information to the police office at once, and I and the policemen with me did our best to disperse the mob.

7. While we were so engaged a large number of Seedees and Arabs poured into the street from the direction of the chuckla, and commenced to throw stones at the windows, tear down the sunshades of the shops, break down the railings, and break into the Parsee houses on each side of the street.

8. Some of them ran towards Mirza Oil-maker-street. I and other policemen drew up across the road and prevented them from entering it, and consequently no damage was done by the mob in that street.

9. About this time Inspector Raymond met me, and he and I went together towards Alibaugh. On our way we saw a wounded Parsee lying in Dhunjee Dongria Cross lane, and removed him into Dhunjee Dongria-street, and made him over to some Parsees there.

10. Soon after this a large number of rioters entered this street from its northern end. They were all armed with sticks, &c. We repulsed them. We were both struck with sticks and stones, but were not much hurt.

11. At about 2 o'clock p.m. a few policemen came into the street from Syud Abdool Rohimon-street, where soon afterwards I found that the large and furious mob I had previously seen had been dispersed, and that many of the rioters had been captured by the police. I saw you, sir, the Deputy Commissioner, and other members of the force there at that time.

(C.)

From Inspector *R. Raymond*, of the Bombay Police, to *F. H. Souter*, Esq., c.s.i., Commissioner of Police, Bombay; dated Bombay, the 28th February 1874.

I BEG to report, for your information, that on the evening of the 12th instant I received orders from Deputy Superintendent Smith to attend the neighbourhood of the Jumma Musjeed in plain clothing during the Mahomedan hours of prayer, from 10 o'clock to 1 o'clock, on the following day. I accordingly attended, accompanied by Constable Gough, who was also in plain clothes, and we waited about in the street near the entrance of the Musjeed. The worshippers commenced to assemble about 10 o'clock a.m., and by noon a large congregation had assembled, and I sent a report of the circumstance to Mr. Deputy Superintendent Smith. Their behaviour, however, was quiet and orderly. None of them carried sticks or were otherwise armed, and no circumstance arose to give me any reason to suppose that any disturbance was likely to take place. The prayers were concluded about 1 o'clock p.m., and the congregation poured out of the building in my presence, and dispersed quietly in different directions. The crowd having left the vicinity of the mosque, I ordered Constable Gough to walk through the Mahomedan quarter towards the chuckla and see that all was quiet. He went away, and after about a quarter of an hour returned and reported all quiet. Ten or fifteen minutes after this I again sent Mr. Gough to take another look round. While he was away a native constable came and reported that he had been sent by Mr. Gough to state that a row was going on in Syud Abdool Rohimon-street. I went there immediately, and saw crowds of Mahomedans pouring into that street from the direction of the chuckla through the bye-lanes. They were throwing stones at the houses

houses of some of the Parsee residents in that street, and breaking the windows and railings, &c. I tried to stop them, but could not do so. I sent to the Commissioner's office and elsewhere, for help. Within less than a hour afterwards I saw the Deputy Commissioner, and other members of the office establishment, &c., &c., in Dhunjee Dongria-street, behind Syud Abdool Rohimon-street. I immediately afterwards went into Syud Abdool Rohimon-street, and found that the mob I had there previously seen had been dispersed by the police, and that a number of rioters were in custody. I went into Dhunjee Dongria Cross-lane, because I saw a Parsee lying on the ground. I found he was wounded, and picked him up and removed him into Dhunjee Dongria-street, and engaged myself in trying to disperse the mob there; shortly after which the reinforcement of police from office, &c., came, as I have before stated. There was no tumultuous meeting of Mahomedans near the mosque on that morning, and neither at the going in nor coming out of the congregation were there any sticks or other weapons in their hands.

(D.)

From Constable *Hugh Gough*, of the Bombay Police, to *F. H. Souter*, Esq., C.S.I., Commissioner of Police, Bombay; dated Bombay, the 28th February 1874.

I HAVE seen the report of Inspector Raymond regarding the riot which broke out in Syud Abdool Rohimon-street on the 13th instant, and confirm the statements made therein up to the point at which Mr. Raymond directed me to pass the second time through the Mahomedan streets in the neighbourhood of the Jumma Musjeed. On receiving this order, I went and stood at the junction of Syud Abdool Rohimon and Shaikh Ally Junjerker streets. While standing there I saw two or three Mahomedan boys running towards Alibaugh and shouting "Deen Deen." I heard some Mahomedan men who were passing along tell these boys to hold their tongue. I went in the direction in which the boys had run, and when I got near the first of the Parsee houses in that street, I saw a crowd of Mahomedans run into Syud Abdool Rohimon-street from Bajee Palla-street. Some of them began to throw stones at the windows of the Parsees; others tore down the blinds of the shops, and armed themselves with the bamboo rollers, &c., of these blinds. I tried to quell the disturbance, and was told by some of the rioters not to interfere, by others to go away. I sent at once to Inspector Raymond, to Deputy Superintendent Smith, and to the Commissioner's office, for assistance; this was a few minutes after 1 o'clock. The street became almost instantly crammed with rioters, who seemed to come in from all directions. I went through the crowd to the Parsee fire temple (Alibaugh), and saw a mob of Seedees and Arabs had broken into it and into some of the houses on the opposite side of the street, and were wrecking and plundering them. In about 10 minutes from this time, as near as I can remember, the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner came with help from office. Immediately after they came, we (the police) charged into the mob and dispersed it, and captured a large number of the rioters. Nothing in the hearing of the people at the mosque led me to anticipate any breach of the peace. I did not see any of the congregation at any time armed with sticks.

(E.)

My dear James,

Marine Lines, Bombay, 2 March 1874.

I SHALL be only too glad if my evidence as to the duration of the riot on Friday will be of any service in correcting the mis-statements on the subject.

I left this house as nearly as possible at 12.30, and must have been in the centre of the Native town, at the top of the Copper Bazaar, at about 12.45. I reached the Elphinstone College at 1 o'clock, and left punctually at 2, as near as I can calculate. I must have passed through the centre of the town at 2.15, or possibly 2.20. When passing through first, there was no sign of a row, and I noticed nothing unusual. On my return I saw crowds moving about, but no fighting. At the top of the Copper Bazaar I saw a number of European policemen standing round their drag. I stopped my horse and asked what was the matter; and one of the constables told me that there had been a row, but that it was over. His words, as far as I can remember, being, "We have had a tough job."

I am perfectly willing that my name should be used, if required. I am sorry I was out when your note arrived, but hasten to send an answer now.

Believe me, &c.

(signed) *E. Giles.*

(F.)

RETURN OF FIRE TEMPLES and HOUSES, &c., entered by MAHOMEDAN RIOTERS on 13 February 1874, with alleged Value of Property Destroyed and Stolen.

Number.	Name of Owner or Tenant.	Locality.	Description of Building.	Alleged Value of Property.		REMARKS.
				Destroyed.	Stolen.	
1	Alibaugh property -	Synd Abdool Rohimon-street.	Fire Temple and Jumatkhana.	Rs. 5,000 - -	a. p. - -	Doors and windows broken. The sacred fire extinguished. Contents of Temple stolen or destroyed.
2	Dorabjee Furdonjee -	- ditto - -	Dwelling-house -	92 - -	- -	Doors and windows broken.
3	Pestonjee Cooverjee -	- ditto - -	Liquor-shop -	1,500 - -	3,000 - -	Shop broken open. A cash box containing 3,000 rupees said to have been stolen. Pestonjee said to have been assaulted by one Nuboo Khan, now in custody. Case postponed until 6th March.
4	Manockjee Cursetjee -	- ditto - -	- ditto - -	50 - -	- -	Bottles and other things in shops destroyed.
5	Jamsetjee Nowrojee -	- ditto - -	- ditto - -	100 - -	- -	Ditto - ditto - ditto.
6	Auderjee Framjee. -	- ditto - -	- ditto - -	100 - -	- -	Bottles of spirits destroyed or stolen.
7	Jeewanjee Hormusjee -	- ditto - -	- ditto - -	650 - -	- -	
8	Cursetjee Hormusjee -	Nagdavia-street	Liquor-shop -	900 - -	- -	
9	Cooverjee Hormusjee -	1st Coombarwada -	- ditto - -	350 - -	- -	Bottles, &c., broken and liquor spilt or stolen.
10	Nowrojee Manajee -	New Memonwada -	- ditto - -	400 - -	- -	Liquor spilt or stolen.
11	Cowasjee Jevanjee -	- ditto - -	- ditto - -	300 - -	- -	
12	Jeejeebhoy Dhunjeebhoy -	Synd Abdool Rohimon-street -	Dwelling-house -	5,000 - -	5,000 - -	House wrecked; money, jewellery, and clothes destroyed and stolen.
13	Pestonjee Muncherjee -	- ditto - -	Dispensary -	2,300 - -	200 - -	House adjoining foregoing partly wrecked.
14	Dhunbai (woman). -	- ditto - -	Liquor-shop -	700 - -	- -	Contents destroyed.
15	Bomanjee Ardaseer -	- ditto - -	Sherbet-shop -	400 - -	400 - -	Shop wrecked and pillaged.
16	Jairbai Dhunjeebhoy -	- ditto - -	Dwelling-house -	200 - -	- -	
17	Gopal Nana - -	Dhunjee Don-street -	- ditto - -	Nil -	350 - -	Shop entered by mob; gold and silver ornaments stolen.
18	Heerjeebhoy Byramjee -	- ditto - -	- ditto - -	13 - -	40 - -	Fifteen rupees and cooking utensils, &c., stolen.
19	Bomanjee Pestonjee -	- ditto - -	- ditto - -	43 - -	50 - -	Wearing apparel stolen and railing broken down.
20	Bomanjee Merwanjee -	Bhendy Bazaar -	Fire Temple -	2,784 - -	726 - -	Temple wrecked; sacred fire put out.
21	Jamsetjee Cowasjee -	Falkland-road -	Liquor-shop -	75 - -	339 - -	
22	Bhiccajee Burjorjee -	Phull Gully -	- ditto - -	105 - -	587 - -	The truth of this complaint is very doubtful.
23	Eduljee Rustomjee -	Erskine-road -	Dwelling-house -	- -	40 - -	
24	Pestonjee Dorabjee -	- ditto - -	- ditto - -	- -	20 - -	Door broken.
25	Dinshaw Jamsetjee -	Parell-road -	Stable - -	7 - -	13 - -	
TOTAL - Rs.				20,959 - -	10,765 - -	

N.B.—Slight damage was also done to 72 other dwelling-houses, stables, &c., in different localities on the 13th, 14th, and 15th instant, by window glasses being broken, or benches, doors, railing, &c., &c., being destroyed or injured. The collective amount of the alleged damages is estimated at about 1,993 rupees.

Bombay, 28 February 1874.

(signed) F. H. Souter, Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

RECENT RIOTS IN BOMBAY.

21

(G.)

LIST of Cases brought to Hospital on the 13th, 14th, 15th, and 21st February 1874, during the Mussulman Riot.

No.	NAMES.	Caste.	When admitted.	Discharged.	Died.	Nature of Injuries.	Remaining in Hospital, 28th February 1874.
1	Dadabhoy Rustomjee	Parsee	13 Feb. 1874	- - -	14 Feb. 1874	Contused wound of head; fracture of skull.	} Remaining.
2	Syud Ameen	Mussulman	13 " "	- - -	- - -	Laceration of tongue; contused wounds.	
3	Sheriad	Parsee	13 " "	- - -	- - -	Suspected fracture of skull	
4	Dorabjee Byramjee	"	13 " "	19 Feb. 1874	- - -	Contused wound of face.	
5	Cassum Yacoob	Mussulman	13 " "	- - -	- - -	Fracture of left leg; contused wound.	
6	Hoosain Mohideen	"	13 " "	22 Feb. 1874	- - -	Fracture of lower jaw	} Treated and sent away.
7	Shaboodeen Doola	"	13 " "	13 " "	- - -	Contused wound of head	
8	Hakoom Subjada	"	13 " "	13 " "	- - -	- Ditto - ditto	
9	Allee Oomir	"	13 " "	13 " "	- - -	Lacerated wound	
10	Nusserwanjee Sorabjee	Parsee	13 " "	13 " "	- - -	Contused wound of head	
11	Hussain Allee	Mussulman	13 " "	13 " "	- - -	- Ditto - ditto	
12	Towar Dbondoo	"	13 " "	13 " "	- - -	- Ditto - ditto	
13	Cowasjee Hormusjee	Parsee	13 " "	13 " "	- - -	Bite on side of abdomen	
14	Ismaci Khan	Mussulman	14 " "	14 " "	- - -	Contused wound	
15	Assad Nayar Ally	"	14 " "	14 " "	- - -	Contused wound of head	
16	Manockjee Byramjee	Parsee	14 " "	14 " "	- - -	Suspected fracture of skull; contused wounds.	
17	Shaik Ahmed	Mussulman	14 " "	18 " "	- - -	Three lacerated scalp wounds.	} Remaining.
18	Hyadeen Ahmed	"	14 " "	- - -	15 Feb. 1874	Fracture of skull; contused wounds.	
19	Framjee Merwanjee	Parsee	14 " "	- - -	- - -	Contused wound of scalp	
20	Nezamooddeen Cureembux	Mussulman	14 " "	- - -	- - -	Contusion and injury to spine	
21	S'dee Jumrah	"	15 " "	- - -	- - -	Gun shot wound (right elbow)	
22	Jamsetjee Dorabjee	Parsee	15 " "	- - -	27 Feb. 1874	Fracture of frontal bone.	
23	Awadan Nusserwanjee	"	15 " "	- - -	- - -	Fracture vault of skull	
24	Nusserwanjee Bamon	"	15 " "	- - -	- - -	Wound of scalp	
25	Unknown	Mussulman	15 " "	- - -	15 Feb. 1874	Fracture vault of skull.	
26	Khan Mahomed	"	15 " "	18 Feb. 1874	- - -	- Ditto - ditto.	
27	Oosman Khan	"	15 " "	25 " "	- - -	Wound of scalp.	
28	Sumbakoo Sullimon	"	15 " "	24 " "	- - -	- Ditto.	
29	Unknown, Seede	"	15 " "	- - -	16 Feb. 1874	Wound of scalp; fracture of skull; laceration of brain.	} Remaining.
30	Cassee Sungoo	"	15 " "	- - -	- - -	Wound of scalp	
31	Hajee Ahmed	"	15 " "	- - -	15 Feb. 1874	Fracture of lower jaw.	
32	Caloo Sorab	Parsee	15 " "	- - -	- - -	Wound of scalp	
33	Shaik Sab	Mussulman	15 " "	16 Feb. 1874	- - -	- Ditto.	
34	Ramjan Mahomed	"	15 " "	22 " "	- - -	Wound of scalp; fracture of forearm.	
35	Succoa Jeera	"	15 " "	- - -	16 Feb. 1874	Concussion wound of scalp.	
36	Mucktoom Ahmed	"	15 " "	- - -	- - -	Fracture of forearm; scalp wound.	
37	Ditto	"	15 " "	- - -	- - -	Wound of scalp	
38	Burjorjee Nanabhoy	Parsee	15 " "	19 Feb. 1874	- - -	- Ditto.	
39	Cursetjee Jamajee	"	15 " "	- - -	- - -	- Ditto	
40	Sadalla Mabrook	Mussulman	15 " "	- - -	- - -	Gun shot wound (buttock)	} Treated and sent away.
41	Bairam Ardasseer	Parsee	15 " "	23 Feb. 1874	- - -	Wound of scalp.	
42	Hajee Malimr	Mussulman	15 " "	- - -	- - -	- Ditto	
43	Imugoo Atia	"	15 " "	25 Feb. 1874	- - -	- Ditto.	
44	Shaik Ally	"	16 " "	16 " "	- - -	Contused wound of scalp	
45	Shapporjee Pestonjee	Parsee	16 " "	16 " "	- - -	Contused wound of face	
46	Rustomjee Sorabjee	"	17 " "	17 " "	- - -	- Ditto - scalp	
47	Ardaser Jamsetjee	"	21 " "	- - -	- - -	Punctured wound	
48	Syud Jeewor	Mussulman	21 " "	- - -	- - -	Scalp wounds; fracture of skull.	
49	Bomonjee Merwanjee	Parsee	21 " "	- - -	- - -	Contused wounds	
50	Mahomed Singoo	Mussulman	21 " "	- - -	- - -	Scalp wound	} Remaining.
51	Barrack Murzook	"	21 " "	- - -	- - -	Contused scalp wounds; fracture of left tibia and fibula.	
52	Yawah Mahabood	"	21 " "	- - -	- - -	Contused wounds of scalp	} Treated and sent away.
53	Philan Abdoola	"	21 " "	- - -	- - -	Contused wound of head	
54	Salim	"	21 " "	21 Feb. 1874	- - -	- Ditto - of face	
55	Rustomjee Dhunjeebhoy	Parsee	22 " "	22 " "	- - -	- Ditto - of ear	

Byculla, 28 February 1874.

(signed) J. Anderson, House Surgeon, Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy Hospital.

P.S.—In addition to the list of casualties mentioned above, one European Inspector and six Native police were admitted into hospital seriously injured; several others also received slight wounds, which, however, did not prevent them from continuing their duty.

(signed) F. H. Souter, Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

(H.)

My dear Mr. Souter,

Callian, 25 February 1874.

ACCORDING to your wish expressed in Mr. Edginton's letter to me of this day's date, I beg to furnish you with the following statement of my opinion on the subject therein referred to.

Kazee Abdool Luteef Lenday having called in a meeting on the 12th instant, at the house of Dada Mukba at Byculla, I was present on an invitation. The action taken by you with regard to the suppression of the publication of Mr. Jalbhoy's book was explained by the said Kazee to the people present, and they all seemed to have been satisfied, as they expressed their entire approval of what had been done by you. After the meeting was declared dissolved, and coffee, &c., was served out, I left before others, and I believe I was the first person who left the premises. I left the assembly with a firm belief that the misunderstanding caused by the publication of the book was amicably and thoroughly settled. At the ordinary prayer meeting at the Jumma Musjeed, on the following day, at which I was present, everything, as far as it came under my observation, passed off in a quiet and orderly manner, and I had no ground whatever for suspecting that any disturbance of the peace was likely to take place.

The "Times of India" of the 14th instant, in reporting the disturbance, says:—"It appears that a meeting of the Mahomedans was held at the Jumma Musjeed yesterday morning, at about 10 o'clock. The feeling of those who were present, principally the men who afterwards created the disturbance, was much against the Parsees. Instead, therefore, of a peaceable meeting, the bad feeling showed itself in cries of 'Deen, Deen,' notwithstanding the praiseworthy efforts of Mr. Mahomed Ally Rogay to quiet the feelings of the crowd. He explained to them that as the book had been withdrawn from circulation, no harm had been done, and that by assaulting the Parsees they would only get themselves into trouble."

I should take this opportunity of stating that no meeting was called at all to my knowledge, but that the people had collected to say their prayers on Friday as usual, and that what is given by the "Times of India," as above quoted, is quite unfounded, since I, having had no reason whatever to suspect an outbreak, could not and did not say anything to the people to the effect that they should not make any disturbance. During the time I was present at the prayers not a word was said there regarding the last day's meeting, or the publication of the book. As a rule I leave the Musjeed as soon as the principal portions of the prayers are said, and I did the same on this occasion. About half an hour after I reached home I heard that something like a riot was taking place at Shaikh Abdool Rohimon-street. You will thus observe that, until the riot actually took place, I had no ground whatever for suspecting that any disturbance of the peace was likely to take place.

Yours, &c.

(signed) *Mahomed Ally Rogay.*

To F. H. Souter, Esq., C.S.I.,
Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

(I.)

My dear Mr. Souter,

Bombay, 24 February 1874.

I HAD no apprehensions whatever of a riotous outbreak after the meeting at Dada Mukba's bungalow on the 12th instant.

The remarks I made at that meeting were thoroughly acquiesced in by all present, and we all felt contented, and indeed thankful, that a speedy and peaceful solution of a very nasty question had been brought about by your timely interference.

I certainly left the meeting under the belief that the question was peaceably and finally settled.

Yours, &c.

(signed) *C. Tyabjee.*

(J.)

My dear Sir,

Bombay, 27 February 1874.

I UNDERSTAND from Mr. Edington, your deputy, that you wish to have from me a concise information of what took place at the Mahomedan meeting convened at Dada Mukba's bungalow on the 12th instant. With much pleasure I will tell you here as nearly as possible what took place at that time.

I was present when Kazee Abdool Luteef spoke to the following effect: that he and others whom he named had called upon you and showed the book which Mr. Jalbhoy had published, and in which some disrespectful words were used against our prophet. The Kazee further said that you received him with kindness and grace, and heard what he had to say with patience, and you offered to do what you could in allaying the bad feeling which was likely to excite among the Mahomedans by such publication. You at once sent for Mr. Jalbhoy

Jalbhoy and took him aside and said something to him, when he at once offered to give up the books then in his possession, and to stop their further publication.

The Kazee then, after this explanation, told the assembly that they ought to be satisfied. Mr. Cummoroden and myself also spoke upon the matter.

The whole assembly seemed to have been perfectly satisfied, and there was not the slightest indication of any bad feeling among them. I was then of opinion that the matter had been satisfactorily and conclusively settled, and there was not the remotest idea or suspicion in my mind that there would be any disturbance on the following day.

To F. H. Souter, Esq., C.S.I.,
Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

I remain, &c.
(signed) *Meerza Ali Acktar.*

(K.)

Dear Sir,

27 February 1874.

IN acknowledging the receipt of Mr. Edington's letter, dated yesterday, I have to inform you that I was present at the meeting (by invitation) at Dada Muckba's house on the 12th instant, when the question of Mr. Jalbhoy's book, and your actions in trying to prevent its circulation, were fully and calmly discussed.

I, on my part, assure you that I did not entertain any fears whatever that any disturbance would take place, and the general belief of the leading and respectable members of the Mahomedan section of the community was that the question of Mr. Jalbhoy's book had been definitely and satisfactorily settled.

In conclusion, I had no reason whatever to think that a disturbance or riot would take place on the following day, or at any subsequent period.

To F. H. Souter, Esq., C.S.I.,
Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

Yours, &c.
(signed) *Mirza Hoosein Khan,*
Solicitor, High Court, Bombay.

(L.)

FORT POLICE COURT.

The Information and Deposition of *Thomas Mills*, inhabitant of Bombay, taken upon oath before me, *Nana Morjee*, Esq., one of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace, and a Magistrate of Police for the Town and Island of Bombay, on Wednesday, the 18th day of February 1874, in the presence and hearing of the prisoners named in the annexed list (A) charged before me, the said Justice, with committing riot and mischief, being members of an unlawful assembly, and rioting with deadly weapons, which said deponent, on his oath aforesaid, saith—

I am superintendent of police in charge of C division. On Sunday last, the 15th instant, at about 10 o'clock a.m., I saw two Mahomedan burial processions, accompanied by about four or five hundred persons, passing from Bhoiwada towards Bhooleshwar-road, and proceeding on to Portuguese Church-street. I, with about 20 Native policemen and one mounted sowar, accompanied them. They proceeded through the Agiary-lane and old Sonapoor-lane to the Mahomedan burial-ground. At Sonapoor-lane I was met by Inspector Austin, constable Brewin, and 10 or 15 Native policemen. The procession passed into the grave-yard, Inspector Austin and several Native policemen going with the procession into the grave-yard; I with the other policemen remained at the gate of the burying ground. Shortly afterwards an alarm was given that stones were thrown into the grave-yard. Mr. Austin, who had been standing near the wall inside, called out and told me that stones had passed over his head. The Mahomedans, some of whom were in the mosque and others in the yard, all rushed to the wall of the grave-yard in an excited state. I was mounted on a horse, and I galloped to the lower corner of the grave-yard outside, from which direction the stones were stated to have been thrown. There I saw, in the Sonapoor-lane, between two and three hundred Parsees, the greater portion armed with sticks and bludgeons. They were throwing stones at the Mahomedans in the grave-yard, and the Mahomedans were throwing stones from the grave-yard at them. I, with the other policemen who were there, went between both the parties, and while we were trying to press each party back, two or three of the police were struck and injured. The Mahomedans rushed out over the wall, through the police and among the Parsees. The Parsees turned and fled. When the Mahomedans first rushed upon the Parsees, a couple of men from each side were injured. After the Parsees had cleared away, the police drove the Mahomedans into the grave-yard, and they were kept there until things got a little quiet. I had, before any disturbance had taken place, sent Mr. McDowell, a municipal inspector, to the Null Bazaar Chowkey for some more reinforcement of the police. I had at the same time dispatched a sepoy in a buggy to call the commissioner and deputy commissioner of police with all the aid they could get.

I sent Mr. Austin in a buggy after the first disturbance, but before the arrival of the police reinforcement, to the commander of the troops to order out the aid of the military. The Mahomedans who had been driven back into the grave-yard as aforesaid, formed themselves into a procession to go home. They were in an excited state, and the greater portion of them were armed with sticks. Before they left the grave-yard I had information that a large number of Parsees had collected together at the end of the Sonapoor-lane, by which end the procession had to pass. I sent a European police officer and some sepoy with directions to disperse the crowd and send them away. The police brought back information that the Parsees refused to go away. Before allowing the Mahomedans to leave the graveyard, I, myself, rode to the end of the lane, and there, on the Breach Candy-road, saw hundreds of Parsees, a great number of them armed with sticks and bludgeons; one of them, whom I know as a clerk in the Municipal Commissioner's Office, was in the front of the crowd. I remonstrated with him and the others, pointing out that their conduct might lead to a serious disturbance. He and others who were very much excited, said, "The police won't protect us, we must protect ourselves." I insisted upon their clearing the road, and moved them back. The Mahomedan procession then came down the Sonapoor-lane, and turned to the left on the Breach Candy-road, which was their way home. I had the police drawn up on the right of the Sonapoor-lane. As the latter part of the procession passed out of the lane into the Breach Candy-road, the crowd of the Parsees rushed up, shouting and brandishing sticks. The police at this time were between both parties. The Mahomedan procession stopped, turned round, made a dash through the police, and amongst the Parsees. They got mixed amongst the Parsees, and both parties struck each other with sticks. The greater portion of the Parsees then fled, some into the houses and verandahs, and others towards the Dhobee Talao. Those Mahomedans who were scattered about, and those who were following the Parsees, were driven back by the police towards the Breach Candy-road. The Mahomedans then threw stones at the windows of the Parsee houses, and rushed on the verandahs to get in. The police drove them back, and prevented others from doing so. At this stage the commissioner and deputy commissioner of police arrived with a reinforcement. The police charged into the crowd, which turned and fled, some men through Funnuswaree, and some through the Agiary-lane, and other lanes and bye-lanes. All the men now present, except three, were arrested by the police while they were running away. A number of them was arrested in a gully alongside the Agiary. In consequence of the riot aforesaid on the Breach Candy-road, six or eight persons, some Parsees and some Mahomedans were injured. Out of them, three or four have since died in the hospital from the result of the injuries. I cannot identify particularly any single individual as having done some particular act, but they were all present at the riot, and refused to be dispersed when desired to do so. The troops arrived quickly; but before they had arrived the mob had been dispersed.

Prisoners decline cross-examination.

T. Mills.

Taken upon oath the day and year herein above written.

Before me,

Nana Morojee,

Justice of the Peace, Bombay.

BOMBAY FORT POLICE COURT.

Tuesday, the 24th February 1874.

(1) Nusserwanjee Bazonjee, (2) Dorabjee Nusserwanjee, (3) Manockjee Eduljee, (4) Sorabjee Temooljee, (5) Dinshaw Manockjee, (6) Byramjee Aspaniarjee, (7) Pallonjee Rustonjee, and (8) Rustonjee Aspaniarjee, are placed at the bar by Mr. Superintendent Mills.

Dr. Dallas appears for Nusserwanjee Bazonjee, Dorabjee Nussetwanjee, and Pallonjee Aspaniarjee.

Mr. Phirozshaw Merwanjee Mehta appears for Manockjee Eduljee, Sorabjee Temooljee, Dinshaw Manockjee, Byramjee Aspaniarjee and Rustonjee Aspaniarjee.

Mr. Thomas Mills re-appears, is re-sworn, and the foregoing information and deposition having been read over to him in the presence and hearing of the above-named eight prisoners, and explained to the prisoners, he further states as follows: Burjorjee Framjee, I have now ascertained, is the name of the Parsee I have alluded to in my foregoing information as the one who is employed in the Municipal Department. I pray for a warrant for his arrest. I also charge the eight men who are now in court with taking part in the aforesaid riot. Their names are (No. 1) Nusserwanjee Bazonjee, (No. 2) Dorabjee Nusserwanjee, (No. 3) Manockjee Eduljee, (No. 4) Sorabjee Temooljee, (No. 5) Dinshaw Manickjee, (No. 6) Byramjee Aspaniarjee, (No. 7) Pallonjee Rustonjee, and (No. 8) Rustonjee Aspaniarjee.

Cross-examination reserved.

T. Mills.

Taken upon oath the day, month, and year herein above written.

Before me,

Nana Morojee,

Justice of the Peace, Bombay.

(A.)

NAMES OF PRISONERS.

1. Rasid Fareed.	20. Billal Essub.
2. Ahmed Hoossein.	21. Furoz Goodo.
3. Silleman Ahmed.	22. Shoos Panchjamat.
4. Khumis Syud.	23. Ebram Bookar.
5. Matoola Sungeor.	24. Ismal Almas.
6. Salmin Nussib.	25. Hajee Ambar.
7. Nussib Sarur.	26. Abdoola Ebram.
8. Aurid Khamis.	27. Sillamon Abdoola.
9. Abdoola Hoossein.	28. Moobrack Farad.
10. Ruba Nassur.	29. Antone Dalman.
11. Ismail Yaeud.	30. Kyratee Hoossein.
12. Singoor Auladee.	31. Shabadeen Mootazee.
13. Feroz Ambar.	32. Mahomed Goolam Mahomed.
14. Pran Aman.	33. Syud Achar Allee.
15. Moofa Sillamon.	34. Jahan Kooshal.
16. Syud Moobrack.	35. Syud Fazul Shan.
17. Syud Moosa.	36. Syud Sally Mahomed.
18. Jowaree Amber.	37. Allee Bin Omer.
19. Amber Essao.	

EXTRACT from the Proceeding of the Government of Bombay in the Judicial Department, No. 1375; dated Bombay Castle, the 12th March 1874.

READ—

Letter from the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, No. 464, dated 28th February 1874, submitting a report of the disturbances which took place in the town of Bombay on Friday, the 13th February 1874, and of the subsequent occurrences up to the date of his report.

RESOLUTION.—His Excellency in Council is glad to be in possession of this narrative by the Commissioner of Police of the action of the police force under his command during the recent disturbances in Bombay.

2. It would appear from this report that the police acted with praiseworthy energy and determination in the suppression of each outbreak as it occurred, but it is not satisfactorily established whether the original outrages which were committed on Friday, the 13th of February, were the result of a preconcerted design, or an accidental ebullition of class malevolence.

3. His Excellency in Council desires that the Commissioner of Police should make a more thorough inquiry on this point; and will await this further report, and the disclosures which are likely to take place on the trial of the principal rioters in the High Court, before pronouncing any definite opinion on the general character of the occurrences and on the conduct of the police in connection with them.

(True Extract.)

W. Wedderburn,
Acting Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Judicial Department.

From the Quartermaster General of the Bombay Army to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay in the Military Department (No. 79—B.); dated the 6th March 1874.

I AM directed by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to solicit the orders of Government as to the time when the troops which are summoned from Poona to Bombay in aid of the civil power during the late riots may return to their station.

2. It has occurred to his Excellency that Government might be able to dispense with the European troops at an early date, and that if it should be considered necessary to detain Native troops extra to the ordinary Bombay garrison, a detachment of 150 sowars and a wing of Native Infantry might remain for the present.

(Home Department—Police.—No. 108.)

From *A. C. Lyall*, Secretary to the Government of India, to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

Sir,

Fort William, 2 April 1874.

* No. 1458.

I AM directed to acknowledge receipt of a copy of the Despatch sent by the Government of Bombay to the Secretary of State for India on the subject of the disturbances in the town of Bombay in February last. Your letter of the 16th March* has also been received, forwarding, with other enclosures, copy of a report on these disturbances submitted to your Government by the Commissioner of Police at Bombay.

2. His Excellency the Governor General in Council regrets much that some of the Parsee community in Bombay should have been subjected to violent aggression that was originally altogether unprovoked, and that retaliation should in some instances have been made upon innocent persons in a manner that is entirely indefensible. His Excellency trusts that the leading representatives of the Parsees and of the Mahomedans in Bombay will succeed in their praiseworthy exertions to restore the good feeling between the two communities which has been interrupted by these unfortunate collisions.

3. His Excellency in Council considers that the authorities acted rightly in supporting the police by military force; indeed, the opinion of the Government of India, upon the information now before them, is that this necessary and proper step should have been taken earlier. The action of the local government in prohibiting public processions during the late Mohurram is also approved. This prohibition was not intended as a penalty, but as a temporary and exceptional precaution considered necessary to secure the peace of the city.

4. The Commissioner of Police reports at length upon the conduct of the Bombay Police during these riots, especially upon the point whether the first outbreak ought to have been foreseen, and might thus have been prevented. He lays much stress upon the disadvantage at which the police are said to be placed by their having no barracks or lines; so that for want of proper quarters they live scattered about the town, and thus upon sudden emergencies the reserve force cannot be speedily collected. Into these important questions of internal administration I am to say that his Excellency in Council will not enter, since they are now undergoing full inquiry and consideration in the hands of the Government of Bombay.

I have, &c.

(signed) *A. C. Lyall*,

Secretary to the Government of India.

(No. 6 of 1874.—Judicial Department.)

To Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India in Council, London.

My Lord Marquis,

WE beg leave to transmit a memorial addressed to your Lordship in Council by the Parsee inhabitants of Bombay, having reference to the riots which, as reported in our Despatch No. 3 of the 2nd March last, took place in that city in February last, and of which the importance has been so excessively exaggerated.

2. The memorial concludes by preferring seven requests, based, as it would seem, on three alleged grounds of complaint, viz. :—

1.—That the police did not make proper use of the information furnished them, and took no precautions to prevent, by a display of force, any riotous or disorderly proceedings.

2.—That recourse ought to have been had to the employment of military force at an earlier stage of the transactions.

3.—That

3.—That the Governor has shown an animus against the Parsees; that the Government has lost no chance of defaming their character; and that they have been compelled to ask for “the justice which, until enlightened by the experience of the last few weeks, they believed it was impossible that they could ever have to ask for in vain from any representative of Her Most Gracious Majesty holding the high office of Governor of Bombay.”

3. We shall make it our business, therefore, to reply to these allegations, though of necessity at the risk of repeating in part the substance of our Despatch of the 2nd March.

4. In regard to the first allegation the memorial states, that “the fact of premeditation on the part of the rioters is proved,” and that “had the police done their duty, there would have been no serious rioting at all,” and further, paragraph 3, that “the action of the Commissioner of Police in suppressing the book was illegitimate and ill-advised.”

5. In answer to these assertions we wish to inform your Lordship, that we have been unable to obtain the slightest evidence to prove that the riot on the 13th February was premeditated; and in the trials before the High Court, the Parsees have not been able in any way to support such a contention. Minor disturbances did take place on the same day, but we attribute them to disorderly excitement, and not to any pre-arrangement. That excitement had been caused by the translation of the life of Mahomed; and that during the Mohurram, between the 20th and 28th February, more than the ordinary precautions to prevent any dangerous outburst of fanatical feeling would be necessary, was well known to the police. The Commissioner of Police did not, however, neglect to guard himself against surprise, and it will be seen, by reference to paragraphs 9 and 11, and subsequent paragraphs of the report of the Commissioner of Police, No. 464, February 28th, 1874 (received after our Despatch of the 2nd March was written and now enclosed), that he adopted measures to keep himself informed of what was going on; and on the particular day on which the riot commenced, February 13th, he ordered not only his native inspector of the detective force, but Inspector Raymond and Constable Gough to attend at the mosque and report to him immediately if they noticed any sign of disturbance.

6. It is contended by the memorialists that these precautions were not sufficient, and that “had the police done their duty, there would have been no serious rioting at all.” It is easy to judge events after they have transpired; but in deciding upon this question it is necessary to recall to your Lordship’s mind the state of affairs before one o’clock on Friday the 13th. The Commissioner of Police had, as he believed, ascertained that no outburst would occur on that particular day. Public apprehensions all pointed to the Mohurram, and if Mr. Souter participated in that belief, this Government, whilst regretting the mistake would be unwilling to hold him answerable for not anticipating what it believes to have been a very sudden and unpremeditated outbreak. That the police acted with praiseworthy energy and determination in the suppression of each outbreak as it occurred, has already been recorded by his Excellency in Council in Government Resolution No. 1375, March 12th, 1874, and has since been fully shown and noticed by the High Court in the course of the trials.

7. With reference to the alleged “illegal and ill-advised action of the Commissioner of Police in *suppressing* Jallbhoy’s book,” it must be observed that the Commissioner of Police did nothing more than advise the author (paragraph 7 of Mr. Souter’s report) to deposit with him the unsold copies of his book, and recommend the possessors of the copies sold to leave their copies for a time in his possession, until after the Mohurram. The Commissioner was the best judge of whether he was right to take upon himself this responsibility, which he did without any instructions from Government to that effect; but we would observe that Mr. Jallbhoy himself and the purchasers of the work voluntarily accepted his advice, and that the translation of the word “concubine,” as pointed out in paragraph 3 of our Despatch No. 3, March 2nd, was more offensive than the original, or than the memorialists seem to admit.

8. We are glad that the complaint as to the tardy employment of the troops has been brought into the memorial, as it enables us to submit distinctly to your Lordship in Council the principles by which we were guided on this point, in

respect of which some doubts have also been expressed by the Government of India in a letter (copy of which is enclosed) lately received from them.

9. We therefore avow it to be our opinion that military force should not be brought into active operation against rioters unless or until it is known or has been shown that the civil force at the disposal of the authorities is unable to overcome them; and we assert without fear of contradiction, that in no single instance in these riots was it found that the police could not master the rioters as soon as they acted in a body against them. The active assistance of a soldier was not once required. No troops were brought into the native town until the want of them was represented by the Commissioner of Police, and he did not then contemplate their active employment. He felt that the strain upon his men, who had been for two or three days and nights almost incessantly on duty, was wearing them out, and, with the immediate prospect of the Mohurrum before him, he was anxious to give them some relief. Small detachments were therefore posted in the most suspected localities.

10. Subsequently, when, as will presently be shown, the Mohurrum processions were prohibited, the Government filled the city with troops, not expecting to use them for putting down a riot, but to convince the discontented that any attempt at disturbance must be perfectly hopeless in the face of the support which was at hand to assist the police if needed. And this arrangement was entirely successful. Not the slightest attempt was made by the Mahometans to violate the orders of Government. But if riots had begun, it would have been the duty of the police, and not, in the first instance, of the large military force to suppress them. We feel that the principle here involved is one of much importance, and we shall be grateful for a clear expression of your Lordship's views on the subject.

11. In answer to the 3rd allegation, it is necessary for us, even at the cost of some repetition, to review the course of events.

12. The first riot, the prompt suppression of which we have fully noticed, took place on Friday the 13th February. A large number of the rioters were made prisoners. Those who had not been conspicuous were summarily punished by the Magistrates; and 62, all Mahometans, were committed for trial. One of them was released on account of illness. Fifty-seven received the severe sentence of five years' hard labour, and the remaining four one year's hard labour. On the following day, Saturday the 14th, no disturbance of any importance took place, nor did anything occur to warrant a belief that military aid was required. But in the evening, the Parsee gentlemen named in the Memorial, waited on the Governor. They undoubtedly told him that the Parsees were, as described in the Memorial, "panic-stricken;" but they as undoubtedly did not make the slightest allusion to the expected Mahometan funeral, which, it is alleged in the Memorial, was already causing great alarm. We feel certain that on that evening they knew nothing whatever of the approaching funeral, and we submit that it was but reasonable for the Governor, in the conversation which took place, to urge the heads of a large section of the community, which had been actively protected by the police, but which was "panic-stricken," to make some effort for its own protection.

13. On the following morning, Sunday the 15th, the funeral took place. The Mahometan burial-ground is in a part of the town thickly inhabited by Parsees, and a severe fight took place. It was stopped by the police, and some of those engaged in it on both sides have been tried by the High Court. The judge, in passing sentence on the Parsees said, "I consider that the evidence of the occurrences at the corner of the grave-yard, and in the Breach Candy-road, proves it to have been the intention of the Parsees to attack the Mahometans, and that had it not been for the Parsees, the Mahometans would have peaceably returned, and that no disturbance would have taken place." And he sentenced the Parsees to imprisonment with hard labour for six months. Of the 19 Mahometans brought to trial, four were found guilty of exceeding the legitimate limits of self-defence, and were sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for two months. The other 15 were acquitted.

14. This last occurrence, however, satisfied the Government that the hostility of the two races was still in active operation, and that decided measures of precaution must be adopted in connection with the annual Mahometan festival of the

the Mohurram, which was close at hand, and which is always more or less the cause of anxiety. It was therefore on Monday the 16th February resolved, after full deliberation, that the Mahometan processions, usual at that season, should be prohibited altogether on this occasion. The gravity of this step was in no degree under-rated, either by the Government, or by the community in general. The processions in question, though not strictly religious, have great attractions for a large section of the Mahometans; they have lasted for very many years without interruption, and it was felt that their entire prohibition, though a necessary precaution, would be a severe punishment. The Government, however, bearing in mind that the dangerous state of public feeling had been first created by the Mahometans, held to its determination; and, as above shown, made a proper exhibition of military force. On the 18th February, the leader of the present demonstration, Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, forwarded to the Governor a petition from the principal Parsees, which had been framed on the 16th, and he admitted in his letter that their suggestions had been in a great measure anticipated by the Government, and that they felt thankful. Indeed, no better proof than the prohibition of the processions could have been given by the Government of its determination to preserve order, and, as a consequence, to protect the Parsees. From that day, no insult of any kind has been offered to any Parsee place of worship, nor, so far as we are aware, has any private house been attacked; and the Memorial says—"When the military had once been called out, no further serious disturbances occurred. The Parsees were satisfied that the Government would not suffer them to be again molested." Efforts were perseveringly made by leading members of society, European and Native, to restore harmony. The press, however, published incessantly letters and articles of the most irritating nature, all in the interest of the Parsees, not confined to Bombay alone, and thus, as far as in it lay, contributed to disappoint those who hoped that the excitement might die out.

15. On the 21st, a considerable body of Parsees "made the mistake," as they term it, of committing an assault on a few Mahometan labourers returning to their homes from the work of the day. It was after this that, says the Memorial, "the Government of Bombay, anxious as it would appear to have an excuse for its own lamentable weakness, has lost no chance of defaming the character of the Parsees." The account of the defamation follows. Two days after the cowardly attack just alluded to, the Governor, having received from one of the most trusted public servants, a representation of the evils which must result from such acts, requested an interview with some of the leading Parsee gentlemen, and pressed upon them the propriety of their endeavouring to allay the irritation to the best of their ability. He pointed out that in other large towns of the Presidency, to which troops could not be so easily sent, the few Parsee inhabitants might for a time be exposed to much danger from exasperation caused by acts done in Bombay, and that even in Bombay itself, they could not expect the large garrison to be permanently maintained. The conversation took place in private, and the defamation, if "defamation" it be, has been made public by themselves.

16. The Memorial untruly charges the Governor with expressing the same feeling to a large deputation of Mahometan gentlemen. That deputation had on the same day presented and earnestly supported a petition praying that the processions might be allowed, and had offered to become bound for the good behaviour of their co-religionists; and they were told that it would be impossible for them to prevent conflicts arising out of sudden affronts offered to the processions while passing through narrow and crowded streets. A copy of the written answer given to the petition is herewith forwarded.

17. In short, the Mahometans, with whom the riots began, have felt the full weight of the action of the Government, both in the prohibition of the processions and in the severe punishment of the rioters. The Parsees sustained losses at first, for which that punishment has been inflicted. From that time they have suffered nothing. They were satisfied, when the troops were called out, that the Government would not suffer them to be again molested, and they have not been. They felt thankful for what had then been done. They have since had literally nothing to ask for. They have not asked for anything. The "justice" for which they appeal to your Lordship, has not been withheld from them.

18. We have, in conclusion, to notice the requests made at the close of the Memorial, that your Lordship will order inquiries to be made into the cause of the riots, into the efficacy of the steps taken to arrest them, as to the conduct of the Governor and the Commissioner of Police, and as to the measures that should be adopted with a view to the future.

19. We now transmit copies of the Reports received from the Commissioner of Police, which, with the remarks we have made, will, we hope, be considered sufficient explanation of the past. We altogether disbelieve that these riots originated in any premeditated plan, or that they were promoted by respectable members of the Mahometan community. It would have required very little organisation to render them far more destructive. Not a particle of evidence has been received in support of such a theory; and we cannot too strongly deprecate the institution of fresh inquiries on these points. We believe that they will tend to keep alive ill-feeling; that they will afford opportunities for the fabrication of false charges and evidence; and arouse suspicions which will rest on no substantial foundation, but which may work much mischief.

20. As regards the future, it will be seen that this Government is fully sensible of its obligations. It recognises the necessity for providing quarters for the police in suitable localities, and has already applied to the Government of India for authority to grant sites. It has called the attention of the Commissioner to the necessity for rendering the detective force more reliable; and it desires to see an augmentation of the European and mounted portions of the force. But in respect of these measures the Government is placed in a very delicate and embarrassing position. The strength of the police of Bombay, in all its details, is regulated at the pleasure of the local government, but the funds required for its support are provided out of the municipal rates. No contribution whatever is made from Imperial or provincial funds. We are fully sensible that this is unfair, and that, as the taxation of the country is now arranged, the municipality have every right to demand a reasonable contribution, such as is paid in Calcutta and elsewhere. But we cannot afford it. The allotment from the Imperial revenues which we receive under the decentralisation scheme is so scanty that we cannot meet this charge. We have long since represented to the Government of India the necessity for a modification of that scheme, and have ventured to suggest the direction that such modification might take. Our last representation has unfortunately just been positively negatived.

We have, &c.

(signed) *P. E. Wodehouse.*
Augustus Spencer.
H. P. St. G. Tucker.
A. Rogers.

8 May 1874.

(No. 464 of 1874.)

From *Frank Henry Souter*, Esq., c.s.l., Commissioner of Police, Bombay, to the Secretary to Government, Judicial Department, Bombay.

Sir,

Bombay, 28 February 1874.

I HAVE the honour to submit a Report of the disturbances which took place in the town of Bombay on Friday the 13th instant, and of the subsequent occurrences up to the present time.

2. It was my anxious desire to have furnished this Report at an earlier date, but I have necessarily been so much in the saddle night and day, and have had so many other pressing duties to attend to, that I have found it impossible to devote to it the time required.

3. I will now endeavour to lay before Government as brief and correct a narrative as possible of the unfortunate disturbances which have taken place and which originated solely with the Soonee Mahomedans, and also to show what were the apparent causes which led to them.

4. Ill-feeling

4. Ill-feeling arose among the Mahomedans against the Parsees in consequence of a book styled "The Renowned Prophets and Nations" having been written and published by a Parsee named Rustomjee Hormusjee Jalbhoy. The book is in the Guzerathi language, and in it a passage appears the interpretation of which is to the effect that Mahomed had a son named Ibrahim born to him by a kept prostitute, a phrase which implies that the Prophet was the protector of a public woman. The Mahomedans look upon the above expression as an insult to themselves and defamatory of their Prophet.

5. The book in question was, it seems, published some ten months ago, but was circulated principally amongst the Parsees and was only brought to the notice of the Mahomedans very recently, when a deputation of them, headed by their Kazee, Abdool Lateef, waited upon me to represent their grievance.

6. Under ordinary circumstances I should probably have taken little notice of the matter, but seeing that the Mohurram was so close at hand, and well knowing the excitement which prevails during this festival amongst all classes of the Mahomedan community, I deemed it advisable to exercise my influence in checking, as far as possible, a spread of ill-feeling between the Mahomedans and Parsees.

7. With this view I sent privately for the author of the book, who stated that he had not written regarding Mahomed with any idea or intention of insulting or wounding the feelings of his followers, and at my recommendation he willingly agreed to deposit in my office all the printed copies of his book which at that time remained in his possession; he also furnished me with the names of the subscribers to his work, each of whom I addressed by letter (copy of this letter is appended and marked A), urging the advisability of their temporarily entrusting to my care any copies in their possession, and explaining to them my reasons for recommending this step.

8. I will here mention that the day the Kazee, Abdool Lateef, waited on me with his deputation to represent their grievance, was the 9th of February or four days previous to the outbreak of the disturbance. The Kazee then stated that he would get together and represent to those few of his community who had become aware of the publication of the book, the steps I had promised to take, and he gave me every reason to believe that he would bring about a reconciliation, and that no further trouble would arise. At the same time he promised to communicate with me at once in the event of any dissatisfaction being evinced amongst his people.

9. After the Kazee's deputation left my office, I at once, in consultation with my deputy Mr. Edginton, called up our chief detectives and gave them strict orders to watch the Kazee's proceedings, and also to adopt immediate measures to keep themselves and me informed of the feelings and proceedings of the Mahomedans in connection with this matter.

10. Nothing particular transpired on the 10th. On the 11th, Mr. Jalbhoy sent 85 copies of his work to the office and called himself at night to see Mr. Edginton, to whom he expressed fears that a Mussulman neighbour named Sooliman, who he believed had brought about the agitation regarding his book, would probably annoy him during the approaching Mohurram, and asked that police protection might be accorded to him at that time. The detectives reported that all was quiet this day, and that no excitement of any kind was observable.

11. On Thursday the 12th, one of the leading members of the deputation who waited on me on the 9th, again called and informed me that a meeting of certain Mahomedans was to be held that evening with the object of discussing all particulars connected with the book and the measures taken to remove the insult to their religious feelings, and he assured me that the matter would now be peaceably and satisfactorily settled. I directed the chief officers of my detective force to attend this meeting, which they accordingly did, and reported to me the following morning (Friday) that the proceedings were in every respect conciliatory, and calculated to allay any feelings of irritation which might exist in the minds of the people. This report was corroborated by a member of the deputation who had waited on me on the 9th, and who called again at my office on Friday morning.

12. From all the information I had gathered, there certainly appeared no reason whatever to apprehend any disturbance on the 13th, and though I considered that, under the circumstances, any unusual display of police would only create unnecessary alarm and anxiety, I ordered inspector Khan Bahadoor Abdool Ali of the detective force, with some of his agents, to be present in the Jumma Musjid during the time of prayer, and it was arranged that an experienced European inspector and constable (the statements of these men are appended and marked B., C., D.) should also be at the Mosque in plain clothing. I took this precaution not because I in any way anticipated a disturbance on the 13th as the Mohurram festival (during which, if at all, popular commotion would naturally occur) had not begun, but in order that the police might ascertain and make known to me the feelings of the people and report at once if anything extraordinary should occur.

13. About quarter to one o'clock the European inspector at the Mosque sent a report to his superintendent, Mr. Smith, to the effect that there was rather a large gathering, but that all was perfectly quiet. The superintendent of the division, to whom this report was made, happened to be with me in the Police Office at Mazagon, at the time it was received. I therefore ordered him to proceed to the Mosque at once and to let me know, without delay, if anything unusual was going on.

14. Mr. Smith had not been out of office many minutes when a report was brought by a sepoy that some Mahomedans had attacked Parsee shops and houses in Bhendy Bazaar, and in Syed Abdool Rahimon-street.

15. Not a moment was lost in getting the few available policemen of the Reserve Force together, and with the six mounted policemen then in the lines, my deputy, Mr. Edginton, and I started with all possible haste for the scene of disturbance.

16. Passing through Bhendy Bazaar we found considerable agitation in the streets, and learnt that a Parsee Fire Temple had been entered, the sacred fire put out, and all property in it mischievously destroyed. A few prisoners were here taken, and such precautionary measures as men and time would admit of having been put in force to prevent a fresh outbreak and keep up the communication, we went on at a gallop to Syed Abdool Rahimon-street, where it was reported that further mischief was being done.

17. On entering the above-named street we observed an immense mob of Mahomedans, composed chiefly of Arabs and Seedeas, armed with bludgeons and sticks, in possession of the place; the main body seemed to be approaching us, and others were seen actively engaged in the work of destruction; some of them rushing out of houses with property in hand.

18. Nothing could have excelled the conduct of the small party of police, particularly of the Europeans, at this moment; they dashed into the midst of the mob and at once scattered them, and many of the offenders were immediately ironed or otherwise secured. From one house alone, that of Jeejibhoy Dhunjibhoy, in which of all others most destruction was committed, about 40 of the rioters, principally Seedeas and Arabs, were taken. Of these several made most desperate efforts to escape by rushing through the police, but they were mostly knocked down and made prisoners. In about half-an-hour from the time the police arrived at the scene, the whole disturbance was quelled and order restored; 64 rioters in all were apprehended in this street, and but for the paucity of the police and the formidable men they had to deal with, many more prisoners would have been arrested.

19. It has been affirmed that the neighbourhood of Syed Abdool Rahimon-street was in the possession of an excited mob for some hours. Fortunately I am able to state exactly the time which elapsed from the outbreak of the riot to its suppression. The report of the European inspector that all was quiet, was brought to me at about a quarter to one o'clock; at about 10 minutes past one by the office clock, the news that an attack on Parsee houses was being made, arrived at the Mazagon Office, and according to the statement* of a gentleman who arrived on the scene immediately after the disturbance, the riot was entirely suppressed and the last of the rioters in custody by a few minutes before two o'clock.

* Further corroborated by letter marked E and appended.

o'clock. This corresponds with my own and Mr. Edginton's recollections of the matter.

20. When order was restored, I, in consultation with my deputy, made such prompt arrangements as seemed to us best calculated to prevent any further disturbance. European and Native police were massed in and about the localities inhabited by Parsees, and the few mounted police available, patrolled the streets throughout the night. I also at once took measures to ascertain the amount of injury done to persons and property during the riot, and from the inquiries made regarding this and all subsequent disturbances, have made out returns marked F. and G. respectively, which show plainly the number of fire temples and houses, &c., entered by Mahomedan rioters, with alleged value of property destroyed or stolen, and also the total number of persons of different sects injured. On this day five Parsees and eight Mahomedans were injured, of whom one Parsee has since died.

21. On Saturday morning the 14th, my deputy, Mr. Edginton, and Superintendent Mills personally placed all the prisoners, numbering 91, apprehended the previous day, before the senior magistrate, by whom they were remanded till the 4th March and lodged in jail. There was a slight disturbance on this day which, from the evidence, would seem to have originated by some Mahomedans of the Weaver caste throwing stones at a Parsee house in Falkland-road. One stone, which is said to have been hurled at a policeman while endeavouring to restore order, accidentally struck one of the Mahomedan aggressors and caused fracture of the skull: the man was taken to hospital but died the following day; beyond a few panes of glass being broken, no other harm was done. I was on the spot with a party of police soon after the disturbance, and succeeded in making 29 prisoners, the ringleaders being amongst them.

22. It appears that on Saturday the 14th, a Mahomedan funeral party proceeding to their cemetery at Sonapoor, had been in some way annoyed or interfered with by Parsees who reside in that neighbourhood. This circumstance probably excited the resentment or the fears of the Mahomedans, as on Sunday morning, the 15th, three funerals, one that of a Seedee, which started from different parts of the town, met on the way to Sonapoor and were attended by more than the usual number of persons. About 10 a.m. Mr. Superintendent Mills, receiving information that these funerals were on their way, collected immediately a body of 20 Native constables and one sowar, and overtook them in Bholeswer-road. On the way the number of attendants was augmented by men dropping in by ones and twos. Mr. Mills states* that the members of the procession at this time did not appear to be armed in any way, though some of them may have had sticks under their clothes, while others probably armed themselves subsequently with clubs and bludgeons from a wood depôt against the graveyard wall, and by taking bamboos from sheds and fences inside. When nearing Sonapoor the procession, now numbering about 300 persons, escorted by the police, passed through a locality occupied by Parsees, a great number of whom were standing on both sides of the road, but Mr. Mills exhorted them to be quiet, and they did not in any way interfere. At the cemetery Mr. Mills was joined by Inspectors Austin and Brewen and 10 sepoys. The processions passed quietly into the burial-ground, and the ceremonies commenced.

* See Mr. Mills' deposition on oath marked L.

23. In consequence of the number of people assembled, Mr. Mills sent off orders to the officers at the nearest police station to bring up to his assistance, with all haste, as many policemen as were available, and also despatched a sepoy in a buggy to call the Commissioner and his deputy to his aid with further help. Before the conclusion of the funeral ceremonies about 300 or 400 Parsees, armed with sticks and bludgeons, came up a back lane from the direction of the Dhobee Talao, and commenced throwing stones into the graveyard. This excited the indignation of the Mahomedans, several of whom, having armed themselves with sticks and stones, thereupon rushed to the wall and retaliated upon the Parsees; some of the Mahomedans assisted the police to restore order, but 40 or 50 Seedees jumped over the wall, rushed at the Parsees and put them to flight. The police, however, succeeded in getting most of them back again into the cemetery, and the tumult was for the time quelled, but in consequence of this disturbance, and fearing further outbreak, Mr. Mills despatched Inspector Austin to call out the military, who had, after the disturbance on Friday, been warned by me that

their services might be required at any moment, and by order of the Brigadier General commanding the district, were in readiness in case of need. The ceremonies being over, the processions were re-formed and started on their homeward journey in charge of the police.

24. It appears that a Seedee, who did not return to the burial-ground, was discovered down a by-lane by the flying Parsees, who set upon him and left him for dead. Mr. Mills endeavoured to send off the injured man to the hospital before this deed was found out by the Mahomedans, but in this did not entirely succeed, and the Seedees were impressed with the belief that one of their party had been killed; shortly afterwards a body of Parsees were seen drawn up in the Breach Candy road armed with bludgeons which they brandished in a threatening manner. Two European police officers in succession went up and called upon them to disperse, which they refused to do. In the meantime the procession arrived at the place and the two bodies came into collision, the police being unable to restrain them. The Parsees eventually fled and the Seedees thereupon commenced an attack upon the Parsee houses in the locality. The police did their utmost to keep them in check until the deputy commissioner, Mr. Edginton, who, with a small party of European and native police, reached the scene of the affray just before me, led his men into the midst of the mob in a manner entitling him and his small party to all praise. The mob was immediately dispersed, and but for the timely arrival of the additional police, the Parsees would doubtless have suffered very severely: 36 of the Mahomedan rioters were arrested, and in this disturbance 13 Mahomedans and seven Parsees were injured, of whom four Mahomedans and one Parsee have since died. The reason why all the prisoners here taken were Mahomedans, is, that by the time the police were reinforced the Parsees had been beaten off, and the Mahomedans were then attacking their houses. The Mahomedans therefore appeared at the time to be the aggressors and the party guilty of a breach of the peace. Shortly after the disturbance was quelled the military arrived on the scene, but their services were not required.

25. I am sorry to say that after the Mahomedans had been routed by the police as mentioned in the preceding paragraph, some of the Parsees seem to have pursued and attacked the stragglers with unjustifiable ferocity. One old man of about 80, in particular, who could have had little or nothing to do with the riot, was hunted down, brutally beaten and left for dead. He was removed to the hospital, where he died the following day.

26. On the same morning between 11 and 12 o'clock, some Mahomedans were without provocation attacked by Parsees in two different places in and near the fort, and three were seriously wounded. A crowd of Parsees also assembled in front of their Fire Temple, and upon inspector O'Connor going to assist a police sepoy who was being hustled by the Parsees, he received a very severe blow on the head from a stick, which but for his helmet would have probably killed him. The municipal commissioner, Mr. Pedder, and Mr. James, Under Secretary to Government, arrived on the spot immediately after this occurred, and nothing further happened. The Parsee who struck the inspector escaped into the Fire Temple and has not yet been identified.

27. In consequence of the disturbances which had ensued, I deemed it necessary, in order to re-assure the people, to apply for military to be posted in the town, and for cavalry picquets to patrol at night. These arrangements were at once carried out under the orders of the brigadier general commanding the district, and have been in force ever since.

28. On Monday 16th, one of the Mahomedans, who had been severely injured in the affray on Sunday, died, and it was reported to me that his funeral passing through the town would probably excite the sympathy of his caste and rouse them to some act of revenge. I therefore, after taking certain police precautions, immediately proceeded in person to the military authorities and obtained the aid of two companies of the marine battalion with whom I escorted the funeral about 2 p.m. to the Mahomedan burial-ground, and all passed off quietly. Nothing else particularly transpired between Sunday the 15th and Saturday the 21st to disturb the peace of the town. The Parsees, however, during this time evinced much agitation and seemed to be troubled with all manner of misgivings.

29. On

29. On the evening of the 21st about half-past 7 o'clock, some 20 Seedees and other Mahomedans, were returning quietly to their homes from on board ship where they had been working; they took the direct route to the native town and had thus unfortunately to pass Hornby-row, a locality almost entirely inhabited by Parsees. From my inquiries it has been shown beyond doubt, that when these men reached the above neighbourhood, a sudden alarm was raised by some Parsees, who, in a large body, made a murderous attack upon them. One Seedee had his leg and arm broken; several others were more or less seriously injured, and but for the timely arrival of a few policemen, it is impossible to say what would have been the fate of these unhappy people. As the onslaught was made in the dark, it has unfortunately been impossible for the police to find out the principal offenders. It is true that one Parsee was stabbed in this disgraceful attack, but I have been informed by the medical officer of the J. J. Hospital under whose treatment this man has been, that the wounds from their nature must have been inflicted by some person while on the ground; it is evident therefore that they were given in self-defence, and it must be noticed that all labourers on board ship wear their sailors' knives to enable them to do their work.

30. My reputation as a police officer having been loudly assailed in the public prints for not having taken such precautions as the events previous to Friday the 13th are said to have called for, I would ask for a careful perusal of paragraphs 4 to 13 of this Report, and also beg to attach original letters received from the Mahomedan gentlemen noted in the margin, who were present at the important meeting held the evening previous to the outbreak. It will be seen that these gentlemen, two of whom are justices of the peace, and the most influential men of their community, fully believed the ill-feeling regarding the publishing of the book had entirely subsided, and that they had no apprehension whatever of any disturbance arising. One of the gentlemen, Mahomed Ali Rogay, it will be seen, was himself at prayer in the Jumma Masjid on Friday the 13th, and observed no indication of excitement amongst his people, or any signs of disturbance. The testimony of this gentleman is unimpeachable. He has incurred great unpopularity among the Mahomedans, as they think he has taken the side of the Parsees, and has in consequence temporarily left Bombay.

Mahomed Ali Rogay, Esq., J.P.
Cumroodeen Tyebjee, Esq., J.P.
Mirza Ali Akbar Khan Bahadoor.
Mirza Hoosein Khan, Esq.

31. From my searching inquiries and all that has transpired, I am decidedly of opinion, that if the disturbance was premeditated as generally affirmed, the plot must have been confined to a very few of the Mahomedan roughs of Bombay, and its secrecy thus secured.

32. I would further submit in support of this opinion, that had any fear whatever of a disturbance being likely to take place existed in the minds of the public, the Parsee community, in particular, against whom the attack was certain to be directed, would have shown their anxiety, and some members of that large body would assuredly have come forward in the interests of their people, and for their own safety have given notice to the police and applied for protection. The only Parsees who expressed any alarm to me were a few who live near the house of Jalbhoy, the author of the obnoxious book, and they only stated that during the Mohorrum they were apprehensive of being molested in consequence. The municipal commissioner, also, who is in daily intercourse with many Parsees, tells me that he never had a hint of danger from any of them till after the riot of Friday the 13th. These facts show that the stories of the Parsees, that they were aware, previous to the 13th, that an attack would be made on them on that day, are inaccurate.

33. It has been my endeavour in this report to describe minutely every case of riot, and all severe attacks upon individuals which have been brought to the notice of the police. Other petty assaults have occurred in connexion with the present disturbances, but I have not considered it necessary to mention them at length, or to comment on the numerous absurd or exaggerated rumours which have prevailed, all of which, have, however, been immediately inquired into.

34. I must here explain how it was that at the commencement of the riots a sufficient police force could not be brought to the scene of disturbance sooner,

and the riot quelled even more promptly. The Bombay police force in consequence of their having no barracks or lines, are scattered about the city wherever they are able to hut themselves; thus the bulk of the men do not reside in the division or section to which they are attached for duty, and on an emergency arising, the only policemen that can be quickly got together are those actually on their posts. At the Mazagon police office, the 13 native mounted police have lines, and here also a few of the reserve force happen to reside; it is therefore the only place where a small body of police can be quickly assembled if suddenly required.

35. The want of proper quarters for the Europeans and lines for the native police in central and suitable localities impairs most seriously the efficiency and satisfactory working of the police force. This fact has repeatedly been brought by me to the notice of Government and the municipality, and will form the subject of further report.

36. Most severe criticisms have been published on my own conduct and that of the police generally in reference to these unfortunate disturbances.

*Vide Mr. Souter's
note appended.*

37. As regards myself, I willingly and confidently leave it in the hands of Government, without attempting a defence, to decide whether I am deserving of the strictures passed upon me, merely asking for careful consideration of all the facts stated at the commencement of this report.

38. But with respect to, and in defence of, the force which I have the honour to command, I beg most respectfully to urge in justice to them that their conduct throughout these disturbances has been such as to merit commendation, and in substantiation of this I would beg to adduce the following facts:—

Even on the first day, unprepared as we were, the riot was completely suppressed within an hour, and upwards of 60 prisoners captured in the act of riot and plunder.

Since 2 p.m., on Friday the 13th, notwithstanding the violent excitement of both parties, and the intense hostility which existed between them, not a single house has been plundered, nor fire temple defiled.

During the excitement which has prevailed it has been impossible to foresee at what particular point a disturbance might arise, but in every instance of riot the police alone have promptly met and effectually suppressed it, notwithstanding the demands upon them in all quarters of the city.

I would beg to point out also that this has been done by a police force considerably reduced below the strength fixed by Colonel Bruce in 1864 as requisite for the efficient performance of the police duties of this city.

The police force recommended by Colonel Bruce, then Inspector General of police for all India, and which received the sanction of Government, and was entertained in 1865, was of the strength shown below:—

46 European police of all grades.

1,411 Native police of all grades.

Colonel Bruce, in fixing the above force, remarked, to use his own words, "And I am unable to perceive that the work can possibly be done with fewer hands." But in spite of the opinion of so experienced a police officer, the Bombay police force was reduced in 1868, 1871, and 1872 by

6 European police of all ranks.

108 Native police of all ranks.

39. Government will thus fully understand how severe the strain has been upon the police; notwithstanding which all the Europeans have been most steady, and cheerfully performed their harassing duties, and have at all times displayed courage, promptitude, and discretion, entitling them to the highest praise. The native police have also behaved extremely well, and have been steady and energetic in the performance of their duties. From the 13th up to the present time the police, European and native, may be said to have been on perpetual duty night and day, for they have scarcely ever left their posts.

40. To say that native constables are not as intelligent, energetic, and self-reliant, as would be desirable, is merely to say that they are natives, but they have

have behaved extremely well, and followed their European leaders with considerable courage, and have been most steady and obedient. The assertion that the majority of native constables are Mahomedans is erroneous, the proportion to Hindoos and other castes being about $\frac{25}{100}$, and I should regret to see it reduced, as Mahomedans make in some respects the best policemen.

41. With reference to the accusation that not only have the Bombay police behaved badly in these disturbances, but that their general efficiency has fallen off of late years, I would in refutation respectfully point to the annual returns which will show that for several years past there has been a marked diminution in the number of crimes committed and the amount of property stolen, while the proportion of convictions and of recoveries of stolen property has vastly increased. These results have received repeated commendation from Government and from Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, and have been acquired notwithstanding the large decrease in the strength of the force.

42. Throughout these disturbances, which have so severely taxed all hands of the police force, I have received most invaluable aid from my deputy, Mr. Edginton, and from superintendents Mills, Bailey, and Moffat, and deputy superintendents Smith, Crummey, and Brown, who have all, by their praiseworthy zeal and devotion to their duties, shown an admirable example to the more subordinate members of the force.

43. As regards the allegations brought by the public papers against the detective force, that they not only failed in their duty, but that they deceived me, I would here remark that I believe these accusations to be as undeserved as they are unjust. The detective officers selected to watch the actions and to ascertain the feelings of the people in this matter, Khan Bahadoor Meer Akbar Ali and Khan Bahadoor Meer Abdool Ali, are both tried and faithful servants of Government, in whom I repose every confidence, and believe that they would keep no information from me which it was their duty to acquaint me with. The last-named officer has very recently had the title of Khan Bahadoor conferred upon him by the Viceroy at the recommendation of this Government, in acknowledgment of the excellent service from time to time rendered by him. This officer was by my orders present at the Jumma Masjid during prayer on Friday, the 13th, and his report of what occurred on that occasion is appended in original, and marked B. It will be seen from the statement of this intelligent officer, corroborated as it is by the appended statements of the European inspector and constable, that at the mosque prayers were said as usual, and that there were no signs whatever of excitement or agitation amongst the congregation. I would submit that it was impossible on this occasion for the police to foresee the sudden and unpremeditated outbreak of a fanatical mob.

44. The presence of the troops has been most valuable in restoring confidence among the timid, and to overawe the rioters, but in no case have they been called on to act; they have not only not fired a shot, but have never come into collision with the people. Their presence was required, not because there was any prospect of the mob overpowering the police, but because the police was not sufficiently numerous to guard effectually the whole city at a season of disturbance, and it was physically impossible for them, without assistance, to endure the fatigue of this anxious fortnight.

45. Before closing this report, I would wish to acknowledge the ready and prompt assistance I have at all times received from Brigadier General Gell whenever it has been necessary to call upon him for military aid, and also the consideration he has always shown to my suggestions in stationing military posts and guards in such localities of the city as circumstances have rendered necessary.

46. I would also mention that since the outbreak on the 13th I have been in constant communication with the municipal commissioner, Mr. Pedder, and that in many of the precautionary measures I have from time to time put in force for the preservation of peace and restoration of order, I have acted in consultation with that officer, whose cordial and valuable co-operation I desire to acknowledge.

(signed) *F. H. Souter,*
Commissioner of Police.

(A.)

Police Commissioner's Office, Bombay,
13 February 1874.

My dear Sir Cowasjee,

A book has lately been published by Mr. Rustumjee Hormusjee, styled "The Renowned Prophets and Nations, &c., &c.," and I understand that you subscribed for and received several copies of the work. It seems that the Mahomedans have taken great offence at some of the passages, which they consider to defame their prophet Mahomed, and as there is some excitement about the matter, I write in the interests of peace to ask if you would kindly allow the copies which you have in your possession to be sent to me for safe custody for the present, or till such time as the excitement may have blown over.

Yours, &c.,
(signed) *F. H. Souter*,
Commissioner of Police

Sir Cowasjee Jeehangeer, K. C. S. I.

A similar letter was sent to the undermentioned gentlemen :

Framjee Nasserwanjee Patell, J. P.
Ardaseer Hormusjee Wadia, J. P.
Dinshaw Manockjee Petit, J. P.
Muncherjee Hormusjee Cama, J. P.
Nasserwanjee Manockjee Petit, J. P.
Byramjee Jeejeebhoy, J. P.

(True copy.)

(signed) *F. H. Souter*,
Commissioner of Police.

(B.)

To *Frank Henry Souter*, Esq., C. S. I., Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

Sir,

I BEG to report that, in obedience to your orders, I attended the Mahomedan meeting held at Dada Mukba's Bungalow, at Byculla, on the 12th instant.

2. The meeting was composed of more than a hundred members of the different sects of the Mahomedan community, and most of them were persons of weight and respectability. The subject of Mr. Jalbhoy's book, and the steps taken by you regarding it, were fully and calmly discussed. Your action was unanimously approved, and the excitement occasioned by the publication of the book seemed to be peacefully and perfectly set at rest.

3. The proceedings of the meeting were of so thorough and peaceful a character that I could not reasonably suppose that any riot or disturbance would at any time afterwards break out in connection with the question, which the meeting had apparently disposed of.

4. In accordance, however, with your further instructions, I, with three detectives, went to the Jumma Musjid, at noon, on the following Mahomedan sabbath, Friday the 13th idem, to watch the proceedings, &c. of the congregation. I remained in the principal hall of the mosque, on the ground floor. I did not see Kazee Abool Luteef, but was informed that he was then in the mosque. The usual prayers were recited; the congregation did not appear to be excited or agitated in any way, and nothing whatever occurred to lead me to suspect that any riotous outbreak was at all contemplated, or likely to take place.

5. On conclusion of the prayers I stationed myself at the main gate of the mosque, and the members of the congregation came out and went away quietly in different directions. I did not see any of them armed with sticks or other weapons, either inside or outside the mosque. By about one o'clock, p.m., all the congregation had quietly quitted the mosque and its immediate neighbourhood, and I and the other policemen in plain clothing, who had been sent on duty there, left the place.

6. When I arrived at the junction of Syed Abdool Rahimon and Shaikh Ally Junjerkur-streets, I saw a crowd of people near the small police chowkie in Syed Abdool Rahimon-street; and on going there I saw a number of men and boys throwing stones at the windows of the houses of the Parsees. I sent information to the police office at once, and I and the policemen with me did our best to disperse the mob.

7. While we were so engaged, a large number of Seedees and Arabs poured into the street

street from the direction of the Chuckla, and commenced to throw stones at the windows, tear down the sun-shades of the shops, break down the railings, and break into the Parsee houses on each side of the street.

8. Some of them ran towards Mirza Oil-maker-street. I and other policemen drew up across the road, and prevented them from entering it, and consequently no damage was done by the mob in that street.

9. About this time Inspector Raymond met me, and he and I went together towards Alibagh. On our way we saw a wounded Parsee lying in Dhunjee Dongeria Cross-lane, and removed him into Dhunjee Dongeria-street, and made him over to some Parsees there.

10. Soon after this a large number of rioters entered this street from its northern end. They were all armed with sticks, &c. We repulsed them. We were both struck with sticks and stones, but were not much hurt.

11. At about 2 o'clock, p.m., a few policemen came into the street from Syed Abdool Rahimon-street, where, soon afterwards, I found that the large and furious mob I had previously seen had been dispersed, and that many of the rioters had been captured by the police. I saw you, Sir, the Deputy Commissioner, and other members of the force, there at that time.

Bombay, 27 February 1874.

I beg to remain, &c.
(signed) *M. Abdul Ali*,
Inspector of Police.

(C.)

To the Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

Sir,

I BEG to report for your information, that on the evening of the 12th instant I received orders from Deputy Superintendent Smith to attend the neighbourhood of the Jooma Musjid, in plain clothing, during the Mahomedan hours of prayer, from 10 o'clock to 1 o'clock on the following day. I accordingly attended, accompanied by constable Gough, who was also in plain clothes, and we waited about in the street near the entrance of the Musjid. The worshippers commenced to assemble about 10 o'clock, a.m., and by noon a large congregation had assembled, and I sent a report of the circumstance to Mr. Deputy Superintendent Smith. Their behaviour, however, was quiet and orderly. None of them carried sticks, or were otherwise armed, and no circumstance arose to give me any reason to suppose that any disturbance was likely to take place. The prayers were concluded about 1 o'clock, p.m., and the congregation poured out of the building in my presence and dispersed quietly in different directions. The crowd having left the vicinity of the mosque, I ordered constable Gough to walk through the Mahomedan quarter towards the Chuckla and see that all was quiet. He went away, and after about a quarter of an hour returned and reported all quiet. Ten or 15 minutes after this I again sent Mr. Gough to take another look round. While he was away a native constable came and reported that he had been sent by Mr. Gough to state that a row was going on in Syed Abdool Rahimon-street. I went there immediately, and saw crowds of Mahomedans pouring into that street from the direction of the Chuckla through the bye-lanes. They were throwing stones at the houses of some of the Parsee residents in that street, and breaking the windows and railings, &c.; I tried to stop them, but could not do so. I sent to the Commissioner's office and elsewhere for help. Within less than an hour afterwards I saw the Deputy Commissioner and other members of the office establishment, &c., &c., in Dhunjee Doongria-street behind Syed Abdool Rahimon-street. I immediately afterwards went into Syed Abdool Rahimon-street, and found that the mob I had there previously seen had been dispersed by the police, and that a number of rioters were in custody. I went into Dhunjee Doongria cross-lane, because I saw a Parsee lying on the ground. I found he was wounded, and picked him up, and removed him into Dhunjee Doongria-street, and engaged myself in trying to disperse the mob there, shortly after which the reinforcement of police from office, &c., came as I have before stated. There was no tumultuous meeting of Mahomedans near the mosque on that morning, and neither at the going in nor coming out of the congregation were there any sticks or other weapons in their hands.

I am, &c.
(signed) *Richard Raymond*,
Inspector of Police.

28 February 1874.

(D.)

To the Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

Sir,

I HAVE seen the report of Inspector Raymond regarding the riot which broke out in Syed Abdool Rahimon-street on the 13th instant, and confirm the statements made therein up to the point at which Mr. Raymond directed me to pass the second time through the Mahomedan streets in the neighbourhood of the Jooma Musjid. On receiving this order, I went and stood at the junction of Syed Abdool Rahimon and Shaik Alli Jinjeerker-streets. While standing there I saw two or three Mahomedan boys running towards Alibaugh, and shouting "Deen! Deen!" I heard some Mahomedan men who were passing along tell these boys to hold their tongue. I went in the direction in which the boys had run, and when I got near the first of the Parsee houses in that street, I saw a crowd of Mahomedans run into Syed Abdool Rahimon-street from Bhajee Palla-street. Some of them began to throw stones at the windows of the Parsees; others tore down the blinds of the shops, and armed themselves with the bamboo rollers, &c., of these blinds. I tried to quell the disturbance, and was told by some of the rioters not to interfere, by others to go away. I sent at once to Inspector Raymond, to Deputy Superintendent Smith, and to the Commissioner's Office for assistance; this was a few minutes after 1 o'clock. The street became almost instantly crammed with rioters, who seemed to come in from all directions. I went through the crowd to the Parsee Fire Temple (Alibaugh) and saw a mob of Seedeas and Arabs had broken into it, and into some of the houses on the opposite side of the street, and were wrecking and plundering them. In about 10 minutes from this time, as near as I can remember, the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner came with help from office. Immediately after they came, we (the police) charged into the mob and dispersed it, and captured a large number of the rioters. Nothing in the bearing of the people at the mosque led me to anticipate any breach of the peace. I did not see any of the congregation at any time armed with sticks.

28 February 1874.

I am, &c.
(signed) *Hugh Gough*, Constable.

(E.)

My dear James,

Marine Lines, 2 March 1874.

I SHALL be only too glad if my evidence as to the duration of the riot on Friday will be of any service in correcting the mis-statements on the subject.

I left this house as nearly as possible at 12.30, and must have been in the centre of the native town at the top of the Copper bazaar at about 12.45. I reached the Elphinstone College at 1 o'clock, and left punctually at 2. As near as I can calculate, I must have passed through the centre of the town at 2.15, or possibly 2.20.

When passing through first, there was no sign of a row, and I noticed nothing unusual.

On my return I saw crowds moving about, but no fighting; at the top of the Copper bazaar I saw a number of European policemen standing round their drag. I stopped my horse, and asked what was the matter; and one of the constables told me that there had been a row but that it was over; his words, as far as I can remember, being "We have had a tough job."

I am perfectly willing that my name should be used, if required. I am sorry I was out when your note arrived, but hasten to send an answer now.

Believe me, &c.
(signed) *F. Giles*.

(F.)

RETURN of Fire Temples and Houses, &c., entered by Mahomedan Rioters on the 13th February 1874, with alleged Value of Property Destroyed and Stolen.

No.	Name of Owner or Tenant.	Locality.	Description of Building.	Alleged Value of Property.		REMARKS.
				Destroyed.	Stolen.	
				<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	
1	Alibagh property -	Syed Abdool Rahim-street.	Fire Temple and Jumat Khana.	5,000 - -	- - -	Doors and windows broken. The sacred fire extinguished. Contents of Temple stolen or destroyed.
2	Dorabjee Furdoonjee -	- ditto - ditto -	Dwelling-house -	92 - -	- - -	Doors and windows broken.
3	Pestonjee Cooverjee -	- ditto - ditto -	Liquor shop -	1,500 - -	3,000 - -	Shop broken open; a cash-box, containing 3,000 Rupees, said to have been stolen; Pestonjee said to have been assaulted by one Nubookhan, now in custody. Case postponed until 6th March.
4	Manockjee Cursetjee -	- ditto - ditto -	- ditto - -	50 - -	- - -	Bottles and other things in shop destroyed.
5	Jamsetjee Nowrojee -	- ditto - ditto -	- ditto - -	100 - -	- - -	- ditto - ditto - ditto.
6	Anderjee Framjee -	- ditto - ditto -	- ditto - -	100 - -	- - -	Bottles of spirits destroyed or stolen.
7	Jeevanjee Hormusjee -	- ditto - ditto -	- ditto - -	650 - -	- - -	
8	Cursetjee Hormusjee -	Nagdavia-street	- ditto - -	900 - -	- - -	
9	Cooverjee Hormusjee -	1st Coombarwada	- ditto - -	350 - -	- - -	Bottles, &c. broken, and liquor spilt or stolen.
10	Nowrojee Manacjee -	New Memonwada	- ditto - -	400 - -	- - -	Liquor spilled or stolen.
11	Cawasjee Jeevanjee -	- ditto - ditto -	- ditto - -	300 - -	- - -	
12	Jeejeebhoy Dhunjeebhoy	Syed Abdool Rahim-street.	Dwelling-house -	5,000 - -	5,000 - -	House wrecked; money, jewelry, and clothes destroyed and stolen.
13	Pestonjee Muncherjee -	- ditto - ditto -	Dispensary, -	2,300 - -	200 - -	House adjoining foregoing partly wrecked.
14	Dhunbai (woman) -	- ditto - ditto -	Liquor shop -	700 - -	- - -	Contents destroyed.
15	Bomanjee Ardaseer -	- ditto - ditto -	Sherbet shop -	200 - -	400 - -	Shop wrecked and pillaged.
16	Jairbai Dhunjeebhoy -	- ditto - ditto -	Dwelling-house -	200 - -	- - -	
17	Gopall Nana -	Dhunjee Dongeria-street.	- ditto - -	- nil -	350 - -	Shop entered by mob; gold and silver ornaments stolen.
18	Heerjeebhoy Byramjee -	- ditto - ditto -	- ditto - -	13 - -	40 - -	Fifteen Rupees and cooking utensils, &c., stolen.
19	Bomanjee Pestonjee -	- ditto - ditto -	- ditto - -	43 - -	50 - -	Wearing apparel stolen, and railings broken down.
20	Bomanjee Merwanjee -	Bhendy Bazaar	Fire Temple -	2,784 - -	726 - -	Temple wrecked. Sacred fire put out.
21	Jamsetjee Cawasjee -	Falkland-road	Liquor shop -	75 - -	339 - -	
22	Bhickajee Burjorjee -	Phull Gully -	- ditto - -	195 - -	587 - -	The truth of this complaint is very doubtful.
23	Eduljee Rustomjee -	Erskine-road -	Dwelling-house -	- - -	40 - -	
24	Pestonjee Dorabjee -	- ditto - -	- ditto - -	- - -	20 - -	Door broken.
25	Dinshaw Jamsetjee -	Parell-road -	Stable - -	7 - -	13 - -	
TOTAL - Rs.				20,959 - -	10,765 - -	

N.B.—Slight damage was also done to 72 other dwelling-houses, stables, &c., in different localities, on the 13th, 14th, and 15th instant, by window glasses being broken, or benches, doors, railings, &c., &c., being destroyed or injured. The collective amount of the alleged damages is estimated at about 1,993 rupees.

(signed) F. H. Souter,
Commissioner of Police.

Bombay, 28 February 1874.

(G.)

LIST of Cases brought to Hospital on the 13th, 14th, 15th, and 21st February 1874, during the Mussulman Riot.

No.	Names.	Caste.	When Admitted.	Discharged.	Died.	Nature of Injuries.	Remaining in Hospital 28th February 1874.
1	Dadabhoj Rustomjee	Parsee	13 Feb. 1874	- - -	14 Feb. 1874	Contused wound of head; fracture of skull.	-
2	Syed Ameen	Mussulman	13 " "	- - -	- - -	Laceration of tongue. Contused wounds.	Remaining.
3	Sheriad	Parsee	13 " "	- - -	- - -	Suspected fracture of skull	- ditto.
4	Dorabjee Byramjee	- ditto	13 " "	19 Feb. 1874	- - -	Contused wound of face	-
5	Cassim Yacoob	Mussulman	13 " "	- - -	- - -	Fracture of left leg. Contused wounds.	Remaining.
6	Hoosain Mohideen	- ditto	13 " "	22 " "	- - -	Fracture of lower jaw	-
7	Shaboodeen Doola	- ditto	13 " "	13 " "	- - -	Contused wound of head	-
8	Hakoom Subjada	- ditto	13 " "	13 " "	- - -	- ditto - ditto	-
9	Allee Oomir	- ditto	13 " "	13 " "	- - -	Lacerated wound	-
10	Nusserwanjee Sorabjee	Parsee	13 " "	13 " "	- - -	Contused wound of head	-
11	Hussain Allee	Mussulman	13 " "	13 " "	- - -	- ditto - ditto	-
12	Towar Dhondoo	- ditto	13 " "	13 " "	- - -	- ditto - ditto	-
13	Cowasjee Hormasjee	Parsee	13 " "	13 " "	- - -	Bite on side of abdomen	Treated and away.
14	Ismael Khan	Mussulman	14 " "	14 " "	- - -	Contused wound	-
15	Assad Nayar Ali	- ditto	14 " "	14 " "	- - -	Contused wound of head	-
16	Manockjee Byramjee	Parsee	14 " "	14 " "	- - -	Suspected fracture of skull. Contused wounds.	-
17	Shaik Ahmed	Mussulman	14 " "	18 " "	- - -	Three lacerated scalp wounds	-
18	Hyadeen Ahmed	- ditto	14 " "	- - -	15 Feb. 1874	Fracture of skull. Contused wounds.	-
19	Framjee Merwanjee	Parsee	14 " "	- - -	- - -	Contused wound of scalp	Remaining.
20	Nezamooddeen Cureembux	Mussulman	14 " "	- - -	- - -	Contusion and injuries to spine	- ditto.
21	Sidde Junmah	- ditto	15 " "	- - -	- - -	Gun-shot wound (right elbow)	- ditto.
22	Jamsetjee Dorabjee	Parsee	15 " "	- - -	27 Feb. 1874	Fracture of frontal bone	-
23	Awadan Nusserwanjee	- ditto	15 " "	- - -	- - -	Fracture vault of skull	Remaining.
24	Nusserwanjee Bamon	- ditto	15 " "	- - -	- - -	Wound scalps	- ditto.
25	Unknown	Mussulman	15 " "	- - -	15 Feb. 1874	Fracture vault of skull	-
26	Khan Mahomed	- ditto	15 " "	18 Feb. 1874	- - -	- ditto - ditto	-
27	Oosman Khan	- ditto	15 " "	25 " "	- - -	Wound of scalp	-
28	Sumbakoo Sullimon	- ditto	15 " "	24 " "	- - -	- ditto	-
29	Unknown "Seedee"	- ditto	15 " "	- - -	16 Feb. 1874	Wound of scalp; fracture of skull; laceration of brain.	-
30	Casee Sungoo	- ditto	15 " "	- - -	- - -	Wound of scalp	Remaining.
31	Hajee Ahmed	- ditto	15 " "	- - -	15 Feb. 1874	Fracture of lower jaw	-
32	Caloo Sorab	Parsee	15 " "	- - -	- - -	Wound of scalp	Remaining.
33	Shaik Sab	Mussulman	15 " "	16 Feb. 1874	- - -	- ditto	-
34	Ramjan Mahomed	- ditto	15 " "	22 " "	- - -	Wound of scalp; fracture of forearm.	-
35	Succao Jeera	- ditto	15 " "	- - -	16 Feb. 1874	Concussion wound of scalp	-
36	Mucktoom Ahmed	- ditto	15 " "	- - -	- - -	Fracture of forearm; scalp wound	Remaining.
37	Mucktoom Ahmed	- ditto	15 " "	- - -	- - -	Wound of scalp	- ditto.
38	Burjorjee Nanabhoy	Parsee	15 " "	19 Feb. 1874	- - -	- ditto	-
39	Cursetjee Jamajee	- ditto	15 " "	- - -	- - -	- ditto	Remaining.
40	Sadalla Mabrook	Mussulman	15 " "	- - -	- - -	Gun-shot wound (buttock)	- ditto.
41	Bairam Ardaseer	Parsee	15 " "	23 Feb. 1874	- - -	Wound of scalp	-
42	Hajee Malim	Mussulman	15 " "	- - -	- - -	- ditto	Remaining.
43	Jungoo Atia	- ditto	15 " "	25 Feb. 1874	- - -	- ditto	-
44	Shaik Ally	- ditto	16 " "	16 " "	- - -	Contused wound of scalp	-
45	Shapoorjee Pestonjee	Parsee	16 " "	16 " "	- - -	Contused wound of face	Treated and away.
46	Rustomjee Sorabjee	- ditto	17 " "	17 " "	- - -	Contused wound of scalp	-
47	Ardaseer Jamsetjee	- ditto	21 " "	- - -	- - -	Punctured wound	Remaining.
48	Syed Jeewar	Mussulman	21 " "	- - -	- - -	Scalp wounds; fracture of skull	- ditto.
49	Bomanjee Merwanjee	Parsee	21 " "	- - -	- - -	Contused wounds	- ditto.
50	Mahomed Singoo	Mussulman	21 " "	- - -	- - -	Scalp wound	- ditto.
51	Barrack Murzook	- ditto	21 " "	- - -	- - -	Contused scalp wounds. Fracture of left tibia and fibula.	- ditto.
52	Yamah Mahaboob	- ditto	21 " "	- - -	- - -	Contused wound of scalp	- ditto.
53	Philan Abdoola	- ditto	21 " "	- - -	- - -	Contused wound of head	- ditto.
54	Salim	- ditto	21 " "	21 Feb. 1874	- - -	Contused wound of face	Treated and away.
55	Rustomjee Dhunjeebhoy	Parsee	22 " "	22 " "	- - -	Contused wound of ear	-

Byculla, 28 February 1874.

(signed) J. Anderson, House Surgeon,
J. J. Hospital.

(True Copy.)

(signed) F. H. Souter,
Commissioner of Police.

P.S.—In addition to the list of casualties mentioned above, one European inspector and six native police were admitted into hospital seriously injured several others also received slight wounds, which, however, did not prevent them from continuing their duty.

(signed) F. H. Souter,
Commissioner of Police.

(H.)

My dear Mr. Souter, Callian, 25 February 1874.
 ACCORDING to your wish, expressed in Mr. Edginton's letter to me of this day's date, I beg to furnish you with the following statement of my opinion on the subject therein referred to.

Kazi Abdul Lutf Lenday having called in a meeting on the 12th instant, at the house of Dada Mukba at Byculla, I was present on an invitation. The action taken by you, with regard to the suppression of the publication of Mr. Jalbhoy's book, was explained by the said Kazi to the people present; and they all seemed to have been satisfied, as they expressed their entire approval of what had been done by you. After the meeting was declared dissolved, and the coffee, &c. was served out, I left before others; and, I believe, I was the first person who left the premises. I left the assembly with a firm belief that the misunderstanding caused by the publication of the book was amicably and thoroughly settled. At the ordinary prayer meeting at the Juma Musjid, on the following day, at which I was present, everything, as far as it came under my observation, passed off in a quiet and orderly manner, and I had no ground whatever for suspecting that any disturbance of the peace was likely to take place.

The "Times of India" of the 14th instant, in reporting the disturbance, says:—"It appears that a meeting of the Mahomedans was held at the Juma Musjid yesterday morning at about 10 o'clock. The feeling of those who were present, principally the men who afterwards created the disturbance, was much against the Parsees. Instead, therefore, of a peaceable meeting, the bad feeling showed itself in cries of Deen! Deen! notwithstanding the praiseworthy efforts of Mr. Mahomed Ally Rogay to quiet the feelings of the crowd. He explained to them that, as the book had been withdrawn from circulation, no harm had been done; and that, by assaulting the Parsees, they would only get themselves into trouble."

I should take this opportunity of stating that no meeting was called at all, to my knowledge, but that the people had collected to say their prayers on Friday as usual, and that what is given by the "Times of India," as above quoted, is quite unfounded, since I, having had no reason whatever to suspect an outbreak, could not, and did not, say anything to the people to the effect that they should not make any disturbance. During the time I was present at the prayers, not a word was said there regarding the last day's meeting, or the publication of the book. As a rule, I leave the Musjid as soon as the principal portions of the prayers are said, and I did the same on this occasion. About half an hour after I reached home, I heard that something like a riot was taking place at Shaik Abdool Rahimon-street. You will thus observe that, until the riot actually took place, I had no ground whatever for suspecting that any disturbance of the peace was likely to take place.

Yours, &c.
 (signed) Mahomed Ally Rogay.

(I.)

My dear Mr. Souter, Bombay, 24 February 1874.
 I HAD no apprehension whatever of a riotous outbreak after the meeting at Dada Mukba's bungalow on the 12th instant.

The remarks I made at that meeting were thoroughly acquiesced in by all present, and we all felt contented and indeed thankful that a speedy and peaceful solution of a very nasty question had been brought about by your timely interference.

I certainly left the meeting under the belief that the question was peaceably and finally settled.

Yours, &c.
 (signed) C. Tyabjee.

(J.)

To F. H. Souter, Esq., C.S.I., Commissioner of Bombay Police.

My dear Sir, Bombay, 27 February 1874.
 I UNDERSTAND from Mr. Edginton, your deputy, that you wish to have from me a concise information of what took place at the Mahomedan meeting convened at Dada Mukba's bungalow on the 12th instant. With much pleasure I will tell you here as nearly as possible what took place at that time.

I was present when the Kazee, Abdool Lattif, spoke to the following effect: That he and others whom he named had called upon you and showed the book which Mr. Jalbhoy had published, and in which some disrespectful words were used against our Prophet. The Kazee further said that you received him with kindness and grace, and heard what he had to say with patience, and you offered to do what you could in allaying the bad feeling which

was likely to excite among the Mahomedans by such publication; you at once sent for Mr. Jalbhoy and took him aside, and said something to him, when he at once offered to give up the book then in his possession, and to stop their further publication.

The Kazee then, after this explanation, told the assembly that they ought to be satisfied. Mr. Cummorodeen and myself also spoke upon the matter. The whole assembly seemed to have been perfectly satisfied, and there was not the slightest indication of any bad feeling among them. I was then of opinion that the matter had been satisfactorily and conclusively settled, and there was not the remotest idea or suspicion in my mind that there would be any disturbance on the following day.

I remain, &c.
(signed) *Mirzee Ali Ackbar.*

(K.)

To *F. H. Souter, Esq., C.S.I.,* the Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

Dear Sir,

27 February 1874.

IN acknowledging the receipt of Mr. Edginton's letter, dated yesterday, I have to inform you that I was present at the meeting (by invitation) at Dada Muckba's house on the 12th instant, when the question of Mr. Jalbhoy's book, and your actions in trying to prevent its circulation were fully and calmly discussed.

I, on my part, assure you that I did not entertain any fears whatever that any disturbance would take place, and the general belief of the leading and respectable members of the Mahomedan section of the community was that the question of Mr. Jalbhoy's book had been definitely and satisfactorily settled.

In conclusion, I had no reason whatever to think that a disturbance or riot would take place on the following day, or at any subsequent period.

Yours, &c.
Mirza Hoossein Khan,
Solicitor, High Court, Bombay.

(L.)

FORT POLICE COURT.

THE information and deposition of Thomas Mills, inhabitant of Bombay, taken upon oath before me, Nana Marojee, Esquire, one of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace, and a Magistrate of Police for the Town and Island of Bombay, on Wednesday, the 18th day of February 1874, in the presence and hearing of the prisoners named in the annexed list (A.), charged before me, the said Justice, with committing riot and mischief, being members of an unlawful assembly, and rioting with deadly weapons.

Which said Deponent, on his oath aforesaid, saith:—

I am Superintendent of Police, in charge C Division. On Sunday last, the 15th instant, at about 10 o'clock a.m., I saw two Mahomedan burial processions, accompanied by about four or five hundred persons, passing from Bhoiwada towards Bhooleshwar-road, and proceeding on to Portuguese Church-street. I, with about 20 native policemen and one mounted sowar, accompanied them. They proceeded through the Agiary-lane and Old Sonapoor-lane to the Mahomedan burial-ground. At Sonapoor-lane, I was met by Inspector Austin, Constable Brewin, and 10 or 15 native policemen. The procession passed into the grave-yard. Inspector Austin and several native policemen going with the procession into the grave-yard. I, with the other policemen, remained at the gate of the burying-ground. Shortly afterwards an alarm was given that stones were thrown into the grave-yard. Mr. Austin, who had been standing near the wall inside, called out and told me that stones had passed over his head. The Mahomedans—some of whom were in the Mosque, and others in the yard—all rushed to the wall of the grave-yard in an excited state. I was mounted on a horse, and I galloped to the lower corner of the grave-yard, outside, from which direction the stones were stated to have been thrown. There I saw, in the Sonapoor-lane, between two and three hundred Parsees, the greater portion armed with sticks and bludgeons. They were throwing stones at the Mahomedans in the grave-yard, and the Mahomedans were throwing stones from the grave-yard at them. I, with the other policemen who were there, went between both the parties, and while we were trying to press each party back, two or three of the police were struck and injured. The Mahomedans rushed out over the wall through the police and amongst the Parsees. The Parsees turned and fled. When the Mahomedans first rushed upon the Parsees, a couple of men from each side were injured. After the Parsees had cleared away, the police drove the Mahomedans into the grave-yard; and they were kept there until things got a little quiet. I had, before any disturbance had taken place, sent Mr. McDowell, a Municipal Inspector, to the Null Bazaar Chowkey for some more reinforcement of the police. I had at the same time dispatched a sepoy in a buggy to call the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner of Police, with all the aid they could get. I sent Mr. Austin in a buggy, after the first disturbances but before the arrival of the police reinforcement, to the Commander of the troops to order out the aid of the military. The Mahomedans, who had been driven back into the grave-yard as aforesaid, formed themselves into a procession to go home. They were in an excited state and,

and the greater portion of them were armed with sticks. Before they left the graveyard, I had information that a large number of Parsees had collected together at the end of the Sonapoor-lane, by which end the procession had to pass. I sent a European police officer and some sepoys with directions to disperse the crowd and send them away. The police brought back information that the Parsees refused to go away. Before allowing the Mahomedans to leave the graveyard, I myself rode to the end of the lane, and there, on the Breach Candy-road, saw hundreds of Parsees, a great number of them armed with sticks and bludgeons; one of them, whom I know as a clerk in the Municipal Commissioner's office, was in the front of the crowd. I remonstrated with him and the others, pointing out that their conduct might lead to a serious disturbance. He and others, who were very much excited, said: "The police won't protect us; we must protect ourselves." I insisted upon their clearing the road, and moved them back. The Mahomedan procession then came down the Sonapoor-lane, and turned to the left on the Breach Candy-road, which was their way home. I had the police drawn up on the right of the Sonapoor-lane. As the latter part of the procession passed out of the lane into the Breach Candy-road, the crowd of the Parsees rushed up, shouting and brandishing sticks. The police at this time were between both parties. The Mahomedan procession stopped, turned round, made a dash through the police and amongst the Parsees. They got mixed amongst the Parsees, and both parties struck each other with sticks. The greater portion of the Parsees then fled, some into the houses and verandas, and others towards the Dhobie Talao. Those Mahomedans who were scattered about, and those who were following the Parsees, were driven back by the police towards the Breach Candy-road. The Mahomedans then threw stones at the windows of the Parsee houses, and rushed on the verandas to get in. The police drove them back, and prevented others from doing so. At this stage the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner of Police arrived with a reinforcement. The police charged into the crowd, which turned and fled—some men through Funuswaree, and some through the Agiary-lane and other lanes and by-lanes. All the men now present, except three, were arrested by the police while they were running away. A number of them was arrested in a gully alongside the Agiary. In consequence of the riot aforesaid, on the Breach Candy-road, six or eight persons—some Parsees and some Mahomedans—were injured. Out of them three or four have since died in the hospital from the result of their injuries. I cannot identify particularly any single individual as having done some particular act; but they were all present at the riot, and refused to be dispersed when desired to do so. The troops arrived quickly, but before they arrived the mob had been dispersed.

Prisoners decline cross-examination

(signed) *T. Mills.*

Taken upon oath the day, month, and year herein above
written, before me.

(signed) *Nana Morojee, Justice of the Peace.*

Bombay, Fort Police Court,

Tuesday, 24 February 1874.

1 Nasserwanjee Bazonjee, 2 Dorabjee Nasserwanjee, 3 Manockjee Eduljee, 4 Sorabjee Temooljee, 5 Dinshaw Manockjee, 6 Byramjee Aspaniarjee, 7 Pallonjee Rustomjee, and 8 Rustomjee Aspaniarjee, are placed at the bar by Mr. Superintendent Mills. Dr. Dallas appears for Nasserwanjee Bazonjee, Dorabjee Nasserwanjee, and Pallonjee Rustomjee.

Mr. Pherozshaw Merwanjee Mehta appears for Manockjee Eduljee, Sorabjee Temooljee, Dinshaw Manockjee, Byramjee Aspaniarjee, and Rustomjee Aspaniarjee.

Mr. Thomas Mills re-appears, is re-sworn, and the foregoing information and deposition having been read over to him in the presence and hearing of the above-named eight prisoners, and explained to the prisoners, he further states as follows:—Burjorjee Framjee I have now ascertained is the name of the Parsee I have alluded to in my foregoing information as the one who is employed in the Municipal Department. I pray for a warrant for his arrest. I also charge the eight men who are now in court with taking part in the aforesaid riot. Their names are—No. 1 Nasserwanjee Bazonjee, No. 2 Dorabjee Nasserwanjee, No. 3 Manockjee Eduljee, No. 4 Sorabjee Temooljee, No. 5 Dinshaw Manockjee, No. 6 Byramjee Aspaniarjee, No. 7. Palonjee Rustomjee, and No. 8 Rustomjee Aspaniarjee.

Cross-examination reserved.

(signed) *T. Mills.*

Taken upon oath the day, month, and year herein above
written before me.

(signed) *Nana Morojee, Justice of the Peace.*

(True Copy.)

Nana Morojee, Acting Third Magistrate of Police.

(No. 1375 of 1874.—Judicial Department.)

Bombay Castle, 12 March 1874

LETTER from the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, No. 464, dated 28th February 1874.
—Submits a report of the disturbances which took place in the town of Bombay on Friday the 13th February 1874, and of the subsequent occurrences, up to the date of his report.

RESOLUTION.—His Excellency in Council is glad to be in possession of this narrative by the commissioner of police of the action of the police force under his command during the recent disturbances in Bombay.

2. It would appear from this report that the police acted with praiseworthy energy and determination in the suppression of each outbreak as it occurred, but it is not satisfactorily established whether the original outrages which were committed on Friday the 13th of February were the result of a preconcerted design, or an accidental ebullition of class malevolence.

3. His Excellency in Council desires that the commissioner of police should make a more thorough inquiry on this point, and will await this further report, and the disclosures which are likely to take place on the trial of the principal rioters in the High Court, before pronouncing any definite opinion on the general character of the occurrences, and on the conduct of the police in connection with them.

Acting Secretary to Government.

To the Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

To Sir *Phillip E. Wodehouse*, K.C.B., G.C.S.I., Honourable Governor and President in Council, Bombay.

May it please your Excellency,

THAT your Excellency's poor petitioners beg leave most humbly to lay these few lines before your Excellency, with the full confidence and with the sanguine hopes that the same will meet with your kind and favourable consideration.

We beg leave to inform you that one book was published by Rustomjee Hormusjee Jalbai and others regarding the life of Prophets which contains much against the life of Mahomed. The publication of this volume came to our knowledge which hurt very much the feelings of all Mahomedans thereupon. Our Cazee and other influential men came to know also about the contents of this volume from whence they thought that great disturbance and row would take place, and in order to keep the peace they thought better to bring this to the notice of Mr. Souter, the Commissioner of Police, whereupon our Cazee and other influential men went and saw Mr. Edginton and then Mr. Souter, and gave him the information regarding the publication of this book, who received them with the greatest respect and thanked them to bring this information to his knowledge, and at the same time sent immediately to Rustomjee Hormusjee Jalbai, who came with Police Havildar sent by Mr. Souter. No sooner he came he had some kind of conversation with Mr. Souter, and shortly afterwards promised that he would bring all the copies of the above book the following day to Mr. Souter which he had in his possession (this information we had from Mr. Souter), and Mr. Souter should do whatever he thinks right with these books; and Mr. Souter promised our Cazee and other influential men that he would endeavour his utmost to destroy these books, and they should try and keep the peace. Upon this information we were quite pleased and satisfied, relying on Mr. Souter, that he would do something good to us, and also we tried our best to keep the peace for about four or five days. On Thursday evening about 8 or 9 p.m. the 12th instant, our Cazee held a meeting. To this meeting few of Shiah and Soonees attended. Our Cazee recommended them and all who attended the said meeting to forgive Rustomjee Hormusjee for his publishing the above book and also to keep peace and forget bad feelings. To this all of them unanimously consented, relying on Mr. Souter, that he would try and destroy these books and do everything good for us and to keep the peace; and then we all left the meeting. The next day being Friday, some of Mahomedans went to the Jumah Musjid for prayers as usual, and after the prayers our Cazee informed them about Thursday evening's meeting, and recommended them that they should try and keep the peace; so they all left the Mosque. On their way home some of the boys were saying,

“Deen

"Deen Deen;" up to they came to Battlewalla Molla or Abdool Rahimon-street. Your Excellency will find that the above mosque to the Battlewalla Molla there are good many shops belonging to Parsees who were present at the time, but none of them were hurt or insulted, neither the Mahomedans, but one Framjee the police-constable. At that time Framjee came down from his house he was living, and struck the boys for calling "Deen Deen;" and made them quiet for his own caste people. At that time some of our caste people, who did not attend the meeting, asked Framjee the cause of his striking the boys. To these men he also insulted, and some of them were also struck, and at the same time some bottles and other injurious things were thrown from the windows of the said Framjee's house in that vicinity; thereupon the present row and disturbance is going on; also some of the Mahomedans who returned from mosque further up than Framjee's house, towards the northern side, they also perceived something coming down from the windows of the other houses belonging to Parsees where the Parsees live. At that time some serious disturbance took place for which we are very sorry, and on the same day similar disturbance took place in other places; also the next day and also on Saturday. On Sunday, the 15th instant, our caste were prohibited from making any disturbance, and while some Seedeas and others who were burying the dead body good many stones were thrown on them by lot of Parsees and good many of them were hurt, and on their returning home good many Parsees came with the sticks in their hands and struck them severely, and good many of our caste people were also struck and injured with pistols, swords and sticks, and some of our caste people were killed and severely struck. On account of such disturbance good many of our caste people are in custody, and none of the Parsees are arrested because we are to be blamed and not the Parsees. It is to our great surprise and astonishment; and since that time we were trying our best to stop our caste people to keep peace, but on the contrary our caste people are yet struck now and then and here and there, and since then we perceived that good many our caste people are suffering very much. Consequently a general meeting was held on Wednesday, the 18th instant. At that meeting Honourable Narayen Wassoodew, Doctor Blaney, and Mr. Ragoonath Narayen Khotay and several other Mahomedans of different races were present. At that time our caste people unanimously consented to keep the peace. At that time Honourable Narayen said that he would intrude the Parsees to do the same. Since that time we thought that Honourable Narayen would stop every disturbance, and after this we were very glad that everything would be stopped, and was stopped for four days, but suddenly again, on Saturday the 21st instant, it is to our great surprise that four of five Seedeas while returning from board ship from Appollo Bunder, they were severely attacked at the Homby-road by the Parsees and severely injured; now they are in hospital. Under these circumstances we earnestly beg your Excellency will be graciously pleased to render us protection and assistance. On the request of Parsees asking to stop the Mohrum procession, thereupon Government, under Section 77 of Act No. 13 of 1856, passed a Resolution dated 17th February 1874 instant, stopping such Procession, which is great imposition on us, as it was carried for 900 years or more but never was stopped in any way. In conclusion, we further beg your Excellency will have the goodness as to allow us permission as to carry on the Mohrum's procession as usual, and also render us military force during the holidays.

Similar disturbance took place in the year 1851 on account of some mischief done by the Parsees against us, and then Parsees asked excuse and have guaranteed in writing for not occurring similar thing again.

Your Excellency's Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray,

Haji Hafiz Abdool Cadir,

Chandlay Shutree Syrang or Poogla,
Tandel-street house No. 17.

Bombay, 23 February 1874.

(No. 989 of 1874.—Judicial Department.)

To *Hajee Hafiz Abdool Cadur* and others, Inhabitants of the City of
Bombay.

Gentlemen,

IN reply to your petition of 23rd instant, I am directed to state that his Excellency the Governor in Council has given full consideration to your request, that you may be allowed to carry on the Mohurram processions as usual, and that military aid may be rendered to you during the holidays, and much regrets that he considers it to be his duty to decline to withdraw the prohibition of processions of any kind in the city of Bombay during the Mohurram festival of the present year.

2. Government do not doubt that many of the persons who have signed this petition are desirous of doing all in their power to allay the prevailing agitation and to prevent further breaches of the peace, but their ability to do so under present circumstances, if the procession be allowed at all, is extremely questionable.

3. A casual insult offered to a procession by some reckless individual would inevitably lead to dangerous riots, for the suppression of which the troops would be put in action, and a loss of life of persons of perhaps all classes would ensue, for which the Government must feel they would be to blame.

4. Government would not for any light cause interfere with the established customs of any class of the community. Their first duty is to protect life and property; and they are satisfied that on the present occasion this can best be done by prohibiting the processions in Bombay. In such a course they hold themselves entitled to the earnest support of all the respectable inhabitants of the city.

5. The other circumstances mentioned in your petition will receive due consideration at the proper time.

I have, &c.

(signed) *J. Nugent,*

Acting Under Secretary to Government.

Bombay Castle, 24 February 1874.

(No. 760 of 1874.)

From *Frank H. Souter, Esq., c.s.i.,* Commissioner of Police, Bombay, to the
Secretary to Government, Judicial Department, Bombay.

Sir,

Bombay, 7 April 1874.

REFERRING to my letter, No. 464, dated 28th February, submitting a detailed report of the disturbances which took place in the town of Bombay on the 13th idem, and on subsequent dates, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the Resolution of Government passed thereon, No. 1375, dated 12th ultimo, directing me to make a more thorough inquiry, and to report whether the original outrages were the result of a preconcerted design, or an accidental ebullition of class malevolence.

2. In obedience to these instructions, I beg to state that I have been constantly engaged in further searching investigations on this point, and that no effort or expense has been spared to elicit the required information.

3. Previous to adducing any further evidence which I have been able to obtain on this head, I would beg to draw the attention of Government to paragraphs 30, 31, and 32 of my Report, No. 464, in which I endeavoured to set forth my reasons for believing that the riot of the 13th February was unpremeditated, as far as the mass of the Mahomedan population was concerned.

4. I need

4. I need scarcely assure Government that, immediately after the first disturbance was quelled, I made it my special duty to set on foot searching inquiries with the object of ascertaining all particulars connected with the outbreak; and although I felt every confidence in my own detective force, I employed other reliable persons to obtain any information possible; and from the inquiries made, the opinions were unanimous that the riot of the 13th was *not* premeditated.

5. The evidence which has since been given at the trial of the 62 prisoners charged with the original outrage, on which they have been convicted and sentenced, goes in every way to corroborate the above expressed opinion.

6. The witnesses, in their evidence before the High Court, have stated that all was perfectly quiet at the Jumma Musjid on Friday, the 13th February; that there was no indication whatever of a disturbance; and that the men who attended the mosque were not armed: and this has been proved from the fact, that when the attack took place, the Seedees, Arabs, and other offenders, armed themselves with pieces of firewood, railings, iron bars, rods, or whatever such like they could lay hold of. Had the riot been premeditated, there can be little doubt that the rioters would have come to the mosque prepared.

7. In addition to all other inquiries, I wrote to the four gentlemen named in the margin, asking whether, from any information they might have obtained, their opinions were that the outbreak was preconcerted or otherwise; and their replies, which are attached to this Report, and marked A, B, C, D, all tend to show that the disturbance was *not* premeditated. These gentlemen are well qualified to give an opinion. The Honourable Narayen Wassodeo has from the first strenuously exerted himself to bring about a reconciliation between the Mahomedans and Parsees, and was therefore likely to hear all the incidents connected with the riots. Dr. Blaney, in his medical capacity, is constantly moving amongst the Mahomedan population of the city, and also assisted the Honourable Narayen Wassodeo in his endeavours to re-establish good feeling between the two communities. The Turkish Consul, from the position he holds, and from the circumstance of his being in the habit of regularly attending one of the mosques, was likely to know the state of feeling of his co-religionists towards the Parsees. And, lastly, Mr. Abdul Rahman is a most respectable Arab gentleman, who would probably have received information regarding the causes which induced several of his sect to take part in the disturbance; and as he is much respected by the European residents in Bombay, I think his opinion may be relied on.

1. The Honourable Narayen Wassodeo, Member Legislative Council, Bombay.
2. Dr. Blaney.
3. The Turkish Consul.
4. Mr. Abdool Rahman.

8. With the object of leaving no stone unturned in carrying out my inquiries, I personally visited in the gaol the 62 prisoners taken up on the 13th February, and both before their trial and after their conviction, questioned each of them separately as to whether they had been instigated in any way by other persons to take part in the disturbance. I also explained that, in the event of any of them making a confession which would lead to the apprehension and conviction of the real ringleaders, if any, I would use my best endeavours with Government to obtain for them a pardon or remission of their sentence. One and all, however, declared that in what had happened there had been no premeditation, neither had they been in any way influenced by others.

9. It is true that on Friday, the 13th February, there was an unusually large gathering at the Jumma Musjid; but this has been satisfactorily accounted for, from the fact that it had become generally understood that it was the intention of the Kazeer on that day to explain to those assembled the course taken by him and the leading members of the Mahomedan community regarding the book the publishing of which had so offended their religious feelings.

10. The information, therefore, which I have been enabled to gather from the many measures put in force to fathom this important point, all goes to prove beyond doubt that the riot of the 13th February was not premeditated. As stated in paragraph 31 of my Report, No. 464, it is quite possible that a few of the Mahomedan roughs of Bombay may have determined on creating a disturbance wherever and whenever they might find an opportunity; but even this has

been in no way established; and I submit that when a few men bent on mischief keep their own counsel, it is unreasonable to suppose that the police must necessarily be cognizant of the fact.

I have, &c.
(signed) *F. H. Souter,*
Commissioner of Police.

(A.)

My dear Mr. Souter,

I HAVE to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 31st ultimo, asking me to inform you whether, from all the circumstances which came under my notice consequent on the endeavours made to effect a reconciliation between the Mahomedan and Parsee communities, I am of opinion that the attack by a portion of the former on some of the latter on the 13th February was premeditated, or whether it was merely a sudden outburst of malevolent feeling.

In reply, I beg to inform you that a couple of days before that event I had heard, in common with others, that some excitement, arising out of the publication of a book by a Parsee, did exist among the Mahomedans, but that it had been allayed at a meeting which had been subsequently held. I was, therefore, amazed to learn that such was not the case, by the outbreak which ensued on Friday, the 13th February.

You are aware that, in endeavouring to restore amity and goodwill between the Parsee and Mahomedan communities, I succeeded in convening two meetings of the latter; viz., one on the 18th, the other on the 26th February. In arranging for these meetings, I was necessarily brought into close contact with large numbers of Mahomedans generally, and had, therefore many opportunities of forming an opinion as to the state of feeling which existed among them, and I am thereby enabled to say that I have no reason whatever to believe that the attack on the 13th was the result of a preconcerted plot.

On a reflection of the circumstances attending the event; I think it will be admitted that this view is corroborated by the simple fact that the rioters were, at the outset, altogether unarmed, and that it was not until the mischief, from some unaccountable cause, had been set a going, that they armed themselves with whatever came within their reach. Had it been otherwise, I think there is no reason to doubt that they would have prepared themselves in a way which would have been more disastrous in its results.

Malabar Hill, 2 April 1874.

Believe me, &c.
(signed) *Narayan Vasudev.*

(B.)

To *Frank H. Souter, Esq., C.S.I.,* Commissioner of Police.

Dear Sir,

Byculla, 31 March 1874.

WHILE fully realising the importance of the question asked of me in your letter of yesterday regarding the origin of the late riots in Bombay, I am not in a position to say more than that the first manifestation of a riotous spirit on the part of some of the Mahomedan population took me quite by surprise. For a long time previous to the outbreak I was engaged in daily professional work in the Mahomedan quarter of the town, and had not so much as heard the subject of Mr. Jalbhoy's book alluded to in any of the houses, nor did I hear of any premeditated riot; hence my inability to say, as a matter of fact, whether the riot of the 13th of February last was the result of a deliberate plan to attack the Parsees, or whether it arose from suddenly excited religious or fanatical passion.

I am, &c.
(signed) *Thomas Blaney.*

(C.)

Dear Sir,

Bombay, 1 April 1874.

I BEG to acknowledge the receipt of your lines of yesterday's date. You were correctly informed that I had attended one of the mosques on Friday, the 13th February.

It is my habit to attend the mosque on every Friday; it is chiefly the Ismael Habib Musjid I select, and thither I had gone on that particular day.

At the prayer meeting I observed no extraordinary signs or excitement, but found the attendance as usual; and only by driving from the Musjid to the Agra Bank I observed that Shaik Abdool Rahman Street was filled by a mob of Arabs and Seedis, which obliged my carriage to turn and to take the Kalbadavie Road.

In my opinion, and as far as I can judge from my own observance afterwards, the attack upon

upon the Parsees was not premeditated, but was the spontaneous desire of vengeance of the alleged ill-treatment of the Mahomedan boys by a Parsee, prompted by the already existing ill-feeling towards that community entertained by the low caste and fanatic Seedees and Arabs, who saw in the disturbances an opportunity to plunder.

As I never attend any meeting of the Mahomedan community except private parties, and the consulate being situated in the Mazagon district, far from the centre of the Mahomedan population, I have not much opportunity of acquainting myself more with their feelings than anyone else, as you may be led to suppose.

Believe me, &c.
(signed) Hussein,
Consul General of Turkey.

(D.)

To F. H. Souter, Commissioner of Police.

Dear Sir,

I BEG to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 31st ultimo, and, in reply, to observe that when I stated to you, on the occasion you refer to, that I did not consider the attack of the Mahomedans on the Parsees on the first day of the riot was an act of premeditation, I said so from my belief that none of the respectable portion of the Mahomedan community, of whatever section, would attempt to instigate rioting on such a matter as the publication of a book.

I have since had much conversation with many respectable persons of the different classes of the Mahomedan religion who attended the mosque on the day the rioting commenced, and I have not met with one person who had the remotest idea of any intention on the part of any class of Mahomedans to create a disturbance, and it is my belief that the rioting entirely arose from some unexplained circumstances which arose amongst the lowest and most disreputable persons of the different sections of our community.

Bombay, 2 April 1874.

I am, &c.
(signed) Abdool Rahmon Bin Minee.

(No. 1025, of 1874.)

From F. H. Souter, Esq., C.S.I., Commissioner of Police, Bombay, to the Secretary to Government, Judicial Department, Bombay.

Sir,

Bombay, 29 April 1874.

HAVING received and perused a copy of the memorial addressed by certain members of the Parsee inhabitants to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India in connection with the recent riots, and finding it to contain certain statements wholly, or partially incorrect, I have the honour to draw attention below to the inaccurate passages, and to place in juxtaposition my remarks thereon.

Memorial.

Para. 2. That the records of the proceedings in the police and high courts, during the trial of the rioters, and the other documents annexed to this memorial, establish beyond dispute, in your memorialists' belief, the following propositions: (1), that on the 13th day of February last, mobs of Mahomedan rioters, *carrying out a preconcerted design*, issued from their mosques, and made almost simultaneous attacks * * * * (3), that had the police done its duty there would have been no serious rioting at all.

Para. 3. The fact of the premeditation on the part of the rioters is proved * * * Your memorialists would also call attention

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to

Remarks.

The proceedings in the police and high courts go to show that there was no preconcerted design, and there is not an iota of evidence to prove that there was a pre-determined plot: on the other hand, all the circumstances reported in paras. 30, 31, and 32 of my letter No. 464, of the 28th February, and the facts adduced in my subsequent report, No. 760, dated 7th April 1874, establish, as far as it is possible, that the riot of the 13th February was not premeditated.

There is nothing either to prove that the rioters issued from their mosques.

It has nowhere been shown that the police failed or were unequal to their duty; the results have proved the contrary.

There is no evidence whatever to prove that there was any premeditation.

The statement of this fruit seller, Dorabjee

G 2

Memorial.

to the important, because precise, statement of a Parsee fruit seller, named Dorabjee Pestonjee,* who declares that on the 12th of February he was warned by a Mussulman friend and partner in business that it was probable there would be a disturbance the following day.

Para 4. That though the action of the Commissioner of Police in suppressing the book was illegitimate, and in your memorialists' opinion ill-advised * * * * Mr. Edginton had told Mr. Jalbhoy, in Mr. Souter's presence, that the Mahomedans were all ignorant and turbulent people * * * * not only did Mr. Jalbhoy himself go to Mr. Edginton and tell him that in the early part of the 11th February men were openly addressing crowds of Mahomedans from the steps of several of the mosques regarding the supposed insult to their religion, and giving it out as lawful that Mr. Jalbhoy's life should be taken for the offence, and that his caste-fellows should also be punished; information which Mr. Edginton must have put faith in, or he would not have recommended Mr. Jalbhoy to leave Bombay, and go to Poona or Surat, but a deputation of Parsees from Dhobie Talao and Sonapore also went to the police office on the 11th, and implored protection, declaring that they had positive information that Mussulmans were going to fall upon them and commit a dreadful havoc among them. In reply to this deputation the Deputy Commissioner of Police said that leading members of the Mahomedan community had promised to meet the next day (Thursday, the 12th February) and arrange about the prevention of any disturbance. He further said, that in case of their acting otherwise the police would soon bring them to their senses. * *

jorjee, †Dorabjee Nusserwanjee Polishwalla, ‡Rustomjee Manockjee Pouchkhanawalla, and other residents of Dhobie Talao came to Mr. Edginton, and said that, as they lived near Jalbhoy's house and feared he might be an object of Mahomedan resentment during the coming Mohurram, and they, from living in his neighbourhood, might also suffer, they hoped that precautions would be taken to prevent any disturbance. Mr. Edginton told them Jalbhoy had suspended the publication of his book to appease the Mahomedans, that
a meeting

Remarks.

jee Pestonjee,* is in no way substantiated. If correct it is to be regretted that he made no mention of what he states was told him to the police, though it would have been impossible for the police to have taken action upon the reports of every alarmed Parsee. No foundation has been given for the statement made by the Mussulman to his friend Dorabjee Pestonjee.

The action taken by me, and the reasons for adopting the measures I did, have been fully explained in my report on the riots, and I maintain that, under the circumstances, the course I followed was the one of all others best calculated to avert a disturbance.

Mr. Edginton assures me that Jalbhoy's allegations as to his statement to him about the denunciations from the steps of the mosques, and as to his statement to him with reference to the threats of the Mahomedans to set fire to the houses of the Parsees, &c. (*vide* Appendix C. of the Memorial), are utterly untrue.

On the night of the 11th (or 12th) of February, Jalbhoy came and told Mr. Edginton that he suspected one Mr. Sooliman, a Mahomedan neighbour, with whom he was on bad terms, of having brought his book to the notice of the Mahomedan community, and as it was likely Sooliman and other Mahomedans might injure or annoy him *during the Mohurram*, then close at hand, he wanted police protection; he also said that he had some thought of quitting Bombay until the Mohurram was over, and hoped, if he did so, the police would keep an eye on his house, &c. during his absence. Mr. Edginton told him that he should have the protection he asked for; at the same time he told him he thought his idea of quitting Bombay a prudent one, and would take care his house, &c., was looked after if he went away.

In the forenoon of the 11th or 12th of February, Rustomjee Eduljee, Jewajee Bur-

* Dorabjee Pestonjee gave evidence in support of an *alibi* put forward on behalf of one of the Parsee prisoners, Pallonjee Rustomjee, in the Sonapore Riot case. Pallonjee was, however, convicted, and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment.

† This man has since been convicted and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment for rioting, &c., at Singapore, on the 15th February.

‡ This man is now charged with abetment of perjury in connection with the defence of one of the Parsee rioters, who has been sentenced as above.

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a meeting of influential Mahomedans was about to be held, and that he had reason to believe that the matter would then be effectually and peacefully settled; and he promised the police should, as requested, keep careful watch over Dhobie Talao during the Mohurram.

Remarks.

Para. 5. On Friday morning there were numerous signs of what was about to happen * * * * * But it appears from the evidence given in the High Court that, although the gathering of the Mahomedans at the Jumma Musjid was so unusually numerous, and of such a character as to excite alarm among the Hindoos, as well as Parsees, only one European constable was on duty near the Mosque when the prayers were over. *

The memorialists will not discuss the question how long a time the rioters had to work their will in, before the police came to the rescue (at Abdool Rahimon-street on the 13th February), as the evidence is conflicting on this point. * *

Para. 6. That notwithstanding the well-known tendency of disorders in India, when they have not been checked at the outset, to spread like wild-fire and become quite unmanageable, there would probably have been no fresh disturbances after the riots of Friday had been suppressed, if the Government had called out the military in aid of the police. * * * * * The excited Parsees, who were also armed with sticks, gathered in crowds near the graveyard. Stones were thrown, Inspector Austin states, by some Parsees first of all (though the Parsees deny that they were the aggressors), and then a free fight ensued, resulting in loss of life and serious injuries to a large number of Seedees and Parsees, and it became necessary to call out the troops to quell the disturbance. * * * * * What else could the police have expected? If they had desired to provoke a fresh riot, what more could they have done than deliberately to march a procession composed, not of peaceful Mahomedan citizens, but of ignorant and savage adventurers frequenting the port of Bombay (for such is the character of the Seedees and Arabs who were engaged in the affray) into the heart of that division of the town of Bombay which is most thickly inhabited by Parsees?

The evidence given in the High Court at the trial of the rioters proves the very contrary.

2 Inspectors, 3 Constables, and 10 or 15 Native policemen were on the spot when the riot commenced.—See evidence given on trial, and statements attached to my report on the riots, No. 464, dated 28th February 1874.

There is no conflict of *reliable* testimony on this point. It has been clearly proved in Her Majesty's High Court and otherwise that the riot broke out about 1 o'clock p.m.; that I was on the spot with a party of police by $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1, and that the mob was dispersed and more than 60 of the rioters taken into custody by 2 o'clock.

The disorder was promptly and effectually checked at the outset, and there would have been no fresh disturbances after the first riot had been suppressed on Friday, the 13th February, but for the Parsees menacing the Mahomedans while burying their dead on the 15th February. The presiding Judge, when passing sentence on the Parsee prisoners charged with being members of an unlawful assembly on that day, remarked as follows: "I consider that the evidence given regarding the occurrences at the corner of the graveyard clearly showed that these occurrences originated with you. I further consider that the Mahomedans would have returned peaceably had it not been for the Parsees molesting them."

The principal Mahomedan burial-ground is at Sonapore, and the police have no power or authority either to prohibit the Mahomedans from burying their dead there, or to interfere as to the numbers attending funerals.

At any time such undue interference would be productive of serious results.

Regarding the military being called out to quell the disturbance, they were never once called upon to act, and every disturbance was met and suppressed by the police alone. The Advocate General in his speech, replying to the defence of the Sonapore rioters, remarked:—

"He mentioned this because it showed that the police were perfectly well able to escort the procession from Bholeshwar to the graveyard without in any way endangering the public peace. He thought the jury would agree with him that a great deal of undeserving abuse had been heaped upon the police in this trial; and that if there was a portion of the community who

ought to thank the police, it was that very portion whose counsel in this case had attempted to heap obloquy upon them. He thought they had acted on that day (the 15th) with prudence, courage, and with success. Supposing the police had not been able to hold the Seedees in check in the Sonapore lane, supposing they had not been able to drive them back on the Breach Candy-road, what would have become of the Parsees in their localities? He thought the police had not only shown themselves willing and competent to protect the Parsees, but had done so successfully."

The Judge in summing up in the same case said :—

"The evidence of these three police constables, he thought, if the jury believed it, established that there was a *bond fide* funeral of two biers, and that it proceeded in a peaceable manner from where it was joined by Mr. Mills till it arrived at the burial-ground, and also that it was the Parsees who were here the assailants and aggressors in the first instance, and that they were similarly the assailants at the corner of the Sonapore lane. However, it had been alleged on behalf of the defence that this was a police case, and that the police had given their evidence unfavourably to the Parsees. Now, he must say he thought this was not a charge that could be made against the police. If the police erred at all, it was in taking too much the side of the Parsees. That the police conducted themselves most admirably on that day there could be no doubt, from the manner in which, in the first place, they endeavoured to prevent the disturbance, and then put it down. But it was shown on the evidence of the police themselves, supposing the jury believed it to be true, that the Parsees were, in both cases, the aggressors : and in the other part of the evidence, to which he had not yet alluded, that the Seedees had been beaten by the Parsees. He apprehended that though the Seedees might be poor, and might be sneered at, they were equally entitled to the protection of the law as the wealthiest inhabitant of Bombay. Therefore, on that occasion, it was the duty of the police not only to have done as they did, and arrest the Seedees whom they found fighting, but at the same time they ought not to have stayed their hand, but ought to have arrested the various Parsees who, they now alleged, were engaged in the disturbance."

Much stress has been laid in the memorial that troops were not ordered out into the town sooner ; but as the riot of the 13th was promptly and effectually suppressed by the police and order restored, there was no apparent necessity for military aid, nor would there have been but for the Parsees molesting the Mahomedans while engaged in burying their dead on the 15th at Sonapore. The Parsees had been regarded as a peaceable people, and it was never contemplated that they would act as they did, and even if military had been ordered into the town sooner, they would have been posted as usual in the centre of the town, in the Mahomedan locality, at a considerable distance from Dhobie Talao and Sonapore, and therefore the disturbance of the 15th would not have been averted.

During former riots, and at the time of the annual Mohurram festival, when troops have been ordered into the town, they have never taken up posts at Dhobie Talao, for the reason that very few Mahomedans live in that locality, and because the military lines, those of the marine battalion, adjoin Dhobie Talao, and are within about 500 yards of where the disturbance took place at Sonapore, on the 15th of February.

I have, &c.
(signed) F. H. Souter,
Commissioner of Police.

(True copy.)

F. H. Souter, Commissioner of Police.

(Home Department.—Police.—No. 108.)

From *A. C. Lyall*, Secretary to the Government of India, to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

SIR,

Fort William, 1 April 1874.

I AM directed to acknowledge receipt of a copy of the despatch sent by the Government of Bombay to the Secretary of State for India on the subject of the disturbances in the town of Bombay in February last. Your letter of the 16th March* has also been received, forwarding, with other enclosures, copy of a report on these disturbances submitted to your Government by the Commissioner of Police at Bombay.

* No. 1458.

2. His Excellency the Governor General in Council regrets much that some of the Parsee community in Bombay should have been subjected to violent aggression that was originally altogether unprovoked, and that retaliation should in some instances have been made upon innocent persons in a manner that is entirely indefensible. His Excellency trusts that the leading representatives of the Parsees and of the Mahomedans in Bombay will succeed in their praiseworthy exertions to restore the good feeling between the two communities which has been interrupted by these unfortunate collisions.

3. His Excellency in Council considers that the authorities acted rightly in supporting the police by military force; indeed, the opinion of the Government of India, upon the information now before them, is that this necessary and proper step should have been taken earlier. The action of the Local Government in prohibiting public processions during the late Mohurram is also approved. This prohibition was not intended as a penalty, but as a temporary and exceptional precaution considered necessary to secure the peace of the city.

4. The Commissioner of Police reports at length upon the conduct of the Bombay Police during these riots, especially upon the point whether the first outbreak ought to have been foreseen, and might thus have been prevented. He lays much stress upon the disadvantage at which the Police are said to be placed by their having no barracks or lines; so that for want of proper quarters they live scattered about the town, and thus upon sudden emergencies the reserve force cannot be speedily collected. Into these important questions of internal administration I am to say that his Excellency in Council will not enter, since they are now undergoing full inquiry and consideration in the hands of the Government of Bombay.

I have, &c.

(signed) *A. C. Lyall*,

Secretary to the Government of India.

To the Most Noble the Marquis of *Salisbury*, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India in Council, London.

The MEMORIAL of the Parsee Inhabitants of the City of Bombay, in the East Indies,

Sheweth,

1. THAT your Memorialists have felt themselves constrained to adopt the unusual course of addressing a direct appeal to your Lordship in Council, both in order to obtain redress for cruel wrongs suffered by the Parsees of Bombay during the recent Mahomedan riots and security against the recurrence of such outrages, and also to vindicate the Parsee community before Her Majesty's Government and the people of England from unjust reproaches cast upon them by the Government of Bombay.

2. That the records of the proceedings in the police and high courts during the trial of the rioters, and the other documents annexed to this Memorial, establish beyond dispute, in your Memorialists' belief, the following propositions:

(1) That on the 13th day of February last, mobs of Mahomedan rioters, carrying out a preconcerted design, issued from their mosques, and made almost simultaneous attacks in different localities on Parsee fire-temples and dwelling-houses, defiling sacred things, destroying or plundering property, and maltreating individual Parsees; (2) that the Parsee community had done nothing whatever to provoke this outbreak; (3) that, had the police done its duty, there would have been no serious rioting at all; (4) that the continuance of the agitation in the town after the 13th, and especially the renewal of the rioting on the forenoon of Sunday the 15th February, must be ascribed to the weakness of the Government in failing to realise the actual state of affairs in Bombay, and to provide a force sufficient to restore confidence and maintain order.

3. That the fact of premeditation on the part of the rioters is proved, not merely by rumours current in the town for some days before the 13th that an organized onslaught would be made on the Parsees, but by the evidence given in the police and high courts* that the riots began on the 13th of February in the same manner, and, as far as can be ascertained, nearly at the same hour; and that the principal object of the mobs in Shaik Abdool Rehman-street, the Bhendy Bazaar, and Khetwaddy, was to offer the worst of insults to the Parsees, by profaning and polluting their fire-temples. The suggestion that the chief riot, that in Shaik Abdool Rehman-street, arose accidentally out of a casual dispute between a Parsee police constable and some mischievous Mussulman boys, is shown to be quite baseless by the evidence of police constable Gough, the European policeman, who was on duty at the Jumma Musjid, whence the rioters rushed out on the 13th, and who saw how the riot began;† and Serjeant Atkinson, the counsel who defended the Mussulman rioters, admitted that this part of the defence had completely broken down, and that the Parsee constable had entirely cleared himself of the charge of having in any way helped to provoke a disturbance.‡ Your Memorialists would also call attention to the important, because precise, statement of a Parsee fruit-seller, named Dorabjee Pestonjee, who declares that on the 12th of February he was warned by a Mussulman friend and partner in business, that it was probable there would be a disturbance on the following day, and who in consequence removed his wife from his house in the native town to the house of a relative on Cumballa Hill. The warning was repeated on the morning of the 13th, when Dorabjee went as usual on business to the Crawford Markets, and he retired to his house, which was one of those afterwards attacked by the rioters, though they did not succeed in forcing an entrance. A similar warning was given to the schoolmasters of the girls' school of the Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Benevolent Institution in the neighbourhood, and of another school in Bhendy Bazaar, and the pupils were in consequence removed, and the schools closed at about half-past eleven and eleven o'clock respectively on Friday.

Dorabjee Pestonjee's statement—
See Appendix A.

See statement of
Framjee Cursetjee
—Appendix B.

4. That the Parsee community was perfectly innocent of having given any cause of offence to the Mahomedans is clear from an examination of the pretext alleged for the ill-feeling of the Mahomedans against the Parsees. On the 15th of June 1873 a Parsee named Rustomjee Hormusjee Jalbhoy had published in Bombay a Guzerati book containing, among the biographies of other renowned prophets, a *Life of Mahomet*, compiled from Ockley's *History of the Saracens*, Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, and Washington Irving's *Life of Mahomet*. In narrating the family history of the Mussulman prophet, Mr. Jalbhoy had spoken of the mother of Mahomet's only son as a "concubine" or "kept woman," using the Guzerati term રાખેલી રાંડ, which is the very same expression, without the adjective રાખેલી (kept), employed with the same object in a *Life of Mahomet*, published by the Christian missionaries belonging to the Bombay Tract and Book Society in 1853. No notice was taken of Mr. Jalbhoy's book by the Mussulmans for eight months, till in the beginning of February 1874, and just on the eve of the Mohurram (a festival which almost invariably gives

* See reports attached to this Memorial of proceedings in the High Court in connection with the Shaik Abdool Rehman Street and Bhendy Bazaar riot cases, and in the police court in connection with the Khetwaddy and Bhendy Bazaar cases.

† See Constable Gough's evidence in the High Court in the Shaik Abdool Rehman Street riot case.

‡ See evidence of Constable Framjee Bhicajee in the High Court at the trial of the Shaik Abdool Rehman Street rioters, and Serjeant Atkinson's speech in the same case.

gives occasion for some disturbances among Indian Mussulmans), a number of respectable Mahomedan citizens of Bombay waited upon Mr. Souter, the Commissioner of Police, to inform him that their co-religionists were dreadfully excited, because a Parsee had published a book in which Marian, their prophet's favourite, had been described as "a prostitute." The Guzerati word for prostitute is quite different from that used by Mr. Jalbhoy; but at the urgent request of Mr. Souter and Mr. Edginton (the Deputy Commissioner of Police), who called upon him for an explanation of his conduct in publishing a work that the Mahomedans could find fault with, Mr. Jalbhoy delivered up to the police all the unsold copies of his book, and tried as far as he could to withdraw the book from circulation. This concession might fairly have been expected to put an end to the Mussulman ill-feeling against a man who had never meant to say a word to offend them; and, as regards the Parsee community, it was not alleged, nor is there the slightest shadow of a pretence for saying, that they were responsible for what was printed in Mr. Jalbhoy's book.

5. That although the action of the Commissioner of Police in suppressing the book was illegitimate and, in your Memorialists' opinion, ill-advised, because inconsistent with the principle of religious toleration and the right of free discussion, and because it had the effect of creating a precedent of which, as is shown by the recent attempt to suppress a Christian tract at Kurrachee, the Mahomedans have not been slow to take advantage against other sects than that of the Parsees, still the course taken by Mr. Souter in this instance might be in some degree excused by the consideration that the fatal riots of 1851 had had their origin in the publication by a Parsee editor of a sketch of the life of Mahomet, which the Mahomedans chose to regard as offensive. But, if the parallel held good as to the 'pretexts, it was likely also to hold good as to the consequences of the state of excitement into which the Mahomedans had worked themselves. In 1851 a Mussulman mob had rushed out of the Jumma Musjid on a Friday, crying "Deen, Deen," and had assailed the Parsees; and it was probable that there would be an exact reproduction of this scene in 1874. Mr. Souter can hardly have persuaded himself that the extraordinary concession he had made to Mussulman bigotry would satisfy ignorant fanatics, whose unreasonable expectations as to what he ought to have done were expressed in the following words by the editor of a Mahomedan paper, the *Kashful Akhbar*, on the 19th of February:—"After the Commissioner Sahib (Mr. Souter) first received information about the book, if he had destroyed all the copies previous to the Friday following, in a manner that would have enabled many people to witness the destruction, then it is quite certain that the riots would not have occurred. But, in consequence of the copies of the book not having been destroyed by Friday, the mass of the people must have felt some doubt in the matter." What precautions, however, did the Commissioner of Police take to prevent such an outbreak? Mr. Edginton had told Mr. Jalbhoy, in Mr. Souter's presence, that "the Mahomedans were an ignorant and turbulent people;" and the police were distinctly warned, two days before the riots began, that the people were still dissatisfied and meditating revenge. Not only did Mr. Jalbhoy himself go to Mr. Edginton and tell him that "in the early part of the 11th of February men were openly addressing crowds of Mahomedans from the steps of several of the Mosques, regarding the supposed insult to their religion, and giving it out as lawful that Mr. Jalbhoy's life should be taken for the offence, and that his caste-fellows should also be punished"—information which Mr. Edginton must have put faith in, or he would not have recommended Mr. Jalbhoy to leave Bombay and go to Poona or Surat; but a deputation of Parsees from Dhebi Talao and Sonapore also went to the Police Office on the 11th and implored protection, declaring they had "positive information that Mussulmans were going to fall upon them; and commit a dreadful havoc among them." In reply to this deputation, the Deputy Commissioner of Police said "that leading members of the Mahomedan community had promised to meet together next day (Thursday, the 12th February), and arrange about the prevention of any disturbance." He further said "that, in case of their acting otherwise, the police would bring them to their right senses." The Mahomedan meeting was held on the 12th, and many soothing speeches were made; and with this result Mr. Souter seems to have been entirely satisfied, for he took no precautions on the Friday (the day on which Mussulmans assemble in their

See Jalbhoy's statement—Appendix C.

See letter of Naorojee Beiramjee Suntok and others—Appendix D.

See Appendix F.

Mosques) to prevent by a display of force any riotous or disorderly proceedings on the part of "an ignorant and turbulent people." On Friday morning there were numerous signs of what was about to happen. Mr. Ruttonjee Manockjee Rutnagur * was warned by a friendly Mussulman from entering the streets near the Jumma Musjid at about 11 o'clock, and at that time he saw a number of Arabs and Seedees, some of them armed with bludgeons, hurrying towards the Mosque. Other Parsees, whose statements are appended, testify that they were assailed with stones between the hours of 11 and 12 by Mussulmans ranged on the terrace of the Mosque. But it appears from the evidence given in the High Court † that, although the gathering of Mahomedans at the Jumma Musjid was so unusually numerous and of such a character as to excite alarm among Hindoos, ‡ as well as Parsees, only one European constable was on duty near the Mosque when the prayers were over; and, when the mob of Seedees and Arabs, armed with sticks and stones, invaded Abdool Rehman-street, all that this constable could do was helplessly to follow the crowd, while he sent a sepoy in a buggy to give warning to Mr. Souter at the Mazagon Police Office, a mile and a half away, that the rioting had begun. Your memorialists will not discuss the question how long a time the rioters had to work their will in, before the police came to the rescue, as the evidence is conflicting on this point. It seems only necessary to remark that they had ample leisure to effectually defile two fire-temples, plunder several houses, and beat a number of Parsees, one of whom afterwards died of his wounds; and that in Khetwaddy they were foiled rather by the energetic attitude assumed by the residents than by the early interference of the police. The mobs were quickly dispersed wherever the police showed themselves; and what your memorialists would respectfully insist upon is, that, had Mr. Souter done his duty by stationing strong police guards near the mosques on the Friday morning, no mischief would have been attempted. Instead, however, of securing public tranquillity by so using his detectives, at the head of whom are Mahomedans who have often been praised and rewarded for their vigilant loyalty, as to unravel and expose the plot, or, when a breach of the peace seemed inevitable, by employing the force at his command to control "an ignorant and turbulent people," the Commissioner of Police chose to place implicit confidence in the goodwill and power of respectable Mahomedans to keep their caste-fellows in order; and the result was that the lives and properties of Parsees were left at the mercy of crowds of riotous fanatics.

6. That, notwithstanding the well-known tendency of disorders in India, when they have not been checked at the outset, to spread like wildfire and become quite unmanageable, there would probably have been no fresh disturbances after the riots of Friday had been suppressed, if the Government had called out the military in aid of the police. Orders were indeed given that a company of Europeans and two companies of native infantry should remain under arms in their quarters in readiness to be called out; but the salutary effect which the presence of troops in the localities that had been the scenes of the riots would have had on the ill-disposed was lost, because His Excellency the Governor, as he himself acknowledged in his Convocation speech of the 17th of February, could not bring himself to believe that the state of the town on Friday evening, Saturday, and Sunday morning was so critical as to justify him in having recourse to the extreme measure of employing soldiers to keep the peace. Although, therefore, the Mahomedans remained in a flushed and angry mood, while the panic-stricken Parsees dreaded that still worse things might befall them than they had already suffered, and although it is no exaggeration to say that the native town was everywhere seething with agitation, the troops were not made use of, and a police force, which Mr. Souter himself confessed to be quite inadequate for its work, was broken up into petty detachments and scattered about the town in the vain hope of preventing a renewal of the riots. The excitement among the Parsees on Saturday became every hour more intense, as they found that the Government left their fire-temples unguarded, and as rumours went

See statement of
Mr. J. M. Maclean
—Appendix H.

* See statement of Ruttonjee Manockjee Rutnagur—Appendix E.

† See evidence of Constable Gough in the Shaik Abdool Rehman-street riot case.

‡ See statement of Hindoo grain-sellers, who closed their shops at half-past twelve in consequence of the accounts they had received of the threatening aspect of the large crowd gathered outside the Jumma Musjid—Appendix G.

went about that two attacks had been made on the Parsee residents in Khetwaddy, and another on the London Hotel in Grant-road, and that numerous assaults had been committed on stray Parsees in streets chiefly inhabited by Mahomedans. Their alarm found expression in the afternoon in a letter,* addressed by Mr. Byramjee Jeejeebhoy to the Commissioner of Police, in which it was pointed out that "the mobs which had collected in Khetwaddy had not been attacked and dispersed by the police, but had been simply turned back to collect again at some point that seemed more defenceless." Mr. Byramjee stated that the European policemen themselves owned they were too exhausted to fulfil their duty, and he urged that a military force should be stationed in the disturbed districts to restore confidence among the Parsees, and prevent a repetition of the scenes of Friday. Mr. W. H. Payne, a solicitor of the High Court, who accompanied Mr. Byramjee Jeejeebhoy, has furnished to your Memorialists valuable testimony in support of the allegations of the last-named gentleman. Mr. Payne's statement is attached to this Memorial. Mr. Edginton, in reply to Mr. Byramjee's letter, admitted that the excitement had not subsided, but doubted the existence of the threatening mobs described by Mr. Byramjee, or the inability of the police to maintain order. He added, however, that the Commissioner had been in communication with the Government, and that "further measures for the security of the city" (besides keeping the troops under arms) were "under consideration." In the evening, by which time a distinct report prevailed among the Parsees of Sonapore and Dhobi Talao that the Mussulmans intended to come in large numbers to the graveyard at Sonapore on the pretence of attending a funeral, and to sack the Parsee houses and violate the chief fire temple (Atush-Behram) in that quarter, a deputation of Parsee gentlemen, consisting of the Honourable Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Bart.; Dinshaw Manockjee Petit, Esq.; Byramjee Jeejeebhoy, Esq.; Cursetjee Furdoonjee, Esq.; and Merwanjee Framjee Panday, Esq., waited upon H. E. Sir Philip Wodehouse to acquaint him with the apprehensions still entertained by the Parsee community, and to ask that the military should be called out without further delay. His Excellency in reply said, "I cannot call the military into the town until I hear that the police are quite unable to cope with the rioters and suppress the riot The members of your community ought to learn the lesson of defending themselves from the rioters, and not to depend wholly on Government, but form themselves into what they call in England special constables." His Excellency asked more than once, "Are you Parsees quite unable to defend themselves?" Extraordinary as such language may seem, coming from the mouth of the representative of the Government, which has, as a matter of deliberate policy, disarmed the whole population of India and taken upon itself the sole duty of keeping the peace instead of encouraging the various races and sects to "defend themselves" against one another, the Governor of Bombay would appear, from the following passage in his Convocation speech, to be really of opinion that the Parsees would have done a right and proper thing in forming themselves into bands of special constables, to fight the Mussulman rioters and spare the English Government the disagreeable necessity of calling upon the military to help the police:—"I find," said His Excellency, "that there is apparently a general disinclination to take an active part in the operations of the established police of this city—that there is a disposition to leave them to cope as they best can with all the disturbances. Disturbances breaking out first in one quarter and then in another! Yet, wherever they may be, the police are expected to do all the work!" Though the conduct of the Parsee residents of Sonapore, who on Saturday night armed themselves with sticks and stones to defend their houses and fire-temples, after having applied uselessly for a larger number of police to be stationed in the neighbourhood, cannot be said to have been a direct consequence of the Governor's scornful advice to the Parsees to defend themselves, yet the words used by His Excellency and the admitted helplessness of the police may fairly be pleaded in their justification. The opportunity for self-defence came only too soon. On Sunday morning, about 10 o'clock,† two Mahomedan burial processions, composed of about 400 or 500 persons, a great number

Statement of Mr.
W. H. Payne—
See Appendix J.

* Letter of Mr. Byramjee Jeejeebhoy, late Member of the Legislative Council of Bombay, to Mr. Souter, with the reply of Mr. Edginton to the same—See Appendix I.

† See evidence of Superintendent Mills in the police court and in the High Court in the Sonapore riot case.

See Map attached
to this Memorial.

number of whom were, it was afterwards discovered, armed with bludgeons, entered the Parsee quarter. On their way to the graveyard at Sonapore through the native town, they showed their real character by attempting to assault two Parsees they happened to meet.* According to the evidence there were with the procession, after it had reached Bholeshwur, one European policeman, Superintendent Mills, and about 20 native policemen, and two other European constables joined them at the burial-ground. The excited Parsees, who were also armed with sticks, gathered in crowds near the graveyard. Stones were thrown, Inspector Austin states, by some Parsees first of all (though the Parsees deny that they were the aggressors), and then a free fight ensued, resulting in loss of life and in serious injuries to a large number of Seedees and Parsees; and it became necessary to call out the troops to quell the disturbance. It appears to your Memorialists to be of little consequence who began the stone throwing. A conflict was inevitable when two bodies of men, one of them excited by the indulgence given for two whole days to their turbulent spirit, and the other thrown into anxiety and alarm by the prevalent rumours about fresh outrages in contemplation, deprived of all confidence in the efficiency of the police, and hurt by the indifference and inaction displayed by the Government—had been brought within fighting distance of one another. What else could the police have expected; if they had desired to provoke a fresh riot, what more could they have done than deliberately to march a procession composed, not of peaceful Mahomedan citizens, but of ignorant and savage adventurers frequenting the port of Bombay (for such is the character of the Seedees and Arabs who were engaged in the affray) into the heart of that division of the town of Bombay which is most thickly inhabited by Parsees; if troops had been sent to escort the procession all would have passed off quietly, as was shown on the following day when a still more numerous funeral procession was escorted to Sonapore. But the 20 native policemen could do nothing against a crowd of able-bodied men intent on violence. Mr. Mills, in his evidence, mentions that the Mahomedans more than once “rushed through the police,” who could not restrain them, and he bears witness to the general feeling of the Parsees when he reports the remark of one Parsee in the crowd who said to him, when remonstrated with for breaking the law, “The police won’t protect us; we must protect ourselves.”† When the military had once been called out, no further serious disturbances occurred. The Parsees were satisfied that the Government would not suffer them to be again molested, and the only occasion on which they made a fresh attempt at “self-defence” was when a sepoy, on Saturday the 21st February, raised an alarm that a party of Seedees going through the Fort had hostile intentions. The Parsees, many of whom had fled to the Fort from the native town for safety, certainly on that occasion made the mistake of assaulting the Seedees, but this again was not an organized attack on the Mahomedan community; it was only an onslaught on men supposed to be rioters, begun in the belief that these men had invaded a part of the city previously considered to be perfectly secure. If the police themselves were not of the same opinion originally as to the object the Seedees had in view in entering the Fort, how does it happen that they only arrested Seedees and did not take any Parsees prisoners? Your Memorialists, however, regard the encounters which took place after the 15th of February as of no great importance; what they contend is that the anarchy of the Sunday forenoon might have been averted, and the loss of life and other serious injuries caused on that day to both the Parsees and the Mahomedans would not have occurred if the Government had been roused to action in time; and that the proper use of the ordinary garrison of Bombay on the evening of Friday the 13th of February would have rendered unnecessary the great display of vigour made too late by the Government on Tuesday the 17th, when it invoked the aid of formidable reinforcements of cavalry, infantry, and artillery from Poona to enable it to keep the peace in Bombay during the Mohurram.

7. That your Memorialists having now, as they conceive, demonstrated all the propositions set forth in the second paragraph of this Memorial, wish to address themselves

* See letter from the Mahraj (Head Priest) and other Hindoos, to the address of Mr. Souter—App. K.

† Evidence of Superintendent Mills in the police court and in the High Court in the Sonapore riot case.



MAP
of a
PORTION OF THE CITY OF BOMBAY
showing the locality
of the
MAHOMMEDAN RIOTS OF 1874.
and the route taken by the
FUNERAL PROCESSION
to the
SONAPORE BURIAL GROUND.

NOTE.

The Arrows show the direction of the Mahommedan Funeral Procession to Sonapore on the forenoon of 15th February 1874. The Bhoolawer Hindoo Temple denotes the spot referred to in the petition of the Mahraj Jeevan, Laljee & other Hindoos, where attempt was made to attack Parsee wayfarers by men belonging to the funeral party on its way to Sonapore. The Atashbehram or chul' Fire Temples threatened by the Mussulmans, are denoted as the Chundannwady Fire Temple and Dady-Shett Fire Temple.

SCALE OF 400 FEET TO AN INCH.

themselves to the still more serious and delicate task of answering accusations brought against the whole Parsee community by the Governor of Bombay. These accusations seem to have had their origin in a report made to his Excellency by Mr. Souter, the Commissioner of Police, as to the cause of the Sonapore riot. In a narrative of his own experience of the state of Bombay on the 15th of February, Mr. Maclean, the Editor of the "Bombay Gazette," says Mr. Souter told him he was just going off to Parell to let the Governor know that the Parsees had created the whole disturbance, and on the same morning Mr. Souter charged the Parsees generally with having provoked the row, and said in his anger he would "like to see all the Parsees killed." Your Memorialists are not specially anxious to have Mr. Souter personally called to account for these hasty and intemperate words, which he no doubt sincerely regrets having used, and which may be pardoned to a man called suddenly to suppress a riot of which he had not seen the beginning, and which broke out after he had persuaded himself and the Government that the town was perfectly quiet. Your Memorialists only refer to this incident to show how his Excellency the Governor became biassed against the Parsees to such a degree that he seems now actually to hold them at least equally worthy of blame with the Mahomedans for the disturbances that occurred after the 13th of February. On the evening of the 14th the language of Sir Philip Wodehouse in the interview he gave the Parsee deputation was not very friendly in tone; but on Sunday evening, after Mr. Souter had made his report on the riot of that day, his Excellency, without inquiring whether the conduct of the Commissioner of Police himself might not be deserving of censure on account of the extraordinary carelessness which alone, as your Memorialists contend, made the affray of Sunday morning possible, at once took up a distinctly hostile position against the Parsees, adopting the view of Mr. Souter that they had wantonly assailed a funeral procession of innocent Mahomedans in spite of the presence of "a strong police force." Your Memorialists have already given the true history of the Sonapore riot without seeking to extenuate the conduct of the Parsees, and they now invite the attention of your Lordship in Council to the following account of the same affair written by Mr. Lee-Warner, the Governor's Private Secretary:—

See Appendix H.,
already referred to

See same letter.

My dear Sir Jamsetjee,

Parell, Sunday, 15 February.

As I write, the military assistance for which you asked is in the town of Bombay, and the Government will be prepared to take such further action as may be necessary. H. E. told you last night, that from the latest accounts received he was of opinion that the Mussulmans were quieted by the arrest of the late rioters, and it is therefore his earnest hope that the leading gentlemen of the Parsee community will repress by every means in their power any sign of retaliation on the part of the Parsees, or any exhibition of vindictive feeling, which, if it does not provoke a fresh breach of the peace, will keep old sores open. H. E. is exceedingly sorry to learn that, despite the presence of a strong police force, some Parsees to-day threw stones at some Mussulmans during a funeral service, and brought on a fight which caused injury to several people. There has also been a smaller row in Fort Bora Bazaar-street, where one European inspector has been badly hit by a Parsee. Of course such things cannot be altogether avoided, but, with the influence which you and the gentlemen who called last night possess over the Parsee community, H. E. must look to you, as he is sure he can with full confidence, to advise all Parsees to remain at home as much as possible until some greater degree of quiet is restored.

Yours, &c.

(signed) W. Lee-Warner,
Private Secretary.

The "smaller row" referred to in this letter, had evidently been reported to his Excellency in the same one-sided way of which your Memorialists think they have reason to complain as regards Mr. Souter's version of the "greater row," no mention being made of the fact that the assault complained of was occasioned by the violent and unjustifiable conduct of the inspector himself in having beaten in the first instance an aged and inoffensive Parsee priest.

Again, on the 19th February, in answer to a memorial from Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy and others, praying that the strong hand of Government might be used to avert further outrages on the Parsees, Mr. Nugent, Under Secretary to Government, was instructed to say that "the disorders subsequent to that of Friday afternoon have been in some degree attributable to acts of retaliation on the part of the Parsees." Your Memorialists would respectfully submit that

See extract from
the "Times of
India" of 18th
Feb.—Ap-
pendix L.

the very thought of attempting "retaliation" never even entered the minds of the Parsees. Where are the proofs the Government has to offer of the "retaliation" of which it complains? What mosques have the Parsees defiled? What dwelling-houses or shops have they plundered? What quarter of the town have they invaded for the purpose of killing or injuring peaceful Mahomedan citizens? In the fort there is one small Mussulman mosque, near which very few Mussulmans live, but which is surrounded by Parsee houses. Here was an opportunity for safe retaliation if the Parsees had desired it; yet this mosque was left untouched. While the riots were going on, the Mahomedan inhabitants of Bombay, knowing they had nothing to dread, remained at home, or went about their usual avocations as they had been accustomed to do in ordinary times; they knew that no mob of Parsee rioters would attack them or their families. So great, on the other hand, was the justifiable terror of the Parsees, after the events of the 13th February, lest they might become the victims of fresh attacks, that more than 150 Parsee families residing in the native town left their houses, and at considerable expense removed with their families into the fort for better protection. A much larger number of families had to employ, at their own expense, as guards over their houses, English sailors and other Europeans, Poorbheas from the North West Provinces, and others, amounting in all to about 1,000 men. This broad distinction must, in fact, be drawn between the acts of the two communities. The Mussulmans, without having received any provocation, assailed with the utmost fury the whole Parsee race in Bombay; while the Parsees in no instance became the aggressors, but remained always on the defensive, and only attacked such Mahomedans as they supposed to have come amongst them with evil designs. Some reprehensible acts of violence were no doubt committed by individual Parsees, but may not these be forgiven to men who, after having been exposed to the most shameful outrages, were taunted by a Government, which should have calmed their fears, with their inability to defend themselves? Was not the mad act of the police in letting the funeral processions enter the Sonapore district while the Parsee quarter was guarded only by a few police sepoy, on the Sunday morning, sufficient in itself to drive the Parsees to desperation? Yet the Government of Bombay, anxious as it would appear to have an excuse for its own lamentable weakness, has lost no chance of defaming the character of the Parsees. On Monday the 23rd February, after the brawl in the fort, his Excellency the Governor sent for Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy and other leading Parsee gentlemen, and lectured them on the ill-feeling which continued to show itself on the part of the Parsees towards the Mussulmans. His Excellency wished, he said, "to be perfectly frank with them, and, speaking generally of the whole community which they represented, he could not but consider the conduct of the Parsees as injudicious and unconciliatory. They must remember that Government could only put a stop to open breaches of the peace, the sore of revenge and ill-feeling between sect and sect the Parsees themselves must cure. The present bad spirit could not be allowed to last for ever, nor could the troops always be kept in Bombay, and the Parsees must seriously consider the effect their present attitude would have upon themselves when the troops were withdrawn." His Excellency expressed the same feeling when he received on Wednesday the 25th of February a large deputation of Mahomedan gentlemen who came to ask him that the Taboot processions of the Mohurram might be allowed. With marvellous indiscretion his Excellency the Governor told the deputation that, although they might "give security for the good behaviour of their own people, such a guarantee was one-sided, and would not affect the behaviour of the Parsees, or any one else who wished to create a disturbance." In other words, the Governor tried to relieve himself of the responsibility of having prohibited the Mohurram processions, by telling the Mahomedans that they must thank the Parsees for this act of the Government, as the police and military could not protect the processions against the violence of that turbulent people! And yet his Excellency gravely exhorts the Parsees to beware of perpetuating ill-feeling between sect and sect. Your Memorialists cannot say what may be the feeling of the Mahomedans, but they confidently affirm that the Parsees are an industrious, peaceful, orderly people, whose sole desire is to live on terms of amity with all men, and to obtain that protection for their own lives, property, and religion, which they would gladly see all other classes and races enjoy. It is, they assert, a pure delusion on the part of his Excellency Sir Philip Wodehouse to suppose that the Parsees have any special enmity against

See list—Appendix M.

the

the Mahomedans as a class, or any desire to violate the law and create disturbances in Bombay. No class has so strong an interest in keeping the peace as the Parsees, for they are few in number, prosperous, and unaccustomed to any other than commercial pursuits. Not once or twice only, but frequently, have Mahomedan publishers reprinted works in which vile and offensive language is used in speaking of the Prophet Zoroaster and his followers, but the Parsees have uniformly let such attacks pass unnoticed. Your Memorialists may perhaps venture to call witnesses to character in opposition to Sir Philip Wodehouse by reminding your Lordship in Council what has been thought and said of the Parsee community by distinguished English and Anglo-Indian Statesmen of our own day and of former times. The Parsees, who had settled on the western coast of India in the beginning of the eighth century, made Bombay their chief place of residence as soon as the island came into the possession of the English; and for the last two centuries they have been amongst the most loyal, the most industrious, and the most enterprising subjects of the British Crown. They now number 44,000 in Bombay alone. Sir John Malcolm said of the Parsees half a century ago: "There is no body of natives in India so remarkable for their intelligence and enterprise as the Parsees;" and since the introduction of English education into India, they have more than maintained their former character by the eagerness with which they have, as a people, availed themselves of the opportunities of improvement offered them by the foundation of schools and colleges in Bombay. Sir Henry Anderson, now one of the Secretaries to the Council of India, remarked when he was proposing to the Legislature of Calcutta to pass a special law relating to this people: "The Parsees will day by day prove themselves more efficient as an agency by which the civilisation of the West will be able to influence the destiny of this magnificent country. From the time when the Daur of Surat afforded aid to our first factory, to the time when Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy called on his countrymen to stand by the British Government with their fortunes, as they would, if need were, with their lives, the Parsees have ever been faithful and loyal to our rule;" and on the same occasion Mr. Harrington, another member of the Legislative Council, said he "most entirely concurred in all that Sir Henry Anderson had said as to the intelligence, the advanced civilisation, the loyalty, and general good conduct of the Parsee community. In a Resolution dated 16th October 1863, on the report of the Parsee Law Commission, the Government of Bombay described the Parsees as "an enterprising and sagacious community," and said moreover, "that Her Majesty possesses no subjects, who, for loyalty, intelligence, capacity for public duties, liberality, sympathy with suffering, and honest admiration for British justice, have a better claim to a full and intelligent consideration of their needs, than the Parsee community of Bombay and the Mofussil." And it would be easy for your Memorialists to quote much more testimony to a like effect, but they believe that your Lordship in Council must be familiar with the reputation of the Parsees, and able to judge between them and the present Government of Bombay.

See extracts in Appendix N.

Your Memorialists are confident that your Lordship in Council will grant them the justice which, until enlightened by the experience of the last few weeks, they believed it was impossible that they could ever have to ask for in vain from any representative of Her Most Gracious Majesty holding the high office of Governor of Bombay; and having regard to the matters stated in the foregoing Memorial, they pray that your Lordship in Council may be pleased to adopt such measures as may seem meet for the purpose of ascertaining,—

- (a.) What was the real cause, and who were originators of the late riots;
- (b.) The extent and duration of the said riots;
- (c.) What precautions, if any, had been taken against the occurrence of the said riots before their outbreak, and if no precautions had been taken, the reason for such inaction;
- (d.) The measures taken after the outbreak of the said riots for their suppression and the efficiency of such measures, whether there was any delay in the taking of any such measures, and, if so, the reason for such delay;
- (e.) The measures necessary to prevent the recurrence of such riots in the future;

(f.) The efficiency and integrity of the police and defective force of Bombay ;

(g.) And generally the action taken by his Excellency the Governor and the Commissioner of Police with regard to the late riots, and all the circumstances connected therewith.

And your Memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Bombay, 13 April 1874.

Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy.
Ardaseer Hormarjee Wadia.
Framjee Nasserwanjee.
Byramjee Jeejeebhoy.
Heerjeebhoy Hormusjee Settna.
Dinshaw Manockjee Petit.
Cursetjee Furdoonjee.
Merwanjee Framjee Panday.
Muncherjee Hormusjee Cama.
Nowrojee Manockjee Wadia.
Sorabjee Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy.
Dustoor Peshutun Behramjee.
Jamaspjee Dustoor Minochehrjee.
 And 8,438 other Parsees.

APPENDIX (A).

STATEMENT by *Dorabjee Pestonjee*, Vendor of Fruit in the Crawford Markets.

I AM a vendor of fruit in the Crawford Markets. I am also a contractor. I remember the 13th of February last, the day when the Mahomedan riots broke out. It was a Friday. On the day previous, that is on Thursday, the 12th February, I had a conversation in the morning with Mehmon Geega Nuthoo, a partner in my business, when he informed me in a friendly way of his apprehensions that a disturbance of the Mahomedans would take place on the following day. In consequence of this warning, I removed my wife from my house, in Dhunjee Doongaria-street, to the house of a relative near Cumballa Hill. I also warned several of my friends of the intended outbreak, and recommended them not to leave their houses on the Friday in question. On the day when the disturbance broke out, I had attended the Crawford Markets at an early hour, when my said Mehmon friend, Geega Nuthoo, informed me of his fears of the riots to take place in course of the day. He said that respectable Mahomedans would remain quiet, but that nothing had been done to pacify the lower classes. In consequence of the persuasions of the said Geega Nuthoo, I returned to my house before 11 o'clock a.m., contrary to my usual habit.

In about two hours and a quarter, after my return home, the disturbances broke out. An attack was made upon my house, but the rioters did not succeed in entering it. It is within my knowledge that the Parsee girls' school belonging to the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Benevolent Institution, which is situated in the neighbourhood of Dhunjee Doongaria-street, was closed, and the children removed at about half-past eleven o'clock on the day of the riot breaking out, in consequence of warnings received by the schoolmasters.

Dated at Bombay, this 27th day of March 1874.

Signed by Dorabjee Pestonjee,
 in the presence of
D. D. Cama.
D. E. Khambata.

Dorabjee Pestonjee.

(True Copy.)

Bombay, 31 March 1874.

Ardersir Framjee,
 Solicitor, High Court.

Appendix (B.)

STATEMENT made by Mr. *Framjee Kursedjee* on the 16th day of March 1874.

I AM a Parsee priest and tutor in the Parsee Girls' School at Kandawala-street, in Bombay. On the 13th of February last I went the usual round to collect the pupils of the said school, when their parents, alluding to the rumoured outbreak to take place on that day, on the part of the Mahomedans, requested me earnestly not to open the school that day, or at all events to dismiss the school earlier than usual. I had also similar apprehensions, and accordingly dismissed the school at 11 o'clock in the forenoon of that day. At about 1 o'clock in the afternoon, the same day, a person of the Bohra caste came shouting into the street, warning the Parsee inhabitants thereof that a mob of Mahomedans were at that moment issuing out of the neighbouring mosque, called the Nabob's Musjid, and were coming to attack the Parsees. The Parsee inhabitants, in consternation and alarm, closed their doors and windows precipitately, when a mob of about 200 Mahomedans rushed into the said street, armed with bludgeons, and shouting "Deen, Deen." They commenced to batter the doors and windows by means of stones which they hurled against them. After thus rioting in the street for half an hour, they withdrew from the street at the intercession of certain Mussulman neighbours well affected towards the Parsees.

Taken before me,
Mobed Framjee Cursetjee, Teacher,
 Kandawala-street.
Ardesir Framjee, Solicitor.

(True Copy.)

Bombay, 31 March 1874. *Ardesir Framjee*, Solicitor, High Court.

Appendix (C.)

STATEMENT of Mr. *Rustomjee Hormusjee Jalbhoy*, taken this day before Messrs. *Sorabjee Shapoorjee Bengallee* and *Jehangir Merwanjee*.

Bombay, 15 March 1874.

ABOUT the 8th or 9th day of February last, I was sent for by Mr. Edginton, the deputy commissioner of police. I waited on him accordingly the same day at about half-past 10 a.m. Mr. Edginton asked me whether I was the author of a certain book called "Renowned Prophets, &c." On my stating I was, he told me that I had written a certain passage in the book in which I had stated that Mahomed had a son by a prostitute, adding that the word "prostitute" had given great offence to the Mahomedans. I disclaimed that I had any intention of offending the religious feelings of the Mahomedans; and that in the said book I had translated the English words "concubine" as "રૂઝેલી રીસ," whereas the Guzerati word for "prostitute" was "રૂઝેલી", which I had not at all used. Mr. Edginton said that a deputation of Mahomedan gentlemen was then present in Mr. Souter's room, and that there was a translator whom they had brought with them, who was of opinion that the words used by me in the book meant a prostitute. I repeated that the words used did not bear out the translator's interpretation. I told Mr. Edginton, moreover, that the life of Mahomet, which I had written, was compiled from the works of Ockley, Washington Irving, and Gibbon, and that I was so very careful to avoid giving offence or hurt the religious feelings of any one in my book, that I had, in my compilation of the life of Mahomed, purposely omitted every passage from the books of the above authors which were in the most remote degree likely to injure the religious feelings of the Mahomedans. Mr. Edginton happened to have, at the moment, Ockley's work in his office, and he himself told me that he had read the passage in that book which related to Mahomed's concubine Marian, and that he thought that passage was very severe on the character of the Prophet. Thereupon I pointed out at once to Mr. Edginton that I had omitted the said passage and other passages of a like nature from my book, which proved what my intentions were, viz., that I had not the remotest intention of writing anything to hurt the feelings of the Mahomedans. After this Mr. Edginton brought Mr. Souter, the chief police commissioner, to where we were sitting. Mr. Edginton, in Mr. Souter's presence, told me that the Mahomedans were an ignorant and turbulent people, and put me in mind regarding what had taken place in Bombay many years ago, when a Parsee had published a portrait of Mahomed, and also told me that the deputation of Mahomedans who were in Mr. Souter's room had informed him that their co-religionists were so excited that they would burn down the houses of the Parsees, would maltreat them, and do other injuries to them. Mr. Souter was present all the while this was said. He put in a question why I had published the book, to which I replied that my object was the diffusion of the knowledge on these subjects amongst those who did not read English.

Mr. Edginton ultimately persuaded me to part with all the unsold copies of my book, which he promised to return after the Mohurram, stating that his object was to pacify the Mahomedans and preserve the public peace. He also asked me for a list of the subscribers to my book.

On the 11th of February, I sent him 85 copies of my book, for which he sent me a receipt. I did not give him any list of the subscribers, but I have subsequently learnt that he wrote to several of them, and in some instances obtained possession of my books which they had subscribed and paid for. The names of the subscribers Mr. Souter probably obtained from the preface of my book, in which I had thanked several of the subscribers of my book by name.

Shortly after I had handed over the books in my possession, I learnt that there was a great commotion amongst the Mahomedan community, and that in the early part of the 11th of February men were actually addressing crowds of Mahomedans from the steps of several of the mosques regarding the supposed insult to their religion, and giving it out as lawful that my life should be taken for the offence, and that my caste fellows should also be punished. I was also informed that on the same day some Mahomedans had called at Dhobie Talao, where I lived, and ascertained the place of my residence. Upon this I became much alarmed, and sent word to Mr. Edginton, on the following morning, that I wished to see him after dark. I accordingly saw Mr. Edginton at his house in Mazagon at about 7.30 p.m. I spoke to him about my fears, and told him that I intended to leave Bombay. Mr. Edginton approved of the course proposed, and said, moreover, that it would be better if I were away until the Mohurram was over. He said that I might go to Poona or Surat. I left Bombay on the morning of the 13th, and heard the next day that the threatened riots had taken place on the day I left.

Rustomjee Hormusjee Jalbhoy.

Witness,

Ardesir Framjee, Solicitor, Bombay.

(True Copy.)

Bombay, 31 March 1874.

Ardesir Framjee, Solicitor, High Court.

APPENDIX (D.)

To Messrs. *Sorabjee Shapoorjee Bengallee, Jehangir Merwanjee, and Phirozeshaw Merwanjee Mehta*, Members of the Sub-Committee appointed to prepare a Memorial in connection with the present Mahomedan Riots,

Gentlemen,

Bombay, 14 March 1874.

WE, the undersigned Parsee residents of Dhobie Talao, Sonapore Beach-road, hereby declare, that on the 11th of February 1874, two days before the present Mahomedan riots in Bombay broke out, we had proceeded in a body to the Mazagon police office to wait upon the Chief Commissioner of Police, Mr. F. Souter, at about 11 o'clock in the forenoon, to give him warning regarding the intended outbreak. As we went in we met Mr. Alfred Edginton, the Deputy Commissioner of Police, who took us aside, and the following is the substance of the conversation which took place between him and ourselves on the occasion.

We stated that we had positive information, which we believed to be true, that the Mahomedans were to fall upon the Parsees residing at Dhobie Talao, Mr. Jalbhoy, the author of the book containing the life of Mahomed, being a resident of that locality, and to commit a dreadful havoc among them. Mr. Edginton told us that we need not be afraid of anything going wrong, that the police had communicated with the leading members of the Mahomedan community, who had promised to meet together next day (that is Thursday, 12th February), and arrange about the prevention of any disturbance of the peace. He further said that we should not let the Mahomedans know from our movements that we were under any apprehension whatsoever, and that in case of their acting otherwise, which may God forbid, the police would bring them to their right senses. After being thus assured, we expressed our thanks to him and returned home.

We are, &c.

(signed)

Naorojee Beiramjee Suntook.

Jamsetjee Rutnagur.

Rustomjee Eduljee Birdy.

Jewajee Burjorjee Ponchkhawalla.

Rustomjee Manockjee Ponchkhawalla.

Cooverjee Dhunjeebhoy Mistry.

Cowasjee Eduljee.

Dorabjee Nusserwanjee Polishwalla.

(True Copy.)

Ardesir Framjee, Solicitor, High Court.

Bombay, 31 March 1874.

APPENDIX (E.)

STATEMENT made by Mr. *Ruttonjee Manekjee Rutnagur* on the 21st day of March 1874.

I AM a sharebroker and reside at Dhobie Talao. At about 11 o'clock a.m. on Friday the 13th of February last, I went to certain cutlers' shops near the Jumma Musjid. While I was making sundry purchases a Parsee named Nanabhoy Bharoocha, who was standing at a corner of the same, came up to me and warned me not to stay in that place, as he was informed that a serious attack on the Parsees was intended that day by the Mahomedans. I did not take much heed of what he said, and proceeded to a neighbouring shop on business. At this time I noticed a number of Mahomedans, Seedees, and Arabs, some of whom armed with bludgeons, hurrying in an excited manner towards the entrance of the said Jumma Musjid. A respectable looking Mussulman about this time came up to me and advised me forthwith to quit the locality if I valued my life; I thereupon became alarmed and left the place. About an hour after my arrival in the Fort, I heard that the threatened attack had been made. The said Nanabhoy Baroocha subsequently informed me that on the day when he warned me as aforesaid, he, having been forewarned, had purposely taken his stand near the said Musjid with a view to warn off Parsee wayfarers from that locality, and that he had actually done so with respect to a number of Parsees.

(signed) *Ruttonjee Manekjee Rutnagur.*

Taken before me,

Ardesir Framjee, Solicitor, High Court, Bombay.

(True Copy.)

Ardesir Framjee, Solicitor, High Court.

Bombay, 31 March 1874.

APPENDIX (F.)

WE, the undersigned Parsees, hereby declare that we were passing along the road called Shaik Memon-street, near the Jumma Musjid, on Friday the 13th day of February 1874, between the hours of 11 and 12 a.m., when stones were thrown upon us by several Mahomedans from the terrace of the said mosque, who were bawling out "Deen, Deen," and also abused us.

(signed) *Rustomjee Eduljee Kakalia.*
Dhunjibhoy Hormusjee Khan.
Burjorjee Ookerjee Mistry.

13 March 1874.

(True Copy.)

Ardesir Framjee, Solicitor, High Court.

Bombay, 31 March 1874.

WE, the undersigned Parsees, hereby declare that we were passing along the road close to the Jumma Musjid, on Friday the 13th February 1874, between the hour of half-past eleven a.m. and 12 noon, when stones were thrown upon us by several Mussulmans from the terrace of the said mosque, who also abused us.

(signed) *Nusserwanjee Ruttonjee.*
Shapoorjee Muncherjee.

Bombay, 14 March 1874.

(True Copy.)

Ardesir Framjee, Solicitor, High Court.

Bombay, 31 March 1874.

APPENDIX (G.)

TRANSLATION of a Statement written in the Guzerati Language by *Withul Motee* and others, on the 6th day of April 1874.

WE, the undersigned Hindu merchants and grain shopkeepers, hereby state that on Friday the 13th February 1874, on which day the Mussulman riot in Bombay took place,

we had heard in the morning rumours regarding the same, and we had also observed a larger number of Mussulmans than usual going towards the Jumma Musjid, passing by our shops which are situated in the Shaik Abdool Rehman-street. In consequence of this we despatched two persons for inquiries, who returned with the news that a large crowd of Mussulmans had gathered outside the Musjid, and that the police were not seen there. After receiving this information, and apprehending a disturbance, we closed our shops. This was at about half-past 12 o'clock. In about half an hour afterwards the riot commenced.

Bombay, dated 6th April 1874, Monday, the 5th Vud of the month of Chaitra of the year of Sumvat 1930.

(signed) *Vithul Motee.*
Lalchund Goverdhun.
Lakhia Nagur.
Maneckchund Ghirdhur.
Jogee Dewchund.
Soorjee Dewchund.

Witness, *Wassoodew Babajee Nowrunga,*
 Agent for the Patent Plumbago Crucible
 Company of London.

(True Copy.)

Ardesir Framjee, Solicitor, High Court.

Bombay, 8 April 1874.

APPENDIX (H).

STATEMENT OF *J. M. Maclean, Esq.*

(From the "Bombay Gazette," 16 February 1874.)

BETWEEN half-past ten and eleven yesterday morning, I saw some Parsees running down the marine lines evidently in a state of extreme agitation, and immediately afterwards a European constable drove up to Colonel Scott's bungalow, the brigadier being at church, and asked him in Mr. Souter's name to send out the company of the 20th N.I., which had been held in readiness for two days, to assist the civil power. Just afterwards, Rowjee, the Mussulman manager of Jaffer Sulliman's shop in the fort, called to see me on business; and without thinking that there might be some risk in going out with such a companion, I said he might take me with him in his shigram to see what was going on. We drove past the Framjee Cowasjee Institute on the Girgaum-road, and as soon as we reached the Parsee quarter beginning at the Money School, we observed that the road was crowded with Parsees, who were all armed with long and heavy bludgeons, and were shouting and gesticulating with the utmost energy. As we went on the crowd grew thicker, and close to the Parsee fire-temple, about a hundred of them, some I noticed, disguised as Mahomedans, came round the gharry with sticks raised, threatening to assault us. The sticks were very formidable shillelaghs, and things began to look very uncomfortable. Some respectable Parsees, however, recognised me and tried to keep the roughs quiet, crying out, "Don't be afraid, Mr. Maclean, no one wants to hurt you." I called to the coachman to stop, and was getting out to remonstrate with the club-wielders, when Rowjee, with more sense, shouted to the man to drive on as fast as he could. The Parsees, in fact, had the gharry stopped, were quite in the mood to beat my Mussulman companion to death. The horse went off at a gallop amidst the yells of the Parsees, and for several minutes, along two or three hundred yards of the Girgaum-road, in the middle of the day, with only two police constables to be seen for that whole distance, the open shigram we were in was exposed to a perfect hail of clubs hurled with right good will by Parsees lining the road on either side. Fortunately the tramway is not being laid down this road, so that there were no loose stones at hand for our friends to throw at us, or we should possibly have been seriously injured. As it was, the long clubs, though savagely thrown, were warded off by the sides and the roof of the gharry, and we escaped without hurt. At Jaffer Sulliman's place in Girgaum, I got another conveyance, and a Mahratta coachman, and drove back with another European gentleman and a Parsee to have a talk with the Parsees. I had the presumption to think that as there appeared to be no government in Bombay, I might perhaps do something by my own personal influence to induce men, who are generally peaceful and well-disposed, to give up taking the law into their own hands. As soon as I re-entered the Parsee quarter, the people came thronging round the carriage, and offered the most profuse apologies for what had occurred. They assured me that they had the greatest respect for me, and that their only object had been to demolish Jaffer Sulliman's man. I suggested that it had been rather an awkward mistake for me, and then went on to urge that nothing could justify them in thrashing even a Mussulman who had given them no cause of offence, and was quite helpless to resist them. They all with one voice exclaimed that the police would not protect their homes and temples, and what were they to do? Were they to sit still and be murdered

murdered by their enemies? They entreated me to come and see the men wounded by Mussulman rioters that very morning, and to observe that even up to that moment there was no guard set upon their fire-temple. As the carriage went slowly along, the crowd of excited Parsees, all talking together, always gathering force, Mr. Souter, accompanied by superintendent Mills and half a dozen sowars, turned out of a side street leading from the Mahomedan burial-ground and cantered along the road. He reined in his horse when he saw me, and I got out and said to him, that surely this sort of thing ought not to be allowed to go on. He said "Well, what am I to do? I am working night and day to keep the peace, but we have no police force. The Bench of Justices choose to cut down the strength of the European mounted police, half-a-dozen of whom would be of more use to me now than a hundred natives." I suggested, "But you surely might call out the military and issue a proclamation commanding the people not to assemble in disorderly crowds, with sticks in their hands, but to keep in their houses?" He replied, "The military have been called out" (there were none at the time in the neighbourhood); "and it is the Parsees who are to blame for the whole row. There were some Mussulmans peacefully burying a corpse in the Sonapore graveyard, and the Parsees began the riot by throwing stones and sticks at them from the adjoining houses. I am going to tell the Governor now that it is all the Parsees' own fault." I told Mr. Souter I had had personal experience that there were Parsee as well as Mussulman roughs, and added, that it seemed to me the Government ought to keep the peace, no matter who was originally to blame. Mr. Souter then rode off, and I went into a big Parsee house next door to the fire-temple, in which I saw three seriously wounded Parsees who were having their hurts dressed by Dr. Furdoonjee Servai of the Grant Medical College. The doctor showed me on the head of one of these men two deep cuts which had evidently been made by some sharp instrument; and it is believed that the Seedee vagabonds who form the chief fighting strength of the Mussulman mob carry small hatchets concealed about them, as well as clubs and stones. I spoke warmly to the Parsees present, many of them well-known men, about the impropriety of the conduct of their people in opposing force to force, and they all said, "We shall be perfectly satisfied to remain quietly at home, if the Government will only give us a corporal's guard to protect our fire-temple." I noticed that some policemen had come up by this time, but the Parsees will not trust the police, the force being composed principally of Mussulmans who, they say, sympathise with the rioters.

I then tried to get the Parsee account of how the row began, and this, in substance, is their story. They assert that the Mahomedans, to the number of about 400, marched down to the Sonapore burial ground armed with sticks, and that on their way from Bholeshwur these men attacked two Parsees who with difficulty found shelter in a Hindoo house. A Bunniah, Narotum Hurrilall by name, can, I was informed, be produced as a witness to prove this fact. Arrived at the burial ground, which is overlooked by some lofty Parsee houses, the Mussulmans, according to the statements of the Parsees, began the riot by throwing stones at the windows, and afterwards sallied out into the streets and maltreated every Parsee they met. On this occasion the Parsees were prepared to defend themselves, and the result was that one man on each side was killed and many were severely injured. The statement of the police, on the other hand, is that it was the Parsees who first threw missiles from their windows into the graveyard, and that the Mahomedans would have gone home without doing any mischief if they had not been first attacked. Mr. Souter himself maintains this side of the story with the utmost vehemence, but the Parsees unanimously declared that the chief commissioner of police is bitterly prejudiced against them. I should hesitate to say anything further on this subject; for nothing can be more distasteful to me personally, than to have to say a word against a man for whom I have always had a sincere liking and respect, but it appears to me that I am bound to publish a statement, which was made and signed in my presence yesterday at the house of Mr. Byramjee Dadabhoy, Registrar of Bombay, by several well-known Parsees who are quite ready to come forward, along with Mr. Byramjee himself, to testify to the truth of the statement. These gentlemen affirm then, that as Mr. Souter was riding past Mr. Byramjee's house in one of the side streets leading from the Churney-road to the Girgaum-road, all the inhabitants being out in their verandahs and talking of course their hardest, he called out: "Damn you Parsees, you have provoked this row. The Mussulmans were quite orderly, but you provoked the row." Mr. Byramjee Dadabhoy: "But, sir, one of our Parsees is killed." Mr. Souter: "I am very glad of it, and I should like to see all the Parsees killed, and I will tell the Governor not to help the Parsees, and I will remove all the police force." Mr. N. R. Ranina: "Sir, it's a great slur upon the Parsees." Mr. Souter: "Damn you, who are you? Sowar, take him up"; and then Mr. Souter with his stick raised rode up the steps and was going to beat the man, but he changed his mind and rode away. Of course Mr. Souter did not mean what he said; he only spoke in his haste, when he was irritated beyond measure by what had occurred at the burial-ground; but it is a serious thing when the chief of the police cannot refrain from making injudicious speeches of this kind instead of keeping his judgment cool to deal fairly with rioters of all creeds.

The object of this narrative is simply to state my experience and leave the public to form their own opinion on the subject. I have tried to speak impartially of Mussulman and Parsees, and to describe as accurately as I could the state of confusion into which the city of Bombay has been allowed to drift.

Bombay, 16 February 1874.

(signed) J. M. Maclean.

APPENDIX (I).

LETTER from *Byramjee Jeejeebhoy*, Esq., late Member of the Legislative Council of Bombay, to *F. H. Souter*, Esq., Commissioner of Police.

Sir,

Bombay, 14 February 1874.

I BEG to call your attention to the state of the city, especially in the neighbourhood of Khetwaddy, Dhunjee Dhongaria Street, Abdool Rahiman, and other streets adjacent. In these quarters mobs of Mahomedans have, on two or three occasions this morning, collected in a threatening manner, to the alarm and terror of the inhabitants, and these mobs have not been attacked and dispersed by the police, but have been simply turned back only to collect again at some other point that seems more defenceless.

On inquiring at Khetwaddy main road, I was informed by the European constables there that they were quite exhausted, having been on duty since one o'clock yesterday afternoon, that they had no proper communication with the different sections of police, and consequently were unable to assemble in sufficient strength to attack and disperse the rioters. Under these circumstances, I beg, on behalf of my countrymen of the neighbourhood in question, that you will obtain further assistance, as it is evident that the police force, in its present condition, is unable to cope with the rioters, who, if by any chance they obtain an opportunity, will renew the dreadful outrages of yesterday. I have been requested by several deputations of my countrymen to make this communication to you.

I submit to you that what has occurred to-day tends to show that all necessary precautions have not been taken, and I take the liberty of suggesting that the stationing of the military in these districts will alone scare the evil doers, and restore confidence to the Parsee community.

It is much safer to err on the side of peace and order, and to put beyond all possible doubt the chance of the repetition of what occurred yesterday.

H. F. Souter, Esq., C.S.I.,
Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Byramjee Jeejeebhoy*.

(True Copy.)

Ardesir Framjee, Solicitor, High Court.

Bombay, 31 March 1874.

ANSWER to the above Letter.

My dear Sir,

MR. SOUTER is at this moment patrolling the city with a large party of police. I will give him your letter when he comes. I have myself visited the places you mention, some of them several times during to-day, and have not seen nor heard anything of the threatening mobs you write of. There are two companies of Native Infantry and one of European Infantry under arms, and in readiness to turn out instantly. The parties of police stationed at the different posts you mentioned will be relieved every 24 hours. They are in communication with each other by means of mounted patrols. There are altogether about 600 men now doing duty in the B. and C. Divisions.

There has up to this time been no rioting since yesterday. Only two or three men, so far as I at present know, have been guilty of disorderly behaviour to-day, and I most sincerely hope that the present excitement will speedily subside. The Commissioner has been in communication to-day with his Excellency the Governor, and further measures for the security of the city are under consideration. Your suggestion will I know receive Mr. Souter's prompt and careful attention.

The Honourable Byramjee Jeejeebhoy,
&c. &c. &c.
14 February 1874.

Believe me, &c.
(signed) *A. Edgington*.

(True Copy.)

Ardesir Framjee, Solicitor, High Court.

Bombay, 31 March 1874.

APPENDIX (J.)

STATEMENT of *H. W. Payne*, Esq., of Messrs. Jefferson & Payne, Solicitors, High Court, Bombay.

ON the 14th February 1874, at about 2 p.m., I accompanied Mr. Byramjee Jeejeebhoy and Mr. Nanabhoy Byramjee Jeejeebhoy and another gentleman to the Khetwaddy main road; there we were informed by the European constables that a mob of Mahomedans, armed with sticks, had on two occasions on that morning collected at the point. That the police were unable to attack them, as they had only about 20 police sepoy, and these were barely sufficient to enable them to maintain their post. That they had formed their sepoy across the road when the mob came up on both occasions, but no attack was made on either side, and the mob had turned back. One of these police constables also said that they were exhausted, and had been on duty since one o'clock the afternoon previous; that they had no sowars to communicate with other police posts, and were consequently unable to assemble in sufficient force to enable them to disperse the rioters. He also said that it was to be regretted that the military were not called out to assist the police, as they feared that in their exhausted state they were not sufficiently strong to cope with the rioters, if they made an attack in large numbers. He also informed us that some Parsees had assisted the Police in turning the rioters back on the two occasions referred to. I may add that the Parsee women and children at the windows of the houses in the neighbourhood appeared to be in a state of great terror and anxiety.

(signed) *Henry W. Payne.*

14 March 1874.

(True Copy.)

Bombay, 31 March 1874.

Ardesir Framjee, Solicitor, High Court.

APPENDIX (K.)

(From the "Akhbar-i-Soodagur," a Guzerati Daily Newspaper, of 26th February 1874.)

TRANSLATION of a Letter, signed by Jeevunlaljee Maharaj, through his Mehta Nagindas Permahandas, and 400 other Hindus, and addressed to *F. Souter*, Esq., Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

Sir,

WE, the undersigned residents of the Bhooleshwur locality, beg to inform you that this day morning (Sunday, 15th February 1874) about 300 Mussulmans, with sticks, were going with a funeral along the Bhooleshwur Road, who, upon seeing a Parsee there, rushed at him, and the Parsee upon receiving some blows ran into the Bhooleshwur Temple for his safety. The Mussulmans began to rush into the temple in order to catch hold of him, but as the day was the Shivratri Holiday, and as there was a large collection of Hindus in the temple, they immediately shut the temple doors, and thus prevented the Mussulmans from going into the temple. We hereby inform you that as Bhoiwada and Bhooleshwur-streets are the chief streets from which the dead bodies of Mahomedans are taken to their burial ground, and as upon these streets are situated the chief temples of our Hindus, and the shops for the sale of their ornaments; and as, on the other hand, the Parsees also frequent these streets in pursuance of their callings, we entertain great apprehensions of riot breaking out in this direction. Therefore, we request you to make some "bundobust," or arrangement for the preservation of peace in the Bhooleshwur locality, or to stop Mahomedan funeral processions from going through Bhoiwada-street along the Bhooleshwur Road.

We have, &c.

(signed) *Jeevanlaljee Maharaj*,
By his Mehta Nagindass Permahandas,
and 400 other Hindus.

(True Translation.)

Ardesir Framjee,
Solicitor, High Court.

Bombay, 31 March 1874.

APPENDIX (L.)

THE Assault on the Inspector in the Fort.

(From the "Times of India," 16th February 1874.)

THE statement in his Excellency the Governor's letter to Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, that a European inspector was assaulted and injured in the fort by some Parsees, whom he endeavoured to prevent assaulting a Mussulman, has much troubled the Parsee community. We have received from a Parsee eye-witness the following account of the affair, and as his Excellency the Governor thought proper to found his imputation on the Parsees from what the inspector said, it is as well "to hear the other side," even after the judgment has been passed upon them. Here is the Parsee version:—"I was present when the so-called assault was committed on the European inspector. At about 11.30 a.m. on Sunday, a report being circulated in the fort that the Arabs and Seedees, instigated by the Mahomedans, were coming to plunder the shops and fight with the Parsees, they immediately shut their shops. Most of the respectable shopkeepers, including my father, took peaceably to their homes, although they were insulted by the more excited of the population for the adoption of such a course—that of concealing themselves in their houses; and the rest of them, including a respectable element of the Parsee community, provided themselves with clubs to defend their wives and properties. My youthful disposition did not admit of adopting the course pursued by my father, and so I repaired to the Manekjee Sett's Agiary, and sat there, but without carrying anything resembling a stick even with me. At this time there was not a single sepoy to be seen, and still less a European constable. The Parsees at this time were in a most excited state of fury. Now I come to the point. When the general excitement had a little abated, a European constable (perhaps the inspector) with about six sepoys, came rushing on, actually like a maniac, just gave a box to one, a kick to another, a slap to a third, without, I most positively say, the slightest provocation. But this is not all, being more emboldened, he gave a flat slap to a poor old Parsee priest on his chest, who fell heavily on the ground, and received considerable injury. But the constable's stupidity does not end here: he told the sepoys to carry the poor priest to the chowkey! Some of the Parsees remonstrated with the constable on his unjustifiable conduct. He rushed against the Parsees who remonstrated with him. In the scuffle that ensued between the Parsees and the constable with his myrmidons he received a stroke from a bludgeon. Who gave him the wound I did not see in the confusion; whether he received the wound from a Parsee or a sepoy just going to pound the head of a Parsee."

Another Parsee writes:—"The inspector came up quite excited, and seeing the Parsees at Agiary, without any cause of provocation, gave a sound blow on the head to a poor mobed (priest) who was standing there, and on receiving which the poor mobed fell insensible on the ground. The Parsees rushed in to rescue the poor mobed (Parsee priest), and in the general affray the inspector received a blow from the hand of a Parsee. Now, sir, it is for you now to think who was the aggressive party." When a bishop, who was nearly as august a personage as his Excellency the Governor, complained that a dog had bitten the calf of his leg, the Rev. Sydney Smith shrewdly said that it would be desirable to have the dog's version of the affray. In this instance we have, fortunately, got the Parsee's version of the assault committed on his Excellency's inspector.

APPENDIX (M.)

List containing the Names of Parsee Families who had come to Reside in the Fort for Better Protection since the breaking out of the Riots on the 13th February 1874.

From Kandawalla Mohulla.

Nowrojee Hormusjee Mowrawalla.
Pestonjee Rustumjee Fitter.
Hormusjee Bhicajee Gadiali.
Jamsetjee Framjee Kolabawalla.
Rustumjee Sumacharwalla.
Motabhai Hormusjee Daroowalla.
Cawasjee Nowrojee Ponchkhanawalla.
Ardesir Sorabjee Bharoocha.
Maneckjee Cursetjee Manintana.
Sorabjee Pestonjee Batliwalla.

Nowrojee Sheriadjee Broacha.
Merwanjee Uslajee Broacha.
Cawasjee Uslajee Broacha.
Nowrojee Shereardjee Daroowalla.
Jamsetjee Maneckjee Daroowalla.
Edulee Dhunjeebhoy Kirurd.
Furdoonjee Dadabhoy Patel.
Hormusjee Dadabhoy Printer.
Pestonjee Dorabjee Daroowalla.

From

From Dhunjee Doongaria-street, Shaik Abdool Rehmon-street, Meerza-street, Agiary-street, and Hanooman-lane.

Dinshaw Bomanjee Keranwalla.
Cowasjee Framjee Petiwalla.
Byramjee Jamsetjee Bhugwagar.
Dadabhoy Dinshaw Kartuck.
Nanabhoy Cowasjee Guzdar.
Sorabjee Eduljee Kootar.
Dadabhoy Ruttonjee Thoothi.
Bhikajee Sorabjee Kootar.
Eduljee Cowasjee Bhatena.
Pestonjee Eduljee Dhala.
Ruttonjee Rustomjee Valsaria.
Nowrojee Pallonjee Keranwalla.
Jamsetjee Bezonjee Choksee.
Nusserwanjee Jamsetjee.
Sorabjee Dadabhoy Kapudia.
Hormusjee Pallonjee Mistry.
Cowasjee Rustomjee Manjra.
Pestonjee Muncherjee Doctor.
Muncherjee Hormuzjee Bhabha.

Nusserwanjee Dhunjheeboy Daroowalla.
Framjee Ruttonjee Coachman.
Pestonjee Cowasjee Solicitor.
Framjee Cowasjee Powri.
Pallonjee Pestonjee Raghee.
Rustomjee Maneckjee Engineer.
Jamsetjee Hormuzjee Baria.
Rustomjee Framjee Powri.
Shapoorjee Hormuzjee Kartuck.
Rustomjee Nowrojee Vurgara.
Hormusjee Cursetjee Ghaswalla.
Cursetjee Eduljee Mistry.
Hormusjee Cawasjee Daji Ghandhina.
Dossabhoy Manockjee Kootar.
Cowasjee Fakirjee Parelwalla.
Nusserwanjee Nowrojee Muccadam.
Manockjee Pestonjee Arjain.
Muncherjee Cowasjee Munguldasna.

From Bhendi Bazaar.

Furdoonjee Bhorucha.
Sorabjee Pestonjee Coachman.
Rustomjee Nowrojee Billard - Table -
wala.
Fackirjee Sorabjee Bhorucha.
Shapoorjee Nusserwanjee Sooj.
Shapoorjee Cooverjee Mistry.
Eduljee Dhunjeebhoy Daroowalla.

Pallonjee Jeevunjee Mistry.
Framjee Pestonjee Lackdawalla.
Pestonjee Jamsetjee.
Dhunjeebhoy Pestonjee.
Cursetjee Byramjee Bhorucha.
Dadabhoy Hormusjee Engineer.
Adirjee Bezonjee Patetawalla.
Muncherjee Fackirjee Tabelwalla.

From Null Bazaar.

Pestonjee Cawasjee Sodawaterwalla.

From Nagpada.

Jeewunjee Jamsetjee Shapur Teylen.
Dadabhai Jamsetjee Shapur Taylen.

Jeewanjee Jamsetjee Bhatena.

From Dhobie Talao.

Sorabjee Hormusjee Lackdawalla.
Dorabjee Maneckjee Shroff.
Ardesir Pallonjee Mistry.
Muncherjee Eduljee Colabawalla.
Nanabhoy Eduljee Colabawalla.
Bomanjee Dhunjeebhoy Talati.
Hormusjee Framjee Pagdiwalla.
Jeevanjee Framjee Chapakhanawala.
Bhickibai, sister of. Dosabhai Mistry.
Nanabhoy Nusserwanjee Kharegat.
Cursetjee Jamsetjee Rozadaraona.

Manockjee Heerjeebhoy Mistry.
Burjorjee Jamsetjee Bankwalla.
Marwanjee Heerjeebhoy Bottlewalla.
Daughter-in-law of Palonjee Bottlewalla.
Nowrojee Pestonjee Kapadia.
Dossabai Bagana.
Temooljee Manockjee Vaid.
Manockjee Framjee Writer.
Dorabjee Maneckjee Daroowalla.
Nanabhai Framjee Spencer.
Muncherjee Pestonjee Kurunjia.

From Chundanwadi.

Bomanjee Rustomjee Bomon Byramna.
Dorabjee Hormusjee Valsaria.
Bajonjee Nanabhoy Valsaria.

Rutanjee Marwanjee Khuragat.
Framjee Eduljee Mistry.
Jeejeebhoy Cursetjee Master.

From Sonapore-lane.

Framjee Jamsetjee Dubash.
Merwanjee Jamsetjee Aduryanwalla.

Jamsetjee Nowrojee Colabawalla.

From Dady Shett Ateshbehram Street.

Jamsetjee Framjee Khory.
Peroshaw Muncherjee.
Nowrojee Cowasjee Kyas.

Hormusjee Jamsetjee Francees.
Muncherjee Nowrojee Lakdawalla.

From Keralawadi.

Hormusjee Nowrojee Saklatwala.

Sorabjee Ruttonjee Doctor.

From Girgaum.

Ruttonjee Eduljee Battlewala.
Aduljee Bomanjee Mistry.
Dosabhoy Dhunjeebhoy Dhunnapatelna.
Shapurjee Cursetjee Divicha.
Cursetjee Nowrojee Wadia.

Nowrojee Cowasjee Darookhanawala.
Cowasjee Nowrojee Mistry.
Nowrojee Cowasjee Mistry.
Fakirjee Pallonjee Etchaporla.

From Khetwadi.

Nanabhoy, Servant of Motibai.
Jamsetjee Hormusjee Dharoowala.
Pullonjee Cursetjee Cama.
Framjee Muncherjee Harda.
Sapoorjee Sorabjee Setna.
Dinshah Shapoorjee Dallasna.
Dinshah Eduljee Law.
Eduljee Dorabjee Saklatwala.
Dhunjeebhoy Dorabjee Malagamwala.
Nowrojee Nusscrwanjee Khedwar.
Aspendiarjee Jamsetjee Vulsaria.

Sapoorjee Dorabjee Saklatwara.
Framjee Dhunjeebhoy Cama.
Dadabhoy Cowasjee Bugli.
Jehangirjee Eduljee Jijoriwala.
Kaikashroo Nowrojee Kabrajee.
Framjee Eduljee Oograniwala.
Nowrojee Kaikobad Mody.
Byramjee Muncherjee Mistry.
Rustomjee Jamsetjee Colabawala.
Eduljee Sorabjee Madun.

From Two Tank Road.

Sapoorjee Sorabjee Mistry.
Dadabbhai Jamsetjee Daroowala.

Shapoorjee Sorabjee Bhatiwala.

From Grant Road.

Rustomjee Pallonjee Kapadia.
Eduljee Framjee Mistry.
Merwanjee Bejonjee Doobash.
Dhunjeebhai Pallonjee Botliwala.
Jamsetjee Dhunjeebhoy Mistry.

Nanabhoy Burjorjee Shaklatwala.
Shapoorjee Nusscrwanjee Dundash.
Dinshahjee Framjee Daver.
Burjorjee Jeevanjee Mowjee.
Dhunjeebhoy Pestonjee Mehta.

From Old Jail Road.

Sorabjee Burjorjee Tadiwala.

From Oomerkady.

Bomanjee Sorabjee Master.

(True Copy.)

(signed) *Ardesir Framjee*, Solicitor,
High Court.

Bombay, 31 March 1874.

APPENDIX (N.)

EXTRACTS from "Tarikh-us-Salatin-ul-Ajam," published in Bombay, by Aga Mahommed Sâdick Sâhib, 1277 Hijra, corresponding with the Christian Year 1861.

(Translation.)

A MAGI named Zardusht appeared in his (King Gushtasp's) reign. He was a disciple of one of the disciples of Armia (Prophet Jeremiah): may God bless him! During the time that Zardusht attended on this prophet, he greedily devoured some of his doctrines; and

and he produced them (the doctrines) in a terse style. Conscious of his weakness, he delivered himself up to the care of *Shaitan* (Satan), pretended to have received some divine inspiration, and harboured many vague conceits in the hollow of his brain. Meantime he was reported to have committed some ignominious crime, for which he was constrained to make his escape with treble speed under cover of the darkness of the night.

(Translation.)

And they set down the trifles and *bagatelles* of that vile and abandoned person on those leaves (parchments) which deserved to be consigned to fire.

(Translation.)

The consequence thereof was that during the reign of this king (Gushtasp) people became proselytized to the creed of the Magi, surrendered to his mandates, and sank into the whirlpool of infidelity, and into the abyss of error. They regarded it as lawful and enjoined by God to cohabit with their mothers and sisters.

(Translation.)

The following few opinions are the offspring of the sullen and turbid mind of that damned accursed person (Zoroaster). "The Almighty God lived by himself for a long time. As his period of solitude continued longer, grief sat on him, and he felt a prey to biting cares and uneasiness. In this languor, *Iblis* (Satan) took his birth. As the *Iblis* was of a very ugly and repulsive countenance, God turned away from him with disgust, and wished to conquer him, when *Iblis* becoming helpless, ran away from his sight, and has continued execrable ever since."

EXTRACT from "Shams-ul-Loghat," published in Bombay by Kazi Ibrahim bin Kazi Noor Mahommed, of Porebunder, and Nuroodin bin Jiva Khan, revised by Moulwi Nurul Huda and Talib Ali, 1277 Hijra, corresponding with the Christian Year 1861.

(Translation.)

Zaratusht, the name of a philosopher, who promulgated the religion of the worship of fire. May the curse of God be upon him!

(Translation.)

Zand, the name of a book, composed by Ibrahim Zartusht, founded on the false religion of the worship of fire.

(True Translation.)

(signed) *Bahmanji Dosabhai*, Munshi.

Bombay, 31 March 1874.

(No. 18 of 1874.)

Government of India.—Home Department.—Judicial.—Police.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Salisbury*, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

My Lord Marquis,

Fort William, 2 June 1874.

WE have received from the Government of Bombay a letter of the 20th instant, transmitting copy of the Despatch addressed to your Lordship on the 8th May, No. 6, on the subject of a memorial from the Parsee inhabitants of Bombay with respect to the recent riots in that city.

2. We do not feel called upon to enter upon the subject of the Memorial, as it was addressed to Her Majesty's Government and not to the Government of India; but we desire to submit, for the consideration of your Lordship, some

observations with regard to two references to the action and opinion of this Government which are contained in the Despatch.

3. The first will be found in the 8th, 9th, and 10th paragraphs of the Despatch. In those paragraphs the Government of Bombay express their opinion "that military force should not be brought into active operation against rioters unless or until it is known, or has been shown, that the civil force at the disposal of the authorities is unable to overcome them," and they contend that the assistance of the military force was not earlier required at Bombay, because "in no single instance in the riots was it known that the police could not master the rioters as soon as they acted in a body against them." The Government of Bombay rightly consider that the principle which they lay down is one of much importance, and request the expression of your Lordship's views upon the subject.

4. In our letter to the Government of Bombay of the 2nd April, No. 108, a copy of which was furnished to your Lordship with our Despatch of the 10th idem, No. 10, we indicated our opinion (purposely in guarded terms, in order to avoid as far as possible any appearance of disagreement with the Government of Bombay) that the aid of military force might with advantage have been earlier used upon the occasion of the late riots. As the general question is now raised, we consider it to be our duty to state to your Lordship that we differ altogether from the opinion expressed by the Government of Bombay, that it is right to wait until it has been shown that the police are unable to check a riot, or in other words, to allow the rioters for a time to remain unchecked, before calling in the assistance of the military force; on the contrary, we conceive that in India, on the first apprehension of any serious riot, the right course is to assemble such a military force as will show those who are disposed to break the peace that any attempt of the kind must be ineffectual, and to make use of that force promptly if occasion should require it. Hesitation and delay under such circumstances appear to us to involve great danger, especially when the character of the population which composes many of our Indian cities is taken into consideration, and regard is had to the political danger of any appearance of inability on the part of the executive Government to put down a disturbance.

5. It is in our opinion the more necessary to express our views clearly to your Lordship upon this subject, because we observed that in a speech addressed to the members of the Bombay University, his Excellency the Governor of Bombay expressed a reluctance to call upon the military force for aid in time of riot, along with some doubts as to the sufficiency of the powers placed by law in the hands of Government. We are unable to agree with his Excellency on either of these points.

6. The other reference to the Government of India upon which we desire to remark, is contained in the concluding lines of the 20th paragraph. We have to observe that when the provincial service system was commenced in the year 1870, a sum of 10,000 £. per annum was included in the allotment to the Presidency of Bombay as a contribution in aid of the police of the city of Bombay. In the exercise of the discretion committed to Local Governments under the system of provincial services, the Government of Bombay has itself withdrawn this sum for its original purpose, and it cannot therefore be said that the Government of India has made no provision from imperial funds to meet the expense of police in the city of Bombay.

7. The Government of Bombay allude to the representations which have been made to the Government of India on the subject of modifying the provincial service system. Those representations, along with the recommendations which we have received from other local Governments, are under our consideration.

8. The last representation made to us by the Government of Bombay was that we should sanction the introduction of a Bill into the provincial legislature for the purpose of levying a provincial income tax in the Bombay Presidency in order to carry on a high rate of expenditure upon public works, mainly consisting of civil buildings. We declined to comply with this request, and pointed out

out to the Government of Bombay that it would be necessary to reduce their expenditure so as to come within the ways and means at their disposal.

We have, &c.
(signed) *Northbrook.*
Napier of Magdala.
B. H. Ellis.
A. Hobhouse.
E. C. Bayley.
J. F. D. Inglis.

(Judicial, No. 31.)

To His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

My Lord,

India Office, London, 9 July 1874.

Para. 1. THE Despatch of your Excellency in Council, dated 10th April, No. 10 of 1874, on the subject of the riots in Bombay, on the 13th and 15th of February last, has been considered by me in Council.

2. I have since received a memorial from the Parsee community at Bombay, complaining of the conduct of the Government of that Presidency in connexion with the riots, together with a Despatch from the Governor in Council of Bombay of the 8th of May, commenting on the statements in the memorial; and your Excellency's Despatch of the 2nd June, commenting upon the Despatch of the Government of Bombay.

3. The cause of the outbreak on the part of the Mussulmans was an ill-advised expression in a notice of the Life of Mahomet, published by a Parsee. The words employed were in themselves indefensible, and their use was the more to be condemned that a more harmless biography of Mahomet had, in 1851, led to a very serious riot in Bombay. But this provocation did not afford the slightest excuse for the Mahometan riot of the 13th of February, in which some houses of the Parsees were sacked, two fire temples were desecrated, several wounds inflicted, and one life lost.

4. Before that day, the Commissioner of Police was informed of the existence of an angry feeling among the Mussulmans, and he tried to calm it by procuring the suppression of the book. In neglecting at the same time to take suitable precautions against disorder, Mr. Souter committed an error of judgment. If the feelings of the Mahometans were not likely to be dangerously excited, there was no need to interfere with the circulation of the book; if they were, that measure would not by itself avail to ensure the maintenance of order. Unaccompanied by any preparations for repression, it may have been interpreted as a proof of weakness, and have increased, rather than allayed, the prevailing excitement.

5. When, however, the disturbance broke out, and the houses of some respectable Parsees had been plundered and two temples defiled by Arab and Seedee rioters, Mr. Souter behaved with the conspicuous gallantry which he has always evinced throughout his official career. Ably supported by those under his command, he soon quelled the disturbance, and took 64 prisoners. Whatever error of judgment may be laid to Mr. Souter's charge before the actual outbreak, he amply redeemed his character, as a vigorous and resolute officer, when the time for action had arrived.

6. On Saturday, the 14th February, the town continued in a state of feverish excitement, and great apprehensions were entertained with respect to some Mahometan funerals which had been appointed for the next day. On the evening of Saturday, the 14th, Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, and four other leading members of the Parsee community, waited on his Excellency the Governor. They represented that their countrymen were panic-stricken, and implored him to call out the troops for their protection, and for the preservation of order. His Excellency declined to comply with their request. At the same time, he

explained in forcible language to the deputation the view which he entertained of the duties of a Government, in case of public disturbance, and which has been more formally enunciated in their Despatch of 8th May by the Government of Bombay.

7. On the next day, Sunday, the 15th, a large funeral procession of Mussulmans took place, and a still more formidable riot occurred, in which many men were wounded, and five men were killed. The police again exhibited remarkable efficiency in the restoration of order. The learned judge who subsequently tried the rioters was of opinion that the Parsees were in this riot the aggressors. But it should be remembered, to the credit of the Parsees, that they injured no mosque, and destroyed no property of their opponents.

8. After the serious outbreak of Sunday, the 15th, the troops were called out, and no further disturbance worthy of the name occurred. The processions on the occasion of the Mohurram were prohibited, and a large number of the perpetrators of the outrage of Friday, the 13th February, were tried before the High Court, found guilty, and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for five years.

9. The memorial of the Parsees, signed by many gentlemen of high consideration, prays for the institution of an inquiry into the origin of the riots, and the measures taken for their suppression. I am of opinion that such an inquiry would add nothing material to the information we possess, and would serve no useful object. The anxiety of the Parsees to clear the reputation of their community seems to me superfluous. The original indiscretion, however grave, of one of their number, cannot leave any slur upon their well-known loyalty and public spirit. There is not, on the other hand, anything in the conduct of the Commissioner of Police which calls for inquiry. He under-rated the danger to which public order was exposed, but when it came, he met it with vigour and capacity.

10. It remains for me to notice the conduct of the Government of Bombay. I concur with your Excellency in thinking that the recourse to a military force ought not to have been delayed so long. But the error of the Government of Bombay in this respect did not arise from negligence, but from the adoption of a mistaken principle. If they are to be judged according to the views of the duty of a Government which they themselves entertain, no exception can be taken to the course which they pursued. In their Despatch of 8th May, they say, "We therefore avow it to be our opinion that military force should not be brought into active operation against rioters unless or until it is known, or has been shown, that the civil force at the disposal of the authorities is unable to overcome them, and we assert, without fear of contradiction, that in no single instance in these riots was it found that the police could not master the rioters as soon as they acted in a body against them. The active assistance of a soldier was not once required."

11. His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, in his answer to the Parsee deputation on the 14th February, expressed himself in the same sense. His Excellency, if he has been accurately reported, said, "I cannot call the military into the town until I hear that the police are quite unable to cope with the rioters and suppress the riot. The members of your community ought to learn the lesson of defending yourselves from the rioters, and not to depend wholly on Government, but form themselves into what they call in England special constables." His Excellency asked more than once, "Are you Parsees quite unable to defend yourselves?"

12. I must express the distinct dissent of Her Majesty's Government from the view thus taken of their duty by the Government of Bombay. In England, military force is only used for the repression of civil disturbances in the last resort. This usage has its origin and its justification in political circumstances peculiar to England. It is wholly inapplicable to India. There is nothing distasteful to Indian feelings in the employment of troops for the maintenance of order. The nature of Indian institutions, the excitable character of the people, and the many causes of conflict which are supplied to them by diversities of race and creed, impose upon every Indian Government a special obligation to repress
with

with an unfaltering hand the first beginnings of disorder. Compared to the primary importance of this duty, the question whether it should be performed by civil or military agency must take a secondary rank. Nothing is gained by withholding military support until the insufficiency of the police has been ascertained by experiment, but during the time which elapses while the proof is being worked out, extensive loss of life and property may take place, and passions may be excited from which serious calamities may flow. On the other hand, the early display of a sufficient force will tend to save life, by depriving the disorderly of all hope of impunity.

13. Some observations attributed to the Governor of Bombay, in a speech made shortly after these riots, appear to indicate a doubt in his mind whether his legal powers are adequate to enable him to act with promptitude in the suppression of disorder. These doubts, if he entertains them, will be set at rest for the future by the recent extension to the Presidency towns of Sections 480 to 488 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, of which the provisions are in harmony with the principles I have laid down.

14. An impression appears to have prevailed in the minds of some of the Parsee community that the Governor of Bombay was animated by a spirit of hostility to them. I am unable to find any trace of such a feeling in his language or his measures. He did not in any respect depart from the careful impartiality which is required by his high position.

15. A copy of this Despatch has been forwarded to the Government of Bombay.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Salisbury.*

NOTE.

THE proceedings of meetings of Parsees held in Bombay in connection with the riots, and reports of the proceedings of the police courts and High Courts, will be presented hereafter.

16 July 1874.

H. L. Anderson, Secretary,
Judicial Department.

EAST INDIA (BOMBAY RIOTS).

COPIES of all DESPATCHES received at, or sent from, the India Office in reference to the recent RIOTS in *Bombay*; of all REPORTS by the Commissioners of Police at *Bombay* relating to the said RIOTS, or subsequent Proceedings consequent thereon; &c.

(*Mr. Dunbar.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
17 July 1874.

[*Price 1 s. 10 d.*]

305.

Under 8 oz.

RUSSIA. No. 2 (1874).

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING.

CENTRAL ASIA.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1874.

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Correspondence respecting Central Asia.

No. 1.

Mr. Doria to Earl Granville.—(Received December 29.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, December 20, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship copy of the Treaty of Peace between Russia and the Khan of Khiva, which is published in the "Messenger Officiel" of the 13th instant. The text of the Treaty is preceded by a preamble, and explains the reason by which Russia was actuated in undertaking the expedition to Khiva, and the motives by which she has been influenced in making the various stipulations in the Treaty.

I am, &c.
(Signed) WM. DORIA.

Inclosure in No. 1.

Conditions de Paix proposées par le Commandant-en-chef de l'Armée d'Opérations contre le Khiva, l'Aide-de-camp Général de Kaufmann I, et acceptées par le Khan de Khiva, Séid Mouhamed Rahim Boghadour Khan.

ARTICLE I.

Séid Mouhamed Rahim Boghadour Khan se reconnaît fidèle serviteur de l'Empereur de toutes les Russies. Il renonce à toutes relations amicales directes avec les Souverains et Khans voisins, et à la conclusion de toutes Conventions de Commerce ou autres avec eux; il s'engage à n'entreprendre contre eux aucune opération de guerre à l'insu ou sans l'assentiment des autorités militaires supérieures Russes.

ARTICLE II.

La frontière entre les territoires Russe et Khivien sera l'Amou-Daria, à partir de Koukertli, en descendant le cours du fleuve, jusqu'à la sortie de la branche la plus occidentale de l'Amou-Daria, et de ce point, en suivant cette branche jusqu'à son embouchure de la Mer d'Aral; plus loin, la frontière longera le rivage de cette mer jusqu'au Cap Ourgou, et de là elle suivra le pied du versant méridional de l'Oust Ourt, jusqu'à ce que l'on appelle l'ancien cours du fleuve Amou.

ARTICLE III.

Toute la rive droite de l'Amou Daria et tous les territoires qu'il baigne, et qui jusqu'aujourd'hui ont été considérés comme territoires Khiviens, passent de la possession du Khan à celle de la Russie avec toutes les populations qui y résident ou qui y campent. Les parcelles de terrain situées sur la rive droite, et qui sont actuellement propriété du Khan, ou dont il a octroyé la jouissance à des fonctionnaires du Khanat, passent avec le reste en la possession du Gouvernement Russe, sans que les anciens propriétaires puissent élever aucune prétention. Il est réservé au Khan de les dédommager pour leurs pertes par des terrains situés sur la rive gauche.

ARTICLE IV.

Dans le cas où, conformément à la volonté de Sa Majesté l'Empereur, la possession d'une partie de cette rive droite serait transférée à l'Emir de Boukhara, le Khan de Khiva

reconnaîtra ce dernier comme légitime possesseur de cette partie de ses anciens domaines, et renoncera à toute intention d'y rétablir son autorité.

ARTICLE V.

Il est exclusivement réservé aux bâtiments à vapeur et autres navires Russes, appartenant soit au Gouvernement, soit aux particuliers, de naviguer librement sur l'Amou-Daria. Les barques Khiviennes et Boukhariennes ne peuvent jouir de ce droit que moyennant une permission spéciale de l'autorité supérieure Russe de l'Asie Centrale.

ARTICLE VI.

Les Russes ont le droit d'établir les ports dans les localités de la rive gauche où ils le jugeront nécessaire et opportun. Le Gouvernement du Khan répond de la sécurité et de la conservation de ces ports. La confirmation des localités choisies pour leur établissement dépend de l'autorité supérieure Russe de l'Asie Centrale.

ARTICLE VII.

Indépendamment de ces ports, les Russes ont le droit d'avoir des factoreries sur la rive gauche de l'Amou-Daria pour l'entrepôt et l'emmagasinage de leurs marchandises. Le Gouvernement du Khan s'engage à délivrer pour l'établissement de ces factoreries, dans les localités qui seront désignées par l'autorité supérieure Russe de l'Asie Centrale, des terres inoccupées en quantité suffisante pour la construction des ports, des magasins, des emplacements destinés aux employés des factoreries, et à ceux qui y auront affaire, pour l'organisation des comptoirs des marchands et de fermes agricoles. Ces factoreries, avec tous ceux qui les habitent et les marchandises qu'elles contiennent, sont placées sous la protection immédiate du Gouvernement du Khan, qui répond de leur sécurité et de leur conservation.

ARTICLE VIII.

Toutes les villes et les villages du Khanat de Khiva sont désormais ouverts au commerce Russe. Les marchands et les caravanes Russes peuvent circuler librement dans toute l'étendue du Khanat et jouissent de la protection spéciale des autorités locales. Le Gouvernement du Khan répond de la sécurité des caravanes et des dépôts de marchandises.

ARTICLE IX.

Les marchands Russes, faisant le commerce dans le Khanat, sont affranchis du paiement du ziafet et de toute espèce de redevance commerciale, de même que les marchands Khiviens sont depuis longtemps exemptés du ziafet, tant sur la route par Kazalinsk qu'à Orenbourg, et dans les ports de la Mer Caspienne.

ARTICLE X.

Les marchandises Russes jouissent du droit de transit gratuit pour les marchandises expédiées à travers les possessions Khiviennes, dans tous les pays voisins.

ARTICLE XI.

Les marchands Russes ont le droit d'avoir, s'ils le désirent, leurs agents (caravan-bachis) à Khiva et dans les autres villes du Khanat, pour les relations avec les autorités locales, et le contrôle de la marche régulière des affaires de commerce.

ARTICLE XII.

Les marchands Russes ont le droit d'acquérir des propriétés immobilières dans le Khanat. Celles-ci seront soumises à l'impôt foncier d'après un accord avec l'autorité supérieure Russe de l'Asie Centrale.

ARTICLE XIII.

Les engagements commerciaux entre les Russes et les Khiviens doivent être strictement et inviolablement remplis de part et d'autre.

ARTICLE XIV.

Le Gouvernement du Khan s'engage à examiner sans délai les plaintes et réclamations des sujets Russes contre des Khiviens, et, si elles se trouvent fondées, à y donner immédiatement satisfaction. Dans le cas de procès de la part de sujets Russes et de Khiviens, les Russes auront la priorité sur les Khiviens pour le remboursement de leurs créances.

ARTICLE XV.

Les plaintes et réclamations des Khiviens contre des sujets Russes, même dans le cas où ces derniers se trouvent dans les limites du Khanat, sont soumises à l'examen et au jugement de l'autorité Russe la plus proche.

ARTICLE XVI.

Le Gouvernement du Khan n'admet dans aucun cas sur son territoire les divers émigrés venant de la Russie et se présentant sans être munis de permis à cet effet de la part des autorités Russes, quelle que soit la nationalité à laquelle appartiennent ces émigrés. Si des criminels, sujets Russes, cherchent un abri contre les poursuites légales dans les limites du Khanat, le Gouvernement du Khan s'engage à les arrêter et à les livrer à l'autorité Russe la plus proche.

ARTICLE XVII.

La déclaration de Seid Mouhammed Rahim Boghadour Khan, publiée le 12 du mois de Juin dernier, concernant la libération de tous les esclaves dans le Khanat et l'abolition à tout jamais de l'esclavage et du trafic des hommes, demeure en pleine vigueur, et le Gouvernement du Khan s'engage à veiller, par tous les moyens en son pouvoir, à la stricte et consciencieuse exécution de cette clause.

ARTICLE XVIII.

Une indemnité de 2,200,000 roubles est imposée au Khanat de Khiva afin de couvrir les dépenses encourues par le trésor Russe, pour les frais de la dernière guerre, provoquée par le Gouvernement du Khan et par le peuple Khivien eux-mêmes.

Comme le Gouvernement du Khan n'est pas en état de payer cette somme à bref délai, vu l'insuffisance de l'argent tant dans le pays que dans les caisses de l'Etat, en considération de cette difficulté, la faculté lui est réservée de payer cette indemnité par termes, en comptant les intérêts à 5 pour cent par an, à condition que dans l'espace des deux premières années il soit versé au trésor Russe 100,000 roubles par an; dans les deux années suivantes, 125,000 roubles pour chaque année; en 1877 et 1878, 150,000 roubles chaque année; puis, 175,000 roubles chacune des deux années suivantes; en 1881, c'est-à-dire dans huit ans, 200,000 roubles, et enfin la même somme de 200,000 roubles au moins par an jusqu'au paiement définitif. Les versements peuvent être effectués tant en billets de crédit Russes qu'en monnaie ayant cours dans le Khanat, selon le désir du Gouvernement du Khan.

Le terme du premier versement est fixé au 1^{er} Décembre, 1873. En compte de ce paiement la faculté est accordée au Gouvernement du Khan de prélever l'impôt sur la population de la rive droite, pour l'année courante, dans la mesure existante jusqu'à ce moment; cette perception doit être terminée au 1^{er} Décembre, à la suite d'une entente entre les percepteurs du Khan et les autorités locales Russes.

Les versements suivants doivent être effectués le 1^{er} Novembre de chaque année jusqu'à l'entier paiement de l'indemnité avec les intérêts :—

Dans dix-neuf ans, c'est-à-dire au 1^{er} Novembre, 1892, après le paiement de 200,000 roubles pour la dite année, il restera encore au Gouvernement du Khan à payer 70,054 roubles, et le 1^{er} Novembre, 1893, il aura à verser les derniers 73,557 roubles.

Il est réservé au Gouvernement du Khan la faculté de payer plus que les sommes annuelles ci-dessus désignées, s'il désire diminuer le nombre des années de paiement et les intérêts à courir pour le restant de sa dette.

Ces conditions ont été stipulées et acceptées réciproquement par le Gouverneur-Général du Turkestan, Aide-de-camp Général de Kaufmann I, d'une part, et de l'autre par le Souverain du Khiva, Seid Mouhammed Rahim Boghadour Khan, et doivent être strictement exécutées et servir de règle permanente.

Fait à Gandemian (au camp de l'armée Russe sous Khiva), le 12 Août, 1873 (le 1^{er} jour du mois de Radjab, 1290)."

(Translation.)

Treaty of Peace between Russia and Khiva, proposed by General Aide-de-Camp von Kaufmann, commanding the Troops operating against Khiva, and accepted by the Khan of Khiva, Seid Mohamed Rahim Bohadur Khan.

ARTICLE I.

Seid Mohamed Rahim Bohadur Khan acknowledges himself to be the humble servant of the Emperor of All the Russias. He renounces all direct and friendly relations existing with neighbouring Rulers and Khans, and of concluding with them commercial and other Treaties of any kind soever, and binds himself not to undertake any military operation against them without the knowledge and permission of the superior Russian authority in Central Asia.

ARTICLE II.

The boundary between the Russian and Khivan territories shall be the Amu Daria from Kukertli down the river as far as the point at which the most westerly branch of the Amu Daria leaves the main stream, and from that point the frontier shall pass along such branch as far as its mouth in the Aral Sea. Farther, the frontier shall extend along the sea coast to Cape Urgu, and from thence along the foot of the southern slope of the Ost-Ort, following the so-called ancient bed of the Amu Daria.

ARTICLE III.

The whole of the right bank of the Amu Daria, and the lands adjoining thereunto, which have hitherto been considered as belonging to Khiva, shall pass over from the Khan into the possession of Russia, together with the people dwelling and camping thereon. Those portions of land on the right bank which are at present the property of the Khan, and of which the usufruct has been given by him to Khivan officers of State, become likewise the property of the Russian Government, free of all claims on the part of previous owners. The Khan may indemnify them by grants of land on the left bank.

ARTICLE IV.

In the event of a portion of such right bank being transferred to the possession of the Emir of Bokhara by the will of His Majesty the Emperor, His Majesty the Khan of Khiva shall recognize the latter as the lawful possessor of such portion of his former dominions, and shall renounce all intentions of re-establishing his authority therein.

ARTICLE V.

Russian steamers and other Russian vessels, whether belonging to the Government or to private individuals, shall have the free and exclusive right of navigating the Amu Daria River. Khivan and Bokharian vessels may enjoy the same right only by special permission from the superior Russian authority in Central Asia.

ARTICLE VI.

Russians shall have the right to construct wharves (landing-places) on the left bank wheresoever the same shall be found necessary and convenient. The Government of the Khan shall be responsible for the safety and maintenance of such wharves. The confirmation of the selection of localities for wharves shall rest with the superior Russian Authority in Central Asia.

ARTICLE VII.

Independently of such wharves, Russians shall have the right to establish factories on the left bank of the Amu-Daria for the purpose of storing and safe-keeping their merchandize. For the purposes of such factories the Government of the Khan shall allot in the localities which shall have been indicated by the superior Russian Authority in Central Asia a sufficient quantity of unoccupied land for the construction of wharves, of storehouses, of buildings for the accommodation of the servants of the factories and of persons transacting business with the factories, and of merchants' offices, as well as for the establishment of agricultural farms. Such factories, together with all persons residing thereat, and with all goods stored therein, shall be under the immediate protection of the

Government of the Khan, which shall be responsible for the safety and security of the same.

ARTICLE VIII.

All towns and villages within the Khanate of Khiva shall henceforward be open to Russian trade. Russian merchants and Russian caravans may freely travel throughout the entire Khanate and shall enjoy the special protection of the local authorities. The Government of the Khan shall be responsible for the safety of caravans and warehouses.

ARTICLE IX.

Russian merchants trading in the Khanate shall be free from the payment of Customs duties ("Ziaket") and of all dues on trade, in the same manner as the merchants of Khiva have long enjoyed immunity from "Ziaket" on the route, whether through Kazalinsk, Orenburg or the stations (landing-places) on the Caspian Sea.

ARTICLE X.

Russian merchants shall have the right of carrying their goods through the Khivan territory to all neighbouring countries free of Customs duties (free transit trade.)

ARTICLE XI.

Russian merchants shall, if they desire it, have the right to establish agents (caravan bashis) in Khiva and in the other towns within the Khanate for the purpose of maintaining communication with the local authorities and superintending the regularity of their trade.

ARTICLE XII.

Russian merchants shall have the right to hold real property in the Khanate. A land-tax shall be leviable on the same by agreement with the superior Russian Authority in Central Asia.

ARTICLE XIII.

Commercial engagements between Russians and Khivans shall be fulfilled inviolably on both sides.

ARTICLE XIV.

The Government of the Khan engages to examine without delay the complaints and claims of Russian subjects against Khivans, and in case such complaints and claims shall prove to be well founded, to give immediate satisfaction in respect to the same. In cases of suits between Russian subjects and Khans, preference shall be given to Russians in respect to the payment of debts by Khivans.

ARTICLE XV.

Complaints and claims of Khivans against Russian subjects shall be referred to the nearest Russian authorities for examination and satisfaction, even in the event of such complaints and claims being raised by Russian subjects within the confines of the Khanate.

ARTICLE XVI.

The Government of the Khan shall in no case give refuge to emigrants (run-a-ways) from Russia, having no permit from Russian authorities, without regard to the nationality of such individuals. Should any Russian subjects, being criminals, seek shelter within the boundaries of Khiva in order to avoid judicial pursuit, the Government of the Khan engages to capture such persons and to surrender them to the nearest Russian authorities.

ARTICLE XVII.

The proclamation published by Seid Mohamed Rahim Bohadur Khan on the $\frac{1}{2}\frac{3}{4}$ th day of July last, respecting the liberation of all slaves in the Khanate and the abolition in perpetuity of slavery and of trade in men shall remain in full force, and the Government of the Khan engages to employ all the means in its power in order to watch over the strict and conscientious fulfilment of the clause.

ARTICLE XVIII.

A fine is inflicted on the Khanate of Khiva to the extent of 2,200,000 roubles, in order to cover the expenses incurred by the Russian Exchequer in the prosecution of the late war which was provoked by the Government of the Khan and by the Khivan people. As, owing to the insufficiency of money, both in the country and in the hands of the Government, the Khivan Government is unable to pay the above sum, within a short time, the Khivan Government shall, in consideration of this difficulty, have the right of paying the said fine by instalments, with the addition of interest thereon, at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum, on condition that, during the first two years, 100,000 roubles shall be annually paid into the Russian Exchequer, 125,000 roubles per annum during the two ensuing years; in 1877 and 1878, 150,000 roubles each year; after that, 175,000 roubles per annum during the succeeding two years; and, in the year 1881, that is to say, after the expiration of eight years, the sum of 200,000 roubles shall be paid; and lastly, a sum of not less than 200,000 roubles shall be paid until the final settlement of the claim. The instalments may be paid both in Russian banknotes and in the current coin of Khiva, at the pleasure of the Government of the Khan.

The first instalment shall be paid on the 1st 13th December, 1873. In consideration of this payment the Khan shall have the right to levy taxes for the current year from the population on the right bank, according to the assessment hitherto in force; this collection shall be terminated by the 1st 13th December, by agreement between the Khan's collectors and the local Russian authorities.

Subsequent instalments shall be paid by the 1st 13th November of each year, until the entire fine, with the interest thereon, shall have been paid off.

After the expiration of nineteen years, that is to say, by the 1st 13th November, 1892, after the payment of 200,000 roubles for the year 1892, the sum of 70,054 roubles will still be due by the Government of the Khan, and, by the 1st 13th November, 1893, the last instalment of 73,557 roubles shall be paid. Should the Government of the Khan desire to shorten the term of payment and thus to reduce the amount of accruing interest, it shall have the right to pay larger annual instalments.

These conditions have been fixed and accepted both by General Aide-de-camp Von Kaufmann I, Governor-General of Turkestan, on the one part, and on the other part by Seid Mohamed Rahim Bohadur Khan, Ruler of Khiva, and must be faithfully fulfilled, and must serve as a standing rule.

Done at Gendemian (the camp of the Russian troops before the City of Khiva) on the 1st 13th day of August, 1873, on the 1st day of the month of Radjab, in the year 1290.

The original Treaty was signed and sealed by General Aide-de-Camp Von Kaufmann I, Governor-General of Turkestan, and by Seid Mohamed Rahim Bohadur Khan.

No. 2.

Earl Granville to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 7, 1874.

HER Majesty's Government have received from Mr. Doria, in his despatch of the 20th ultimo, a translation of the Treaty of Peace concluded between General Kaufmann and the Khan of Khiva, as published in the "Messenger Officiel" of ^{November 30} December 12.

By Article I the Khan of Khiva acknowledges himself to be the humble servant of the Emperor of Russia, and renounces the right of maintaining diplomatic relations, or of entering into Commercial or other Treaties with the neighbouring Rulers and Khans; and he further engages not to undertake military operations against them without the knowledge and permission of the Russian authorities in Central Asia. By subsequent provisions the whole of the territory belonging to Khiva on the right bank of the Oxus, together with the delta of that river from the point where the most westerly branch leaves the main stream, are ceded to Russia, who is also to have the exclusive control of the navigation of the Oxus, and the right of establishing, on the left bank of the river, factories, wharves, and the necessary buildings for the formation of commercial depôts in such localities as may be selected by the Russian authorities for the purpose. An indemnity of 2,200,000 roubles is, moreover, exacted from the Khan, the payment of which is extended over nineteen years, i.e., till November 1892.

It also appears that a fort is in course of construction on the right bank of the Oxus, near Shourakhan, and about thirty miles distant from the town of Khiva, due east, to receive a Russian garrison.

Her Majesty's Government see no practical advantage in examining too minutely how far these arrangements are in strict accordance with the assurances given to me in January last by Count Schouvalow as to the intentions with which the expedition against Khiva was undertaken. They are not disposed to share in the exaggerated apprehensions which have at times been expressed in this country as to the danger to British rule in India which may arise from the extension of Russian influence in Central Asia.

At the same time each step of that progress renders it more desirable that a clear and frank understanding should continue to exist between the two countries as to the relative position of British and Russian interests in Asia, and it is with that object that Her Majesty's Government think it right on the present occasion to review the communications which have passed on the subject, and the position of affairs as they stand in respect of the future. In so doing they are fulfilling the wish expressed by Prince Gortchakow, in conversation with Sir A. Buchanan, on the 2nd of November, 1869, when he begged that Lord Clarendon might be told that, "as both Governments are free from all *arrière-pensées*, ambitious views, or unfriendly feelings towards each other, the more fully and frankly all questions connected with Central Asia are discussed between them, the more effectually will the 'mists' be blown away which, through the misrepresentations of over-zealous subordinate agents, may at any time hang over them."

In the spring of 1869 Lord Clarendon, in several conversations with Baron Brunnow, drew attention to the rapid progress of the Russian troops in Central Asia, and made a proposal for the "recognition of some territory as neutral between the possessions of England and Russia, which should be the limit of those possessions, and which should be scrupulously respected by both Powers."

Prince Gortchakow, to whom Baron Brunnow had communicated Lord Clarendon's suggestions, replied that "the idea of maintaining between the possessions of the two Empires in Asia a zone to preserve them from any contact" had always been shared by the Emperor, and he authorized Baron Brunnow to "repeat to Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State the positive assurance that His Imperial Majesty looks upon Afghanistan as completely outside the sphere within which Russia may be called upon to exercise her influence. No intervention or interference whatever, opposed to the independence of that State, enters into his intentions."

Lord Clarendon answered, after expressing the thanks of Her Majesty's Government for the friendly feelings which had prompted Prince Gortchakow's communication, that the Secretary of State for India, having consulted those members of his Council who were well acquainted with the countries in question, had arrived at a decided opinion that Afghanistan would not fulfil those conditions of a neutral territory that it was the object of the two Governments to establish, and that it was therefore thought advisable to propose that the Upper Oxus should be the boundary line which neither Power should permit its forces to cross.

To this proposal, however, Prince Gortchakow objected, in a conversation which took place between him and Lord Clarendon at Heidelberg in the autumn of 1869, on the ground that a portion of country south of the Oxus was claimed by the Ameer of Bokhara, and that this might lead to differences between the Russian and English Governments. Further communications followed during the visit of Mr. Forsyth to St. Petersburg, and these resulted in an understanding, the summary of which is thus stated by Prince Gortchakow in his despatch to Count Brunnow of the 1st November, 1871 :—

1. That the territory in the actual possession at the present moment of Shere Ali Khan should be considered to constitute the limits of Afghanistan.

2. That beyond these limits the Ameer should make no attempt to exercise any influence or interference, and that the English Government should do all in their power to restrain him from any attempts at aggression.

3. That, for their part, the Imperial Government should use all their influence to prevent any attack by the Ameer of Bokhara upon Afghan territory.

Prince Gortchakow further stated, in a conversation which he had with Sir A. Buchanan on the 1st November, 1869, that he felt assured that the advice of Russia to the Khan of Khokand to live in peace with his neighbours would be followed; and, with regard to Kashgaria, or Yarkand, he authorized the Indian Government to assure the Atalik Ghazee, who had recently established a Government in that country, "that Russia had no hostile intentions towards him, or any desire to make conquests in his territories."

Some delay not unnaturally occurred in the settlement of the boundary of Afghanistan, for it required an investigation into the condition of countries little known either to the British or to the Russian authorities. Ultimately, there was a difference of opinion between the two Governments upon the question whether Badakshan and Wakhan did or did not form part of the provinces held by the Ameer. Her Majesty's Government gladly take this

opportunity of again acknowledging the friendly and conciliatory spirit shown by the Imperial Government in the acceptance by them of the views advanced on the part of Great Britain, as to the frontier line of Afghanistan at these and other points.

Those views were stated, as you are aware, in my despatch to your Excellency of October 17, 1872, and the assent of the Imperial Government to the definition of the Afghan frontier as therein laid down, will be found in Prince Gortchakow's despatches to Baron Brunnow, of December 7, 1872, and January 19, 1873.

Such was the agreement arrived at between the two countries. On their part, Her Majesty's Government may fairly claim that it has been faithfully executed to the full extent of their power. The influence of the Government of India has been successfully exercised to dissuade the Ameer of Afghanistan from interference in the affairs of Bokhara, and from any attempt at encroachment on the territories beyond his frontier; and their action in this respect has been acknowledged by the Russian Government. Advice of a similarly pacific character has been given by the Indian Government to the Ruler of Yarkand, and they have declined to exercise any interference in the affairs of Bokhara and Khiva, when appealed to, more than once, by Envoys from those countries.

Her Majesty's Government bear willing testimony to the fact that the action of the Russian Government on various occasions has been in accordance with the same policy, as, for instance, in the efforts made by them to discourage any aggression by the Khan of Bokhara on the territories of Afghanistan, and in the refusal of General Kaufmann to give any countenance to the designs of Abdul Rahman Khan, nephew of the Ameer of Afghanistan, upon the tranquillity of that country.

The Indian Government have repeated, and will continue to repeat, as opportunity may offer, advice in the same sense as that which they have hitherto given to the Ameer of Afghanistan, but it is not unnatural that that Ruler should feel and express some uneasiness at the rapid advance of Russian power towards his frontier. His apprehensions have been more especially roused by the reported intention to send a Russian expedition to capture Merv and reduce the Turcoman tribes of those parts, and he has applied to the Government of India for advice on the subject.

Rumours of such an expedition, to be undertaken in the ensuing spring, have reached Her Majesty's Government from various quarters. The plan has been recommended, as you are aware, by some of the most influential organs of the Russian press. The Turcoman tribes themselves state that they have received formal warning of such an intention from the Russian authorities, and are reported to have invoked the protection of Persia. It may indeed be true that such an expedition is as yet discountenanced and disavowed by the Government at St. Petersburg, but past experience shows that it would be unwise to look upon the project as being, therefore, entirely out of the question. Circumstances may occur, as they have more than once occurred before, to force the Russian Government into a course to which they are on principle opposed. The difficulties of a Power like Russia, in dealing with wild tribes on its frontier, such as those in the deserts bordering on Khiva, are well described in Prince Gortchakoff's Circular of the 21st of November, 1864. As soon as one territory is subdued, and the populations immediately bordering on it are reduced, more or less, to subjection, fresh aggressions are committed by more distant tribes. Fresh expeditions against these become necessary; and to give to these expeditions any lasting effect, fresh annexations and occupations are required. At the time of that Circular, and in order to obviate the inconveniences thus set forth, the determination was announced to adopt for the Russian possessions in Central Asia a final line of frontier, stretching from Lake Isyk Kul to the Syr Daria, and embracing the town of Tchemkend, which was to be fortified for the purpose. But in practice it was found impossible to adhere to this line. Expeditions against Bokhara had soon afterwards to be undertaken. Tashkend, Khojend, Jeezakh, and Samarkand were successively occupied.

Speaking to Lord Clarendon in September 1869, Prince Gortchakow stated that "the Emperor considered, and he entirely shared His Majesty's opinion, that extension of territory was extension of weakness, and that Russia had no intention of going further south." As a proof of this determination, he added that it was the intention of the Emperor not to retain Samarkand. Difficulties, however, interfered with the restoration of Samarkand to the Ameer of Bokhara; first, in regard to the payment of the indemnity due by that country to Russia, and later as to the protection of Russian interests which had grown up among the population, and as to the guarantees to be obtained against misconduct on the part of its future rulers; and although Sir A. Buchanan reported in July 1870 that Prince Orloff had been authorized by the Emperor to confirm the assurances given by Prince Gortchakow in the preceding year, still eventually, as was confessed by Prince Gortchakow himself in February last, the Imperial Government found,

after an occupation of four years' duration, and in view of the advantages which it had conferred on the population of the city, that they could not with credit to themselves, nor in justice to the inhabitants, restore Samarkand to the Government of Bokhara, and on these grounds Russia has retained possession of it.

It is unnecessary to retrace the series of circumstances which, in spite of the reluctance of the Russian Government, led to the recent expedition against Khiva.

In the face of these events it would be unwise not to contemplate the possibility that considerations of self-defence, or the necessity of punishing acts of plunder and hostility, may eventually give occasion for a Russian expedition against the Turkoman tribes.

Those tribes have now applied to the Ameer of Cabul for advice as to the attitude which they should assume towards the Russians, and he, in his turn has consulted the Government of India as to the reply which he should make. He has at the same time expressed his apprehensions that the result of a Russian expedition against Merv will be to drive the Turkomans to take refuge in the province of Badghees in Herat. This, the Ameer fears, will lay him open to a demand from the Russian authorities, that he shall either prevent the Turkomans from committing aggressions, or permit the Russian forces to enter the territories of Afghanistan for the purpose of punishing the hostile tribes. An incident of this kind occurred, as you are aware, not long ago on the Persian frontier, and led to a correspondence between the Russian and Persian Governments.

The advice given by the Government of India has been in conformity with the policy hitherto pursued. The Ameer has been warned that he should avoid taking any course which would make him responsible for lawless or hostile proceedings on the part of the Turkoman tribes. The Viceroy of India has at the same time endeavoured to reassure him as to the safety of his territories from any aggression or attack on the part of Russia.

In face of the agreement which exists between the two countries, it is unnecessary for Her Majesty's Government to make any profession of their conviction that Afghanistan is perfectly secure from any hostile designs on the part of Russia. They think it best, however, to bring the fears entertained by the Ameer to the knowledge of the Russian Government, and to express their earnest hope that the question of any further expedition against the Turkoman tribes may be carefully considered, in conjunction with the results which the Ameer of Cabul apprehends may ensue from it. They think it right to state candidly and at once that the independence of Afghanistan is regarded by them as a matter of great importance to the welfare and security of British India and to the tranquillity of Asia. Should the Turkoman tribes be driven into the neighbourhood of Herat, now or hereafter, in consequence of any military operations effected by Russian power, the Ameer might labour under a double hardship: first, in the disturbance of his dominions; secondly, if he were held responsible for controlling tribes of that wild race and restraining them from incursions upon the country from which Russia had expelled them. On the one hand, it does not appear how he could justly be held responsible in such circumstances, and, if he were so held, he would have a strong claim to consideration on the part of all such as rightly appreciate his position; on the other hand, questions might thus be raised which it was the object of the engagement entered into between Great Britain and Russia to obviate, and which it cannot be the interest of either country to revive.

You will read this despatch to Prince Gortchakow, and give him a copy of it.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 3.

Prince Gortchakow to Count Brunnow.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Count Brunnow, February 17.)

St. Pétersbourg, le 21 Janvier, 1874.

J'AI l'honneur de transmettre ci-près à votre Excellence copie d'une dépêche de Lord Granville dont Lord A. Loftus a été chargé de nous donner communication.

J'ai exprimé à M. l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre toute la satisfaction que nous éprouvons à voir le jugement équitable porté par le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique sur les questions que nous sommes appelés à traiter en commun en Asie.

A mon avis l'entente est complète. Elle repose non seulement sur la loyauté des deux Gouvernements, mais sur des avantages politiques réciproques d'une évidence.

palpable. Tant qu'ils seront animés d'un esprit de mutuelle bienveillance et de conciliation, aucune mésintelligence politique n'est à prévoir entre eux.

Pour notre part, nous restons invariablement fidèles au programme tracé d'un commun accord tel qu'il est sorti de mes entretiens avec Lord Clarendon et qu'il s'est développé et précisé dans les pourparlers entre les deux Cabinets.

J'ai réitéré à Lord A. Loftus l'assurance positive que le Cabinet Impérial persiste à considérer l'Afghanistan comme entièrement en dehors de sa sphère d'action.

Si de part et d'autre les deux Gouvernements emploient leur ascendant sur les Etats placés dans le rayon de leur influence naturelle afin de les détourner de toute agression, il y a lieu d'espérer qu'aucune collision violente ne viendra troubler le repos de l'Asie Centrale et interrompre l'œuvre civilisatrice qu'il est du devoir et de l'intérêt des deux grands Empires de mener à bonne fin.

Pour ce qui nous concerne c'est dans ce sens que nous agissons à l'égard des Khanats qui nous avoisinent. Nous comptons avec pleine confiance que le Gouvernement des Indes en agira de même vis-à-vis de l'Emir de Caboul, et nous ne doutons pas qu'il n'ait les moyens de s'en faire écouter.

Quant au danger éventuel que Lord Granville nous signale et sur lequel Shir Ali paraît avoir déjà appelé l'attention du Gouvernement des Indes, c'est à dire que les tribus nomades des Turcomans chassées par nos troupes ne reviennent chercher assistance ou refuge sur le territoire de Hérat et n'amènent un conflit entre nous et l'Afghanistan, j'ai dit à Lord A. Loftus que nous n'avons aucune intention d'entreprendre une expédition contre les Turcomans; il dépendait entièrement d'eux de vivre en bonne intelligence avec nous et de tirer même profit de notre voisinage et des voies que nous nous efforçons d'ouvrir au commerce pacifique; mais si ces tribus turbulentes se livraient à des agressions et à des brigandages contre nous, force nous serait de les châtier. C'est là une de ces nécessités que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique connaît par sa propre expérience, et à laquelle aucun Gouvernement en contact avec des populations sauvages ne saurait se soustraire. Nous sommes en tout cas les premiers à désirer que ce châtiment, s'il y a lieu, puisse être infligé le plus près possible de nos frontières.

Lord A. Loftus a recueilli les mêmes assurances de la bouche de notre auguste Maître et a dû en rendre compte à son Gouvernement.

J'ai ajouté que bien que l'éventualité signalée par Shir Ali soit peu probable, l'Emir de Caboul peut contribuer à en éloigner la possibilité en faisant nettement comprendre d'avance aux Turcomans que s'ils provoquent des mesures de rigueur par des actes de déprédation contre nous, ils ne doivent compter de sa part sur aucune assistance ni aucune protection.

Le Gouvernement des Indes est certainement en mesure de lui faire parvenir ce conseil sous une forme qui en assure l'efficacité.

Veuillez porter ces réflexions à la connaissance de Lord Granville et réitérer à son Excellence la conviction où nous sommes que les deux Gouvernements ont un égal intérêt à ne point permettre que leurs bonnes relations soient troublées par les intrigues des Khans Asiates, et que si longtemps que tous deux marcheront d'accord dans un sentiment de mutuelle confiance et de bon vouloir réciproque, la tranquillité de l'Asie Centrale sera suffisamment garantie contre toutes les éventualités.

Recevez, &c.

(Translation.)

St. Petersburg, January 21, 1874.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Excellency copy of a despatch from Lord Granville which Lord A. Loftus has been instructed to communicate to us.

I have expressed to the British Ambassador the entire satisfaction which we feel at the just view taken by Her Majesty's Government with regard to the questions which we are called upon to treat together in Asia.

In my opinion the understanding is complete. It rests not only upon the loyalty of the two Governments, but upon mutual political advantages which are palpably evident. So long as they shall be animated by a spirit of mutual good-will and conciliation, no political misunderstanding is to be apprehended between them.

For our part, we remain constantly faithful to the programme traced by mutual agreement, as resulted from my interviews with Lord Clarendon and as developed and defined by the communications between the two Cabinets.

I have repeated to Lord A. Loftus the positive assurance that the Imperial Cabinet continues to consider Afghanistan as entirely beyond its sphere of action.

If on either side the two Governments exercise their ascendancy over the States

placed within the range of their natural influence in order to deter them from all aggression, there is reason to hope that no violent collision will occur to disturb the repose of Central Asia and interfere with the work of civilisation which it is the duty and the interest of the two great Empires to bring to a favourable issue.

As far as we are concerned, it is in this sense that we act towards the Khanats which lie upon our borders. We have a full assurance that the Government of India will act in the same manner with regard to the Emir of Cabul, and we have no doubt that it possesses the means of making itself listened to.

As regards the eventual danger pointed out to us by Lord Granville and to which Shere Ali appears already to have called the attention of the Government of India, namely, that nomade tribes of Turcomans driven off by our troops may return to seek assistance or refuge on the territory of Herat, and may bring about a conflict between us and Afghanistan, I have told Lord A. Loftus that we had no intention of undertaking an expedition against the Turcomans; it depended entirely on them to live on good terms with us, and even to derive profit from our proximity and from the outlets which we are endeavouring to make for peaceful commerce; but if these turbulent tribes were to take to attacking or plundering us, we should be compelled to punish them. This is a necessity which Her Majesty's Government know from their own experience, and which no Government in contact with wild populations can avoid. We are in any case the first to wish that this punishment, if it becomes necessary, should be inflicted as near as possible to our own frontier.

Lord A. Loftus has received the same assurances from the mouth of our august Master, and has doubtless reported them to his Government.

I added that although the eventuality pointed out by Shere Ali is scarcely probable, the Emir of Cabul can assist in removing the possibility of it by making the Turcomans understand clearly beforehand, that if they provoke rigorous measures by acts of depredation against us, they cannot count upon any assistance or protection from him.

The Indian Government is certainly in a position to give him this advice in a form which will ensure its effectiveness.

Be good enough to communicate these observations to Lord Granville, and to repeat to his Excellency our conviction that the two Governments have an equal interest in not allowing their good relations to be disturbed by the intrigues of Asiatic Khans, and that so long as they both act together with a feeling of mutual confidence and good-will, the tranquillity of Central Asia will be sufficiently guaranteed against all eventualities.

Receive, &c.

RUSSIA. No. 2 (1874).

CORRESPONDENCE respecting Central Asia.

*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Com-
mand of Her Majesty. 1874.*

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SON.

CENTRAL ASIA. No. 2 (1873).

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

CENTRAL ASIA.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1873.

[C.—704.] *Price 11d.*
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110171

Correspondence respecting Central Asia.

No. 1.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 27, 1869.

I HAVE lately, and on more than one occasion, spoken to Baron Brunnow respecting Central Asia and the rapid advance of the Russian troops towards the frontier. I have done so in a friendly tone, stating that I had no complaint to make on the part of Her Majesty's Government, who felt neither suspicion nor alarm, as they had often received satisfactory assurances concerning the policy of Russia in those regions, and were strong enough in India to repel all aggression; but that these feelings, as his Excellency must be well aware, were not generally shared either by the British or the Indian public; and it was highly desirable, with reference to the friendly relations with Russia, which we were so desirous to maintain, that this uneasiness should be allayed.

The language of Baron Brunnow on such occasions has always been positive as to the desire of his Government to restrict rather than to extend the possessions of Russia southwards in Central Asia; and speaking, as he said, with full knowledge of the policy of his Government, he has affirmed that no onward movement disquieting to India need be apprehended.

I have expressed my opinion that abstinence from aggression would on every account promote the true interests of Russia, whose territorial possessions needed no aggrandizement; and if the giving effect to this policy depended upon the Russian Government alone, I should not doubt its being maintained; but I was sure, judging from our own Indian experience, that such would not be the case, and that Russia would find the same difficulty that England had experienced in controlling its own power when exercised at so great a distance from the seat of Government, as to make reference home almost a matter of impossibility; there was always some frontier to be improved, some broken engagement to be repaired, some faithless ally to be punished; and plausible reasons were seldom wanting for the acquisition of territory, which the Home Government never thought it expedient to reject, and could not therefore condemn the motives or the means by which it had been acquired. Such, in the main, had caused the extension of our Indian Empire: and there was reason to apprehend that such was the course into which Russia, however unwillingly, was about to be drawn.

Unless stringent precautions were adopted, we should find before long, that some aspiring Russian General had entered into communication with some restless or malcontent Indian Prince; and that intrigues were rife, and disturbing the Indian population on the frontiers, against which Her Majesty's Government would have a right to remonstrate with Russia; and it was in order to prevent such a state of things, which might endanger the good understanding which now existed not only on this, but on all other questions between England and Russia, that I earnestly recommended the recognition of some territory as neutral between the possessions of England and Russia, which should be the limit of those possessions, and be scrupulously respected by both Powers.

Baron Brunnow appeared to think that this would be a desirable arrangement, and promised to make a report of my suggestion to his Government.

His Excellency called upon me this morning, and had the goodness to leave in my hands the copy, herewith inclosed, of a letter from Prince Gortchakow, giving a positive assurance that Afghanistan would be considered as entirely beyond the sphere in which Russia might be called upon to exercise her influence.

In thanking Baron Brunnow for this communication, I assured him that the views of Her Majesty's Government were in unison with those of Prince Gortchakow; but that I was not sufficiently informed on the subject at once to express an opinion as to whether Afghanistan would fulfil the conditions and circumstances of a neutral territory between the two Powers, such as it seemed desirable to establish.

It is right I should mention, that a few days ago Baron Brunnow informed me that an Afghan, of some mark and standing, had applied for protection to the Russian Minister at Tehran, who had been ordered by the Emperor to refuse it, as Afghanistan was beyond the limits of Russian influence.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

P.S.—Your Excellency will read this despatch to Prince Gortchakow.

Inclosure in No. 1.

Prince Gortchakow to Baron Brunnow.

Mon cher Baron,

St. Pétersbourg, le 24 Février 1869.
7 Mars

J'AI lu avec un véritable plaisir le compte-rendu de votre conversation avec Lord Clarendon au sujet de nos communs intérêts en Asie. J'y ai retrouvé le reflet d'un entretien intime pendant nos loisirs de l'année dernière. C'est la même élévation de pensée, la même droiture de sentiment. L'Empereur en a été très satisfait.

L'idée exprimée par Lord Clarendon de maintenir entre les possessions des deux Empires en Asie une zone destinée à les préserver de tout contact a toujours été celle de notre auguste Maître.

Vous pouvez assurer Lord Clarendon que rien ne saurait mieux répondre à la pensée de l'Empereur.

Nous sommes persuadés que les hommes d'Etat de l'Angleterre n'ont plus de doute à cet égard, mais nous comprenons aussi que la masse du public, qui obéit plutôt à des instincts et à des préjugés, ait encore besoin d'être rassurée.

Je ne parle pas des anciennes préventions concernant les possessions Britanniques dans les Indes. Il est clair qu'aujourd'hui il n'y a pas dans le monde entier un seul Etat civilisé qui ne préfère voir ces contrées maintenues sous la domination éclairée qui y répand le bien-être et le progrès plutôt que de les voir retomber dans l'anarchie et la barbarie. Laissons donc là ces fantômes d'un autre tems qui devraient s'évanouir aux lumières de notre époque.

Quant à la zone qui sépare nos possessions Asiatiques et où le rayonnement des influences respectives des deux pays pourrait un jour se rencontrer, il est de toute évidence que nous nous trouvons tous deux dans une position identique.

Des avantages que les deux Gouvernements pourraient chercher dans une extension décroissent en raison de la distance, et il y a dans cette voie une limite naturelle où ils doivent s'arrêter, sous peine de s'exposer à des inconvénients et même à des périls.

Nous avons rendu pleine justice à la profonde sagesse des considérations développées par Sir John Lawrence pour recommander l'abstention à l'égard de l'Afghanistan.

Pour notre part, nous n'éprouvons aucune crainte quant aux vues d'ambition de l'Angleterre dans le centre de l'Asie, et nous avons le droit d'attendre la même confiance dans notre bon sens. Mais ce qui peut troubler le jugement c'est la défiance réciproque.

C'est dans cette voie que les deux pays pourraient finalement se heurter, et nous ne pouvons par conséquent qu'applaudir à l'idée de Lord Clarendon d'en sortir par des explications amicales et mutuelles.

Vous pouvez donc, mon cher Baron, réitérer au Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique l'assurance positive que Sa Majesté Impériale considère l'Afghanistan comme entièrement en dehors de la sphère où la Russie peut être appelée à exercer son influence. Aucune intervention ou ingérence quelconque, contraire à l'indépendance de cet Etat, n'entre dans ses intentions.

Si le Cabinet de Londres, comme nous l'espérons, est animé des mêmes convictions que nous, le désir témoigné par Lord Clarendon se trouverait réalisé; nos possessions respectives en Asie seraient séparées par une zone indépendante qui les préserverait de tout contact immédiat, et les deux pays pourraient, en toute sécurité, se livrer à l'accomplissement de la mission civilisatrice qui leur est dévolue, chacun dans la sphère

naturelle qui lui appartient, en se prêtant même le mutuel concours qui résulte aujourd'hui de la diffusion générale des lumières et du progrès.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) GORTCHAKOW.

(Translation.)

My dear Baron,

St. Petersburg, February 24,
March 7, 1869.

IT was with real pleasure that I read the report of your conversation with Lord Clarendon upon the subject of our common interests in Central Asia. It bore the stamp of the same elevation of thought, the same straightforward dealing, as characterized the confidential interview which we had during our holidays last year. It was most satisfactory to the Emperor.

The idea expressed by Lord Clarendon of keeping a zone between the possessions of the two Empires in Asia, to preserve them from any contact, has always been shared by our august Master. You may assure Lord Clarendon that nothing could better suit the views of the Emperor.

We are convinced that English statesmen have no longer any doubt on this point, but at the same time we are aware that the mass of the public, influenced rather by instinct and prejudice, are as yet far from being freed of their apprehensions.

I am not now speaking of the old prejudices respecting the British possessions in India. It is evident that there is now not a single civilised State in the whole world which would not prefer seeing those countries under the enlightened rule which extends to them well-being and progress to seeing them fall back into a state of anarchy and barbarism. Enough, then, of those phantoms of another age which should vanish before our modern lights.

As to the zone which separates the Asiatic possessions of the two countries, and in which their respective influences might eventually clash, it is plain enough that both Powers are in identically the same position. For both Governments the possible advantages of an extension of territory diminish in proportion to the distance, and in all annexation there is a limit imposed by nature, beyond which any advance will lead to difficulties, and even to danger.

We have done full justice to the profound wisdom of the arguments brought forward by Sir J. Lawrence in favour of a policy of abstention with regard to Afghanistan. For our part, we feel no apprehension as to the ambitious projects of England in Central Asia, and we have a right to expect the same confidence to be shown in our good sense.

But mutual distrust may have power to cloud the judgment.

It is in this alone that lies the danger of any future collision between the two countries; and, accordingly, we cannot but congratulate Lord Clarendon on his idea of avoiding the danger by the exchange of friendly explanations.

You may then, my dear Baron, repeat to Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State the positive assurance that His Imperial Majesty looks upon Afghanistan as completely outside the sphere within which Russia may be called upon to exercise her influence. No intervention or interference whatever, opposed to the independence of that State, enters into his intentions.

If the Cabinet of London is, as we hope, animated by the same convictions, the wishes of Lord Clarendon would be realized: our respective possessions in Asia would be separated by an independent zone which would preserve them from any immediate contact, and the two countries could, in all security, devote themselves to the accomplishment of their mission of civilization, each in her natural sphere, even lending, it may be, one to the other that assistance which is the natural consequence in our days of the universal diffusion of intelligence and progress.

Believe, &c.
(Signed) GORTCHAKOW.

No. 2.

Mr. Rumbold to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 12.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, April 6, 1869.

I YESTERDAY read your Lordship's despatch of the 27th ultimo to Prince Gortchakow. The Chancellor listened to it very attentively, and with evident satisfaction. He said that Baron Brunnow had correctly described the Imperial

Government as desirous to restrict rather than to extend the possessions of Russia southwards in Central Asia. He admitted the possibility of Russia being drawn into a course similar to that which had caused the extension of our Indian Empire, but, as regarded the danger of some aspiring Russian General entering into communication with any Indian malcontents, I was to tell your Lordship that Russian Generals were well disciplined. But he quite agreed with your Lordship as to the policy of placing some territory between the possessions of the two Empires which should be considered as neutral, and your Lordship having first suggested Afghanistan as that territory, he had adopted that suggestion. Besides, the geographical position of Afghanistan pointed it out for that purpose. I told Prince Gortchakow that your Lordship was not yet sufficiently informed as to whether that country would fulfil all the conditions required, but that you were very much gratified by the way in which he had treated the question and would shortly communicate to him your further views upon it. Prince Gortchakow seemed to derive great satisfaction from your Lordship's recognition of the good understanding between England and Russia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HORACE RUMBOLD.

No. 3.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Rumbold.

Sir,

Foreign Office, April 17, 1869.

AT my request Baron Brunnow had the goodness to call at this office yesterday, in order that we might discuss together the proposal made by Prince Gortchakow that Afghanistan should be considered as a neutral territory between the British and Russian territories.

In the name of my colleagues and myself, I requested his Excellency to convey to his Government our thanks for the friendly feelings on the part of Russia that had dictated the communication; and I said we could give no better proof of our confidence in the sincerity of those feelings, and of the desire that no cause for misunderstanding should exist between the two Governments in Asia than by suggesting a somewhat different arrangement to that which had been proposed by Prince Gortchakow.

I then stated that the Secretary of State for India, having consulted those members of his Council, who were well acquainted with the countries in question, had arrived at a decided opinion that Afghanistan would not fulfil those conditions of a neutral territory that it was the object of the two Governments to establish, as the frontiers were ill defined; and if the Russian forces advanced to those frontiers, disputes with the Chiefs on the border would sooner or later but infallibly ensue, and Russia might be compelled, however, unwillingly to disregard the arrangement she had entered into, and it was therefore thought advisable to propose that the Upper Oxus, which was south of Bokhara, should be the boundary line which neither Power should permit their forces to cross. This I said would leave a large tract of country, apparently desert and marked on the map* before us as belonging to the Khan of Khiva, between Afghanistan, and the territory already acquired by Russia, and, if agreed to, would, it might be hoped, remove all fear of future dissension.

Baron Brunnow, whose tone was very friendly and who seemed most desirous to promote an amicable arrangement, said he had no powers to assent to what I had proposed, and could only undertake to make it known to his Government with the reasons I had urged in recommendation of its adoption. His Excellency observed, however, that Khiva was south of the Oxus, and if the Khan came to understand that his country, being regarded as neutral, had nothing to fear from Russian invasion, he might become extremely troublesome, and the Russian Government could hardly be expected to enter into any engagement that would preclude them from chastising the Khan for the offences he might commit.

I assured his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government had no wish that Russia should enter into any engagement that might be injurious to her interests, and should the necessity arrive for punishing the Khan on his own territory, we should rely upon the honour of Russia, as soon as she had obtained reparation, again to revert to the arrangement, should she have assented to it, and consider the Upper Oxus as the boundary which was not to be passed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

* Weller's Map of Persia, Afghanistan, and Beloochistan, published by Philips and Son, 32, Fleet Street.

No. 4.

Mr. Rumbold to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received May 17.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, May 10, 1869.

I LOST no time after the arrival of the messenger Hare on the 2nd instant in seeking to obtain an interview with Prince Gortchakow, with the view of pointing out to his Excellency that, in your Lordship's opinion, it seemed very important the two Governments should come to an understanding about Central Asia, and should decide something as soon as possible, since it appeared that some bitter feeling might be excited upon the subject in both countries, which would render negotiation more difficult.

When I called at the Foreign Office the Chancellor was unwell and unable to transact any business, and I therefore asked to see the Assistant Minister, M. de Westmann. I had just begun to unfold to his Excellency the object of my visit, when he stopped me short, saying this was a very important matter, and he would prefer my discussing it with the Prince. I then inquired of his Excellency when he thought the Prince would be able to see me. M. de Westmann thought his Excellency might receive me on Wednesday, the 5th, and he undertook meanwhile to announce the object of my visit.

On calling at the Foreign Office on Wednesday, I was informed the Prince was still suffering from indisposition, and his physician came down to tell me it was impossible for his Excellency to see anybody.

On Friday, the 7th, I paid M. de Westmann another visit, and after expressing my regret at having to trouble him again, explained to him your Lordship's views respecting the policy of soon coming to some understanding in the affairs of Central Asia. I added the arguments contained in your Lordship's despatch respecting the line of the Upper Oxus, and I took care to dwell on the great satisfaction Her Majesty's Government had all along derived from the loyal and friendly attitude of the Imperial Government in this question, and from the conciliatory language held by the Russian Ambassador in London. M. de Westmann took rough notes of what I said to him, and promised to report the substance of my communication (which, he said, in all points agreed with the reports received from Baron Brunnow) to the Chancellor of the Empire, who would probably soon be able to receive me. He made only one remark, to the effect that the fears shown in this question had been raised by the Government of India. I begged to be allowed to differ from him as regarded the heads of that Government, for Lord Lawrence had certainly never expressed any exaggerated fears on the subject. It seemed to me, I added, that the two Governments were mutually convinced that no hostile designs were harboured on either side, and as far as we were concerned, we had so strong a position in India that we could entertain no fears. Besides, the Imperial Government had shown such friendly feelings that any danger apprehended in that quarter by the timid could be nothing but a phantom. "A phantom, indeed," said M. de Westmann; "even if man were wicked enough to entertain such designs, nature is there to stop him."

The same evening I received a note from M. de Westmann, requesting me to call on him at the Foreign Office the following day. On my obeying the summons, his Excellency told me he was desired by Prince Gortchakow to say that instructions had been sent to Baron Brunnow several days ago, the receipt of which had already been acknowledged by telegraph, and that the question would therefore be treated in London.

No. 5.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Rumbold.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 18, 1869.

I HAVE to acquaint you that I approve the language which you held to M. de Westmann, as reported in your despatch of the 10th instant, on the subject of Central Asia.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 6.

Mr. Rumbold to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 7.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, June 1, 1869.

GENERAL KAUFMANN, Governor-General of Turkestan, left St. Petersburg on the 29th instant on his return to his post.

No. 7.

Mr. Rumbold to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 7, 1869.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, June 2, 1869.

I SAW Prince Gortchakow to-day for the first time since his recent indisposition.

His Excellency told me he believed your Lordship was satisfied with the expression of his ideas respecting Central Asia, conveyed to you through Baron Brunnow. He had taken for his basis a map sent to him from London (Phillip's Persia), and having originally proposed Afghanistan as a territory well suited to serve as neutral ground between the possessions of the two Empires in Asia, he had gone a step beyond, and had expressed his readiness to include within that neutral ground the whole tract of country coloured in yellow in that map. He could not go further, because the competent persons who had been consulted raised objections, and because any greater extension of the neutral zone would include portions of the Bokharian territories south of the Oxus. I told the Prince that I believed the territory south of the Oxus belonged to Khiva; but he maintained that it was Bokharian. Of course it was difficult in those regions to define the exact limits of the native States, and a general understanding was all that could be required, the main object being peace between the two Empires, with space sufficient to prevent that peace being endangered by contact.

The Prince went on to say that, considering our relations with Shere Ali, it was to be hoped that we would use our influence with that Chief to keep him within bounds. He was said to be inclined to embark in hostile enterprises both towards Persia in the west and towards Bokhara in the north, and, as he was indebted to us for support of a very tangible kind, we should, in the general interests of peace in that quarter, seek to moderate his ardour.

Prince Gortchakow said General Kaufmann had gone back to his command with the amplest instructions to live on terms of peace and amity with Bokhara and the other States bordering on the Russian possessions.

No. 8.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 2.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, July 26, 1869.

ON my arrival here I intimated to M. de Westmann that, although I felt it would be indiscreet to request an audience of the Emperor during the few days which would elapse before his departure for the Crimea, I should gladly avail myself of an opportunity, should one occur, to present the compliments of the Queen to His Majesty, and to give him such information as I had obtained in conversations with your Lordship, as to the opinions of Her Majesty's Government upon the affairs of Central Asia.

The Emperor having consequently been pleased to suggest that I should attend the Cavalry manœuvres to take place at Krasnoe Selo on the 22nd instant, I proceeded there on that day, and joined His Majesty's staff. After the troops had been formed and ordered to advance, the Emperor sent for me, and I had the honour of riding beside him for some time; but as His Majesty was occupied in directing the movements of a large body of cavalry and artillery who were advancing behind us, our conversation was not carried on under the most favourable circumstances.

After I had delivered to His Majesty a complimentary message from the Queen, he expressed a hope that I had also brought him good news on the question of Central Asia. I answered that His Majesty must be already acquainted with the language held on that subject in the House of Commons by Her Majesty's Government; and from what your Lordship had stated to me in a recent conversation, I could also assure

him, that Her Majesty's Government and the Government of India looked upon the events which had recently taken place in Central Asia without any feelings of distrust or apprehension, and that they would neither take measures themselves, nor sanction intrigues on the part of others, of a nature to disturb the tranquillity of the Provinces now occupied by Russia. His Majesty said he was convinced of the friendly feelings of the Government of the Queen, but he had less confidence in the policy of the Government of India, where he feared there was a disposition to encourage the ambitious views of the Emir of Cabul, who is said to contemplate the conquest of Bokhara. I answered that Her Majesty's Government could not reasonably deny to Shere Ali a right to re-establish his authority over the Provinces which had acknowledged the Sovereignty of his father, but that I did not believe the Emir had aggressive intentions against Bokhara, and I was at all events certain that no enterprise of the kind on his part would be encouraged by the Government of India; and I begged His Majesty to believe that the Government of India was now under the immediate control of the Government of the Queen, without whose sanction the Viceroy could take no important resolution affecting the policy of Great Britain towards other States. The Emperor said such an assurance on my part tranquillised him (*"ce que vous me dites me tranquillise"*), as very unsatisfactory rumours had reached him as to the views of the Government of India and the intentions of Shere Ali. I then went on to say, that as long as things remain as they are, the good understanding which happily exists between the two Governments cannot be disturbed; but His Majesty should remember that the number of persons in England is very great who are directly and personally interested in the prosperity and tranquillity of India, and that, in the event of a conflict between Russia and Afghanistan, or of the entrance of Russian troops into Provinces bordering on India, the fears of these persons might be worked upon by the party of action in India, and public opinion become so excited that Her Majesty's Government might be obliged to take measures to satisfy it entirely inconsistent with the views they at present entertain. I said that His Majesty was doubtless aware of the extreme sensitiveness of persons whose interests are affected by political eventualities, and he could appreciate the influence which the apprehensions of such persons might have on public opinion in England.

The Emperor answered that he quite understood this, and that it was only natural, but there was no probability of any event occurring to create such a state of feeling as that to which I had alluded, for I must know that he had no ambitious views, and that he had been drawn by circumstances (*"que nous avons été entraînés"*) further than he had wished into Central Asia, and as I said that Her Majesty's Government were perfectly satisfied as to how past events had occurred, and that the future alone could cause them anxiety, he trusted no new complications would arise, though an irruption of Khivans into the Government of Orenburg had recently taken place, and such incidents could not be permitted.

As the movements of the troops appeared to call more and more for His Majesty's attention, I did not attempt to continue the conversation, and fell back among the officers of his staff.

No. 9.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 2.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, July 28, 1869.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 26th instant, reporting a conversation with the Emperor on the affairs of Central Asia, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I had previously an interview with M. de Westmann, in which I held similar language to his Excellency on that subject. I found him, equally with the Emperor, under a strong impression that the Government of India might not act towards Russia in the friendly spirit with which the Russian Government believe that of Her Majesty to be animated, and he said that, while he had expressed to the Emperor at his last interview with His Majesty, entire confidence in the desire of Her Majesty's Government to follow out the policy enunciated in the late debate in the House of Commons, he feared that the Government of India could not divest itself of mistrust of Russia, and of a disposition to create embarrassments to her in her recently acquired provinces. I answered that I quite agreed with him that, if any circumstances should occur to disturb the present good understanding of the two Governments, it could only come from the unauthorized action of officers on the frontiers, but he might rest assured that the officers of the Government of India would not be the

offending parties. It might be true that, when a despatch from England to India was three months in reaching its destination, the local authorities had frequently acted on their own responsibility, and committed the Government at home to measures of which they did not entirely approve, but these times had passed away, and, through steam-packets and the electric telegraph, India was now practically governed from England; and even in distant China, no officer would be permitted to commit the Queen's Government to any serious course of action without instructions from home. Russia had, therefore, nothing to fear from the initiative of British authorities; but I said the events of the last two years did not inspire me with great confidence in the moderation of the Russian officers employed in Central Asia, and imprudent proceedings on their part, notwithstanding the most friendly intentions of Her Majesty's Government, might occasion the most serious evils, for if Russian troops were to enter Afghanistan or the provinces contiguous to India, a cry for defensive measures, which would find an echo in every town in England, might excite public opinion to a degree which would force the Government into a policy of antagonism to Russia, which it is their anxious desire to avoid. I said that Prince Gortchakow once said to me that he had observed to your Lordship, when he met you last summer in Germany, that, though a Constitutional Government must act in conformity with public opinion, a Constitutional statesman should be able to direct that opinion, and I hoped, therefore, his Excellency would now appreciate how much had been done by Her Majesty's Government to promote moderate views in England with respect to the progress of Russia in Central Asia; but there might, nevertheless, be a point beyond which exaggerated and unreasonable apprehensions, among persons interested in the tranquillity of India, as to the possible consequences of a further advance of Russian troops towards the East, would oblige the Government to modify the policy under which they are at present acting.

M. de Westmann did not deny that there might be Russian officers in Central Asia on whose prudence no reliance was to be placed, but he said the difficulty of organizing the administration and of maintaining tranquillity in the countries already acquired by Russia would give sufficient occupation to the officers entrusted with that duty for many years to come. Indeed, he said, at the present moment, the whole country is so unsettled from the recent revolt of the Kirghize, instigated, it is said, by the Khans of Khiva and Bokhara, that it had been doubtful whether General Kaufmann might not have been obliged to endeavour to reach Tashkend by way of Siberia, and though he had finally decided on proceeding by the direct route, no information had been received from him since he left Orenburg.

With respect to Shere Ali, his Excellency said, if he were cautioned to abstain from engaging in hostile measures or intrigues against Russia, and made clearly to understand that his doing so would meet with the disapproval of Her Majesty's Government, there could be no risk of collisions arising between him and the Russian authorities.

I answered that Her Majesty's Government, of course, could not deny a right to Shere Ali to re-establish his authority in all the districts which had acknowledged the sovereignty of his father, but he must know that it would be folly on his part to provoke the hostility of Russia, by interfering in the affairs of Bokhara; and I also felt assured that, if he were disposed to adopt such an imprudent course, he would be dissuaded from doing so by the Government of India.

Our conversation ended by M. de Westmann reminding me of the satisfactory results which had been obtained by a good understanding between England and Russia with respect to the affairs of Persia, and by his expressing a hope that a cordial understanding between the two Governments as to those of Central Asia might be attended with the same advantages; but your Lordship may not perhaps see any analogy in the two cases.

No. 10.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 3, 1869.

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve the language which you held, as reported in your despatches of the 26th and 28th ultimo, to the Emperor and M. de Westmann on the affairs of Central Asia.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir A. Buchanan.

(Extract.)

Wiesbaden, September 3, 1869.

PRINCE GORTCHAKOW, who is at Baden, having expressed a desire to see me, I went yesterday to Heidelberg for the purpose of meeting his Excellency, and I now propose to place on record such matters of importance as were discussed between us.

The conversation began by Prince Gortchakow, saying, that we might congratulate ourselves upon England and Russia having now no interests that were antagonistic to each other, and that there was no question in any part of the world upon which the two Powers might not cordially act together.

I said it gave me great pleasure to concur with his Excellency, but there was one part of the world, viz., Central Asia, where a difference between the two Governments might arise, and upon which it was important to arrive at a clear understanding.

Prince Gortchakow agreed, and said he was glad I had at once alluded to the subject, because he could assure me that we had no cause for apprehension, as the Emperor considered, and he entirely shared His Majesty's opinion, that extension of territory, was extension of weakness, and that Russia had no intention of going further south.

It was satisfactory, I replied, to learn that the Emperor had arrived at such a sound conclusion respecting the interests of Russia, but that when I considered the rapid advances of Russia and her great organization of territory within the last five years, it was impossible to doubt that her army had been impelled forward either by direct orders from St. Petersburg, or by the ambition of Generals in disregard of the pacific intentions of the Emperor.

I pointed out the various acquisitions of Russia, and the dates at which they were made, adding that, Russia being now in possession of Samarkand, Bokhara was completely in her power, to which his Excellency assented; and that the next step onwards would probably be to Balkh, which could be of no use to Russia except for purposes of aggression; and that on the Hindoo Koosh the British possessions might be viewed as a traveller on the summit of the Simplon might survey the plains of Italy, and that measures for our own protection might then become necessary. As regarded apprehensions of invasion, however, we had none, as it was impossible for a Russian army of 50,000 men to cross that mountainous country at a vast distance from its basis of operations in order to meet, not the semi-barbarian hordes that had been easily conquered in Central Asia, but a regular army as numerous and well organized as the Russian with all its resources at hand—the only apprehension we had was, I continued, that the nearer approach of the Russians, and intrigues with native Chiefs might keep the Indian mind in a ferment and entail upon us much trouble and expense, all of which would be avoided by a clear understanding with the Russian Government, by which a neutral ground between the possessions of the two countries might be established. We well knew, I added, from our own experience, how difficult it was from a great distance to control the ambition of military Commanders, but it seemed to me that, if the Emperor's favours were bestowed on the Generals who laboured to civilize the territory already acquired, and that His Majesty's displeasure was clearly manifested to those who sought to extend that territory, the desired object might with ease be attained.

Prince Gortchakow replied that he could take no exception to anything I had said, and particularly with regard to the military commanders, who had all exceeded their instructions in the hope of gaining distinction, and who consequently one after the other had been recalled; and he made special allusion to General Chernaieff, whose talents and bravery were remarkable; but his Excellency said that nothing need be feared on the part of General Kaufmann, who now commanded in Turkestan, and who had already gained every honour that a Russian General could aspire to, and who had been sent to Turkestan with instructions almost identical with those which I had indicated.

Prince Gortchakow then proceeded to say that I was right in thinking that Bokhara might at any moment be taken, because it depended for its supply of water upon Samarkand, which was in the possession of Russia, but that it was the intention of the Emperor not to retain Samarkand, and he could give no better proof of His Majesty's determination not to proceed further southwards; certain arrangements had to be made and were not yet completed with the Emir of Bokhara. It was the

intention, however, of the Russian Government to demand 1,000,000 roubles for the expenses of the war, and to allow ample time for payment, about which no difficulty was anticipated, as the revenue of Samarkand was 300,000 roubles per annum.

I then alluded to a misapprehension which I believed to exist in his Excellency's mind respecting the assistance given to Shere Ali by England with intentions hostile to Russia, and I explained that the policy was not of recent date and had originated with Lord Lawrence, that it had no reference to the advances of Russia in Central Asia, and had solely for its object to enable Shere Ali to maintain that order in Afghanistan which was of importance to the neighbouring possessions of Great Britain.

I then told Prince Gortchakow that, since I left England, I had received the copy of a letter from the Governor-General in Council, stating that nothing had occurred which could justify a belief that the Ameer entertained any aggressive intentions on neighbouring states, or for a military advance beyond his own frontier in any direction whatever; and that, should he ever display such intentions, it would be the duty of the Indian Government strongly to remonstrate against a course so dangerous to himself and so contrary to the course of policy which was inculcated at Umballa, and which he assured the Governor-General he was anxious to pursue.

Prince Gortchakow declared that this was quite sufficient and most satisfactory, and that he should have great pleasure in forthwith reporting it to the Emperor.

I next alluded to the Oxus as forming the most desirable line of demarcation for a neutral ground between the Russian and British possessions, but Prince Gortchakow expressed a hope that I should not press it as a portion of country south of the Oxus was claimed by the Emir of Bokhara; and, as it might lead to differences between the Russian and English Governments, he preferred that Afghanistan should be looked upon as constituting the neutral ground which it was expedient to establish.

I remarked upon this that the frontier of Afghanistan was ill defined, and that the Emir might attempt to bring under subjection the different Khanates which had formerly belonged to Afghanistan, and which I believe were now considered by Russia to be quite independent.

To this Prince Gortchakow replied that the Emir was at perfect liberty to do so, and that no complaint would be made provided he did not attack the Emir of Bokhara or pursue a course of policy that might reasonably be considered aggressive against Russia.

I then adverted to the prohibitory policy in commercial matters that Russia was said to have adopted, and upon that point I said his Excellency must be aware that the British public would be very sensitive. Prince Gortchakow replied that Russian trade, and particularly the trade in tea from Kiakta, must be protected; but he agreed with me that a prohibitory tariff was untenable, and that the differential duty upon the teas of Assam ought not to exceed that which would cover the additional cost of transport for a distance which I believe is at least 1,500 versts.

Prince Gortchakow said that he should be glad to have the whole subject discussed with the Minister of Commerce by Mr. Forsyth, of whom he spoke highly, and whom he had invited to come to St. Petersburg in October. He said he should endeavour to procure an audience for Mr. Forsyth with the Emperor, in order that he should be the bearer to the Indian Government of His Majesty's friendly and pacific assurances.

In conclusion, I asked leave to correct an error which appeared to exist at St. Petersburg respecting Mr. Gladstone's speech in a recent debate in the House of Commons on Central Asia. Mr. Gladstone was supposed to have said that Russia was unwilling to define what should be considered as a neutral ground, whereas Mr. Gladstone had stated that, although the question was not without difficulties, and had, therefore, not been definitively settled, yet there was on both sides an amicable willingness and desire to attain the end. Prince Gortchakow assured me that he did not share the impression which had been conveyed to your Excellency, and that, to the best of his recollection, my report of Mr. Gladstone's speech was perfectly correct.

No. 12.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 25.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, October 19, 1869.

A MISSION from the Emir of Bokhara has arrived here, consisting of the fourth son of the Emir and other members of his family. The ostensible object of this mission is said to be to give information to the Emperor respecting the hostile intentions and

intrigues of the Government of India and of the Afghans, but it is believed that its principal object is to secure the succession of the Throne of Bokhara to the fourth and favourite son of the Emir.

M. de Westmann tells me that the mission is merely one of courtesy, but that it is true that the Emir is desirous that his fourth son should be his successor, a question on which his Excellency says the Russian Government can have no interest. His Excellency also informed me that General Kaufmann was about to visit Samarkand, when last heard from, where he would probably meet an Envoy from the Emir.

No. 13.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 8.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, November 1, 1869.

PRINCE GORTCHAKOW said that the proposed establishment on the Bay of Krasnovodsk would be merely a factory, which would, however, of course, require to be protected by a small armed force, but it was incorrect to speak of it as a fort.

He said its object would be entirely commercial, as it would open a shorter caravan route to Central Asia, and also give increased security to trade by restraining the predatory practices of the Turkomans, and by warning the Khan of Khiva that hostility on his part would not be tolerated hereafter.

I said that I presumed the territory on which the projected fort would be built must be either Khivan or Persian, as the Shah, I believed, had some claim to sovereignty over the Turkomans, and his Excellency answered that Persia had no such pretensions, and that it was at her wish and with her concurrence that Russia had maintained a flotilla on the coast for purposes of police, and to protect trade against piracy from the Turkomans, who might be looked upon as an independent race, the sovereignty of Khiva over their territory being merely nominal.

Prince Gortchakow added that he was as yet imperfectly acquainted with the details of the contemplated measure, but that on some other opportunity he would give me any information I might wish on the subject.

No. 14.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 8.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, November 2, 1869.

PRINCE GORTCHAKOW read to me yesterday that part of his Report to the Emperor of his conversation with your Lordship at Heidelberg, which relates to Central Asia, and nothing could be more satisfactory than the spirit in which it was written, and the manner in which his Excellency has reported to his Sovereign the language he had held to your Lordship respecting the policy of Russia in Central Asia, and your observations to him on that subject.

The Emperor appears to have been gratified by what you said of the subordination of the Government of India to Her Majesty's Government at home.

With respect to Samarkand, Prince Gortchakow states in this Report that he had assured your Lordship of the desire of the Emperor to restore it to Bokhara, but that there was some difficulty in ascertaining how this could be done without a loss of dignity and without obtaining guarantees for the welfare of the populations which had accepted the sovereignty of Russia, and this object ("tâche") General Kaufmann is instructed to accomplish.

His Excellency then spoke to me of a conversation which he had a few days previously with Mr. Douglas Forsyth respecting the influence that might be exercised by the Governments of India and Russia on the Asiatic States on their frontiers, and in which he had observed to Mr. Forsyth that, as the Government of India paid money to the Ruler of Afghanistan, while that of Russia was exacting a war indemnity from the Khan of Bokhara, the influence of the former should be greater at Cabul, and more should be expected from it than from that of the latter at Bokhara. The case was different, however, he said at Kokand, and there, he felt assured, the advice of Russia, to live in peace with their neighbours, would be followed.

He then said that Mr. Forsyth had also spoken to him of the expediency of establishing friendly relations with Kashgaria and the Government of the Atilagh

Ghazee, but he said, though that Ruler might have established a Government *de facto*, Russia had Treaties with China and could not enter into diplomatic relations with a successful insurgent against the authority of the Chinese Emperor.

I answered that the Government of India were, of course, aware that the territories of the Atilagh Ghazee had formed a part of the Empire of China, but that, finding a new State on their immediate frontier, they could not ignore its existence or deter their subjects from trading with it, and that the only difficulty apparently which its Ruler made to opening his territories to Russian as well as to the English trade, arose from a doubt of the feelings entertained towards him.

His Excellency replied that the Atilagh Ghazee had nothing to fear from Russia, but as the Government have no relations with him, and the Government of India appear to have dealings with him, "you can assure him on my authority that Russia has no hostile intentions towards him, or any desire to make conquests in his territories."

. No. 15.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 8.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, November 2, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith the copy of a letter which has been addressed to me by Mr. Douglas Forsyth, reporting his conversations with Prince Gortchakow and other members of the Imperial Government on various questions in Central Asia, on which it is important that there should be a satisfactory understanding between Her Majesty's Government and that of Russia.

I placed Mr. Forsyth's letter this morning in Prince Gortchakow's hands, stating that, before forwarding it to your Lordship, I should be glad to learn from him that it reported correctly the opinions of the Imperial Government, and coincided with the report which he had doubtless received from M. Stremoukoff on the subject. His Excellency said, if I had no objection, he would send for M. Stremoukoff and read to him Mr. Forsyth's letter aloud in his presence, a proposal to which I of course assented; and, on the letter being read, the only amendments which M. Stremoukoff requested might be made in it had reference to Badakshan, which he does not believe to be in the possession of Shere Ali, and which he objects to his holding on account of its vicinity to Kokand; and to the Customs duties to be levied in Russian Turkestan, the rates of which on goods of European origin were not yet finally settled, and which, he said, we must not expect to be as low as the former Asiatic *ad valorem* duty of about 2½ per cent., which it is intended to maintain on goods of Asiatic origin.

Prince Gortchakow also remarked that he could not altogether concur in Mr. Forsyth's observation that Russia, while inflicting punishment on Bokhara, ought to have more influence over the Ameer of Bokhara than England over the Ameer of Cabul; but, admitting that to be a mere question of appreciation, he said, he did not anticipate much difficulty in inducing the Ruler of Bokhara to abstain from aggressive acts against Afghanistan.

His Excellency then requested me to assure your Lordship of the satisfaction which Mr. Forsyth's conversations with himself and the other gentlemen referred to in the inclosure had afforded him, while he was also glad to believe Mr. Forsyth was equally satisfied with the assurances and explanations which had been given to him. Pray, therefore, he added, tell Lord Clarendon, that as both Governments are free from all *arrière-pensées*, ambitious views, or unfriendly feelings towards each other, the more fully and frankly all questions connected with Central Asia are discussed between them the more effectually will the "mists" be blown away, which, through the misrepresentations of our zealous subordinate agents, may at any time hang over them.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

P.S.—I ought to have mentioned in this despatch that Prince Gortchakow said to me, with respect to the inexpediency of either English or Russian officers going to Afghanistan, that he saw no objection whatever to English officers visiting Cabul, though he agreed with Lord Mayo that Russian agents should not do so.

A. B.

Inclosure in No. 15.

Mr. Forsyth to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir,

St. Petersburg, November 2, 1869.

IN compliance with instructions received from his Excellency the Viceroy of India, I beg to place before you a short account of conversations, which, through your kind introduction, I have had the honour of holding with the Chief Ministers of State at St. Petersburg regarding the interests of Russia and England in Central Asia.

On the 30th of October I had the honour of an interview with his Excellency Prince Gortchakoff, when I presented for perusal a letter from Lord Mayo to myself, in which his Lordship expressed his earnest desire that the most complete *entente cordiale* should be maintained between Russia and England in Asia.

The Prince was good enough to remark that Lord Mayo's letter confirmed the views which I had ventured to represent as belonging to his Lordship when I had the honour of conversing with his Excellency at Baden-Baden.

His Excellency entirely reciprocated Lord Mayo's opinion regarding the inadvisability of sending any officer, either English or Russian, to Afghanistan. As regards Lord Mayo's remarks concerning the support of intermediate independent Powers, Prince Gortchakow considered his words rather elastic, for Russia and England were not in exactly the same position as regards their intermediate States. England, in virtue of her position as donor to Shere Ali, had a right to attach certain conditions to her gifts, whereas Russia only receives indemnity from Bokhara for injuries inflicted by her. As this remark was repeated by M. Stremoukoff, I venture to offer a suggestion founded on our knowledge of the Asiatic character, that the influence of a Power which chastises is generally greater than that of a Power which merely makes gifts, and in any case the power of Russia over Bokhara is not less than that of England over Afghanistan.

His Excellency expressed himself much satisfied with Lord Mayo's assurances, as well as by the assurances given by Lord Clarendon, that the policy pursued in India would be in entire consonance with the wishes of Her Majesty's Government in India.

In like manner it was to be understood that the policy enunciated at St. Petersburg was that which ruled the actions of all Russian officers in the remotest parts of the Empire, and if different interpretations were put forth by Consuls or Agents in other parts, they were to be treated as mists which should be blown away. There was not the least intention of interfering with our Trade with the countries of Central Asia, and as regards imports into Russian Turkestan only such duties would be imposed as were necessary to protect Russian manufactures.

Eastern Turkestan the Prince considered to belong to China, and could only be dealt with by Russia through the Chinese.

I had the honour of discussing these various subjects more in detail yesterday with his Excellency M. de Reutern, Minister of Finance, and with their Excellencies General de Miliutine, Minister of War, and M. Stremoukoff, Directeur du Département Asiatique du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères.

On the subject of the Tariff, M. de Reutern gave most satisfactory assurances. Since the abandonment of the old Customs line at Orenburg, orders have been issued for the levy in Central Asia of only the old Yactract rates, which prevail in Mahometan countries. These rates are not above 2 per cent., and are applied to all kinds of goods, including teas, to the introduction of which, I understand, no objection is to be made within Asiatic limits. I pointed out the fact that strong rumours existed of very much more stringent and prohibitory orders having been issued by the local authorities, and I ventured to suggest that the more liberal orders now announced might be advantageously published by the Government of India.

General de Miliutine and M. de Stremoukoff entered fully into the question of maintaining the independence of the States which intervene between Russia and India. M. Stremoukoff very ably explained the idea of a neutral zone, which would include such tracts as Balhk and Koonduz and Badakshan, but seeing that these provinces have become, for periods more or less long, incorporated with Afghanistan, it was the opinion of General Miliutine concurred in by M. Stremoukoff, that we should accept as Afghanistan all the provinces which Shere Ali now holds. Beyond this limit he should not attempt to exercise any interference or influence, and the good offices of England should be exerted to restrain him from all thought of aggression.

Similarly, Russia should exercise all her influence to restrain Bokhara from transgressing the limits of Afghan territory.

It was suggested that possibly either or both of these Powers, finding themselves backed up by their respective patrons, might wax wanton and attempt to create a disturbance, or possibly through their present rulers might accept the protection of the Great Powers; their successors might refuse to abide by arrangements already made, or they might so misbehave towards their protectors as to necessitate the infliction of chastisement. In such a case it was asked, how is the degree of chastisement to be measured? In other words, suppose the conduct of Bokhara compelled the Russians, much against their will, to occupy that country, would such occupation be considered as an infringement of the understanding between Russia and England? To such a question I could only venture the opinion of a private individual, that so long as the integrity of Afghanistan was preserved, no objection could be made to the chastisement, or even, if properly warranted, the occupation of the country in whole or in part. But of course I distinctly explained that the discussion of such a point was quite beyond my province.

I alluded to the report in the Russian newspapers of Abdul Rāhman Khan having applied for aid against Shere Ali; I was assured that there was not the slightest likelihood of such a request being entertained.

We then discussed the question of Eastern Turkestan and Yakoub Bey, of whose power M. Stremoukoff thought Mr. Shaw had given too highly-coloured an account.

But I was assured that there was not the slightest intention of interfering with him in any way; in fact, Russia having fixed her boundaries with China by Treaty, could not take notice of the rebels and insurgents who might set themselves up as independent in Chinese territory.

If Yakoub Bey proved a good neighbour, the Russians would be happy to trade with him, and possibly hereafter, if he entirely established his independence, they might be induced to enter into negotiations with him. But in present circumstances to send an invading force across the Thian-Shan range would be to break their Treaty with China.

As regards the alleged encounters between Yakoub Bey's force and the Russians, if these occurred on the western side of the Thian-Shan range, Yakoub Bey must be considered as the aggressor. It is true, that two Russian officers with a few followers did penetrate not long ago into Kashgar territory, but this was contrary to orders, and drew upon the officers concerned the displeasure of the Russian Government.

I was given clearly to understand that there was not the slightest ground for alarm on the part of Yakoub Bey, that he would see any hostile Russian force within the limits of the territory.

In submitting this narrative of conversation held on subjects of such deep interest to any one concerned in the welfare of India, and in the maintenance of cordial relations between England and Russia, I trust that I have not misinterpreted in the smallest degree the intentions or the expressions of the Russian officers of state, who have honoured me with their confidence; and I have to tender my warmest thanks to yourself for your courteous kindness, and for enabling me to receive the opinions of these distinguished Russian statesmen on topics of vital importance to the welfare of both nations.

I am, &c.
(Signed) F. DOUGLAS FORSYTH.

No. 16.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 10.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, November 5, 1869.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 2nd instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a letter, which I have received from Mr. Forsyth, reporting a subsequent conversation with M. Stremoukoff, and giving an account of his visit to the Bokhara Mission, from which it may be presumed that Badakshan will be acknowledged by the Russian Government as part of the dominions of Shere Ali.

When M. Stremoukoff objected, at my last interview with Prince Gortchakow, to Shere Ali's holding it on account of its vicinity to Khokand, he said, "We are unwilling to promise what we may not be able honestly to fulfil"—an observation which is now explained by the fear he has expressed to Mr. Forsyth that Shere Ali, as Sovereign of Badakshan, might have pretensions on the district of Kolab, where the

Khan of Khokand, the ally of Russia, is now apparently endeavouring to establish his authority.

The inclosure also reports that Mr. Forsyth had the honour yesterday of an audience of the Emperor, at which the language held to him by His Majesty may be fairly considered a ratification of the assurances and explanations offered to him by His Majesty's Ministers.

As Mr. Forsyth has referred in his previous letter to Mr. Shaw's account of Kashgaria, I inclose herewith, for your Lordship's full information, an extract from Mr. Shaw's letter to Mr. Forsyth of the 22nd of July, 1869, which Mr. Forsyth communicated to Prince Gortchakow, and also a copy of the extract, which he refers to as having been given to M. Stremoukoff, from Mr. Wheeler's memorandum on Afghanistan, a copy of which had fortunately been communicated to me by Lord Mayo.

The commercial question as to British goods entering Central Asia from India is still open, but I trust the understanding which the Russian Government are willing to accept as to the limits of Afghanistan, and the assurances which they have given to Mr. Forsyth as to their relations with the Atilagh Ghazee, will be considered by your Lordship as satisfactory.

Your Lordship's conversation on these questions with Prince Gortchakow having convinced his Excellency that there is no reason why England and Russia should not maintain friendly relations in Central Asia, his Excellency and General Miliutine were prepared to discuss the basis on which such relations might be promoted in a spirit of conciliation and confidence, and having found the subject treated with entire frankness by an Agent of the Viceroy of India, of whose policy they could not perhaps divest themselves previously of some suspicion, have come to an understanding with him, which, if it meets with the approval of Her Majesty's Government, will, I trust, prevent the proceedings of Russia in Central Asia from being a cause of dissension with the Government of India for many years to come.

In concluding this despatch, I venture to suggest that, if Her Majesty's Government approve of Mr. Forsyth's language to M. Stremoukoff, Shere Ali should be cautioned, with the least possible delay, to abstain from interfering in the military operations which appear to have been undertaken by the Ameer of Khokand in the Khanate or district of Kolab.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

P.S.—I have read this despatch and its inclosures to Prince Gortchakow, and also my despatch of the 2nd instant.

A. B.

Inclosure 1 in No. 16.

Mr. Forsyth to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir,

St. Petersburg, November 5, 1869.

IN continuation of my letter dated November 2, I have the honour to report the purport of a further conversation which I had yesterday with M. Stremoukoff regarding the political position of Badakshan.

I delivered to his Excellency a copy of an extract from Mr. Wheeler's Memorandum in your possession, which showed that, in A.D. 1859, Dost Mahomed acquired possession of Badakshan, and that, in A.D. 1863, after Dost Mahomed's death, when the Ruler of Badakshan desired to throw off the Cabul yoke, the Ameer of Bokhara refused his aid. M. Stremoukoff expressed himself as not at all sure what the present state of that country was, and he was prepared to hear that it did belong to Cabul. But he said it was necessary to clear the matter up, because the Khan of Kokand, whose friendship and alliance were very necessary to Russia, was now engaged in some operation against Kolab, on the north side of the Oxus, and, if Badakshan claimed any right there, and Shere Ali supported those claims, it would involve him in trouble. It was very necessary therefore, he remarked, that we should know certainly what are the actual present possessions of Shere Ali. On this subject the Russian Government would call for a specific report from their Governor-General, and he supposed the English Government would do the same as regards India. Then it would be necessary to fix the boundaries so as to prevent further dispute. M. Stremoukoff

dwelt on the advisability of discussing at once and bringing to a clear understanding every doubtful point instead of allowing it to become a festering sore, increased and influenced by the intrigues of the Asiatics.

I subsequently called upon the Bokhara Ambassadors now at St. Petersburg, in company with M. Stremoukoff, and explained to them that whilst England and Russia remain in accord, there is not the least reason for Bokhara or Afghanistan to fear aggression, the one from the other, prompted by either of the great Powers. But it was hoped that these two States, would endeavour to cultivate peace and mutual friendship, and thus increase the trade and material prosperity of these countries. As regards Badakshan, I asked the Senior Ambassador, who replied that so many changes took place in Cabul that he could not say who was ruler over Badakshan; but that since the capture of Herat by Dost Mahomed, Badakshan had belonged to Cabul; but, he added, it was the neighbour of Bokhara, and friendly agents were sent from one country to the other. The idea of Bokhara having any power over Badakshan was evidently not for one moment entertained by this Ambassador. With reference to the commercial point of the question, M. Stremoukoff repeated, what I understand from your conversation with Prince Gortchakow to be the intention of the Russian Government, viz., to levy only the old Mahomedan duty of about 2½ per cent. on all goods other than European manufactures, when they pass within the limits of Russian Turkestan. Tea is to bear a fixed rate of 15 kopecks per lb. For English manufactures a new Tariff has yet to be made. Bokhara, being without the limit of Russian Turkestan, will not be affected by this arrangement.

To-day I had the honour of being presented to the Emperor, when His Imperial Majesty was graciously pleased to remark that he had heard what had passed in conversation between Prince Gortchakow and General Miliutine and myself with much satisfaction and he hoped I was satisfied also. His Majesty further remarked that there was no intention of extending the Russian dominions; but it was well-known that, in the East, it is impossible always to stop when and where one wishes.

It was not however Russia's fault that she had been drawn on to Bokhara; but that State had been taught a severe lesson, and had now sent Ambassadors to sue for peace, and His Majesty hoped that there would be tranquillity henceforth in those regions. His Majesty alluded to the idea of a neutral zone between our two dominions and expressed his approval.

Afghanistan, he hoped, would not be allowed to increase in size, and if the idea of conquest were banished from Shere Ali's mind, there would be peace in Central Asia. I ventured to remark that, whilst on our side every effort would be made to induce Shere Ali to keep within his present dominions, we hoped that Bokhara would be restrained from aggression. To this remark, His Majesty gave his assent. On parting His Imperial Majesty was pleased to say, "I hope we shall always be good neighbours."

The gracious confirmation which has thus been given by His Imperial Majesty to the assurances which I have already received from His Majesty's Ministers cannot fail, I feel sure, to prove most satisfactory to Her Majesty's Indian Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. DOUGLAS FORSYTH.

Inclosure 2 in No. 16.

Mr. Shaw to Mr. Forsyth.

(Extract.)

July 22, 1869.

TO come to the result of my journey, without entering into details, I can tell you that the Atilagh Ghazee, Mahomed Yakoub Bey, has established almost an Empire on the ruins of the Chinese supremacy. Kokand, Yarkand, Kashgar, Maralbashee, Oosh Turfan, Aksoo, Koochi, with their provinces, are under his immediate rule; while Karashahr, Koomul, Oorumchee, and Ili, under their Kulmih and Toonganee chiefs are tributaries to him. It is essentially an Andijanee rule, as he himself, with his chief officers, both civil and military, and the best part of his army, the cavalry, are Oosbeys from Kokand (which Khanat goes by the general name of Andijan from the old capital). At the same time place is found in the administration for the more influential of the native Yarkundee and Kashgaree Chiefs, and the mass of the people is conciliated by every means. Their taxes are merely those ordered by the "Sharyat" (koran), while oppression is almost unknown. Nothing can save a Governor or Beggee against whom oppression or peculation are proved, and the complaints of the ryots are

attentively listened to. The demeanour of the governing Oosbegs is most conciliatory. Begân and other forced and unpaid services are unknown. At the same time blood flows freely, thieves live under a reign of terror, and the roads are as safe as those of England. You never meet an armed man, while single travellers, even with valuables about them, are perfectly safe.

Altogether the present rule is very popular with all but the former leaders of discord, the Khijas, and others of local importance of whom Bugin Khan has been exiled, and Walee Khan killed.

The Russian fort on the Naryn within six days of Kashgar itself and two days from his boundary, the crest of the Karan Tagh snowy range, is however a thorn in his side, of which he spoke very bitterly to me. He has fortified the pass, working with his own hand with all his chief officers, and it strikes me that these mountains are such that even an unwarlike race would have a good chance of defending them successfully, and his troops do not deserve that epithet. They cannot conceive of any one having the power to conquer and not doing so.

Inclosure 3 in No. 16.

Extract from Mr. J. T. Wheeler's Memorandum on Afghan-Turkestan.

Submission of the Meer of Badakshan.—AFTER the annexation of Koonduz, Mahomed Afzul Khan requested the permission of the Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan to carry out the annexation of Badakshan, and was told in reply to use his own discretion. Subsequently Mahomed Afzul Khan reported to Cabul that the Meer of Badakshan had expressed his willingness to yield submission, provided the Ameer Dost Mahomet Khan would send him a Koran with his seal affixed to it as a guarantee; but he stipulated that he should only be required to furnish troops, and that when the latter were summoned he should not be required to accompany them in person. In reply, the Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan agreed to make over the country of Badakshan to the Meer on the following terms:—

1st. That, considering the friends and enemies of the Cabul Government as his own, the Meer of Badakshan shall refrain from holding correspondence with other states.

2nd. That the Meer should make over to the Ameer's officers the ruby and lapis lazuli mines.

3rd. That the Meer should pay the "nuzzerana" levied by former sovereigns.

4th. That the Meer should send his sons with the levies of the province, whenever required to do so.

The Meer of Badakshan temporized for a while, apparently in the vain hope of getting assistance from Bokhara. At length he came to terms, and agreed to pay tribute at the rate of 2 rupees per house, and to make over the ruby and lapis lazuli mines to the officers of the Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan.

Commencement of Disturbances.—After the death of the Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, all the chiefs of Afghanistan were thrown into the greatest excitement, and alarming rumours of approaching hostilities were spread abroad in every quarter. It was said that Mahomed Afzul Khan contemplated an advance upon Cabul, and that he was encouraged to take this step by the Ameer of Bokhara. Subsequently, the British Vakeel reported, from a trustworthy quarter, that the chiefs of Badakshan had expressed their willingness to transfer their allegiance to Bokhara; and that, in reply, the Ameer of Bokhara had informed them that Badakshan was subject to the Afghan Government; but that if the Chiefs met with oppression from Cabul, he would intercede for them; but that he was not prepared to render them any further assistance.

No. 17.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 10, 1869.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 2nd of November, reporting a conversation with Prince Gortchakow arising out of the communications respecting Central Asia, which had passed between Mr. Forsyth and various members of the Imperial Government.

Her Majesty's Government have read with great satisfaction that passage in your despatch in which you say that Prince Gortchakow begged you to tell me "that, as both Governments are free from all *arrière-pensées*, ambitious views, or unfriendly feelings towards each other, the more fully and frankly all questions connected with Central Asia are discussed between them, the more effectually will the mists be blown away, which through the misrepresentations of over-zealous subordinate agents may at any time hang over them."

Your Excellency will state to Prince Gortchakow that Her Majesty's Government entirely reciprocate these opinions, and will act upon them without reserve and in a spirit of confidence, being assured that such a course is best calculated to promote the entirely good understanding with Russia, which we are so anxious to maintain upon the only matters upon which an apparent, though not necessary divergence of interest, might lead to differences.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 18.

Mr. Alison to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 19.)

My Lord, 44, Curzon Street, May Fair, November 19, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to state, in reply to your Lordship's instruction, dated the 16th instant, through Mr. Hammond,* that although Persia may have exercised some influence north of the Attrek in the early days of the present dynasty, I am not aware on what grounds they can claim Kizil Sou, on the eastern coast of the Caspian Sea, as part of their territory.

Mr. Ongley informs us that, when passing through Astrakhan in 1866, the Russian authorities there were preparing to send the reliefs of the military posts in the vicinity of Cape Karagan and at Kizil Sou where two surveying vessels were stationed taking soundings, in addition to the small garrison.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. ALISON.

No. 19..

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 22.)

My Lord, St. Petersburg, November 16, 1869.

I HAVE read to Prince Gortchakow your Lordship's despatch of the 10th instant, in which you instruct me to state to his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government reciprocate his opinion, reported in the concluding passage of my despatch of the 2nd instant, as to the expediency of frank discussion between the two Governments, on all questions connected with Central Asia, and that they will act upon these opinions without reserve as the best means of promoting an entirely good understanding with Russia which they are anxious to maintain upon the only matter on which apparent, though not necessary, divergence of interest might lead to difference.

His Excellency expressed much satisfaction with this declaration observing also that he felt assured we should find any divergence of interest alleged to exist between the two Governments was only apparent.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 20.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 22.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, November 18, 1869.

IT appears that arrangements are making for serious military operations against Khiva in the spring.

* Referring a telegram, given in detail in No. 22.

Sir A Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 6.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, December 1, 1869.

I SPOKE to Prince Gortchakow yesterday of the alleged intention of the Russian Government to dispatch a military expedition to Khiva, and he denied positively the existence of any such intention, repeating what he had formerly stated as to the proposed establishment of a factory protected by a small garrison at Krasnovodsk, for the purpose of at once opening a shorter commercial route to Central Asia, and of acting as a warning to the Khan of Khiva, that he is within reach of punishment if he renews his intrigues among the Kirghize; but unless such provocation is given, there is no idea, his Excellency said, of going to war with him and much less of occupying his country, the possession of which would only be an embarrassment to the Government. In support of this statement also, he read a despatch to the same effect which he had written to Baron Brunnow. I said that I was glad to receive such a declaration, as an attack on Khiva had been spoken of by the Russian newspapers as a certain eventuality, and reports in confirmation of such a belief had been received by Her Majesty's Government from Persia and other sources.

His Excellency then observed that I might feel assured, he would never consent to an extension of the territory of the Empire, and that the Emperor even wished to withdraw from the advanced position already occupied in Bokhara. I answered, that I hoped he would maintain his present opinion on this subject with more firmness than when some years ago he considered Chemkend a good frontier, and he repeated, in reply, what he formerly said of the force of circumstances having at that time obliged the Government to annex territory beyond the limit they desired. I expressed a hope also that the Emperor's intention, to which he had referred, of retiring from Samarkand would be carried out, as such a measure would have a powerful influence in promoting tranquillity in Central Asia, but when I pressed him for an answer on this point, he spoke of the necessity of first obtaining guarantees against aggression in future from Bokhara, adding that he hoped, as the Bokharan Envoy now here had convinced himself of the power of Russia, and of her desire to live on friendly terms with the Ameer, that a satisfactory arrangement might be made on his return. I then intimated that accounts still reached Her Majesty's Government of the restless activity of Russian officers at Tashkend, and of the extraordinary proceedings of a certain M. Pervushine, a merchant there, who appeared to have unlimited influence with the local authorities; and, in answer to this, his Excellency read an extract from a despatch he had lately sent to Baron Brunnow instructing him to mention to your Lordship that recent reports had been received from Persia of the aggressive views of Shere Ali and of Afghan intrigues in Bokhara; but that he felt convinced that, even if there was some foundation for them, the facts had gained importance in the eyes of the writers from being seen through the mirage of distance.

In reporting this conversation to your Lordship I ought to add that Prince Gortchakow's language was so apparently sincere, that notwithstanding the strong grounds which exist for believing that an expedition is preparing against Khiva, I shall endeavour to hope that preparatory arrangements have only been made for the possible eventuality of resistance being offered by the Ameer to the proposed establishment at Krasnovodsk.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Mr. Thomson to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 17.)

My Lord,

Tehran, November 14, 1869.

I CALLED upon the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs yesterday by desire of the Shah, and, having learned from Captain St. John, who lately arrived at Resht from Astrakan, that preparations were being made by the Russians for dispatching 3,000 men with four guns from Petroffski on the Caspian to some unknown point on the opposite coast, I took the opportunity to inquire of his Excellency if any intelligence of this movement had reached the Persian Government. He informed me that the

departure of the expedition from Petroffski had been reported to him two days previously; that he had been in communication, by the Shah's orders, with the Russian Minister on the subject, and that His Majesty had now instructed him to make me acquainted with the result of these communications with a view to Her Majesty's Government being fully informed without loss of time of what had taken place.

It appeared from his Excellency's statement that, in consequence of a message conveyed to him from the Persian Government, the Russian Minister had called on Meerza Saeed Khan and had informed him that he had that day received a despatch from his Government, announcing that six vessels had been sent from Petroffski with one battalion of infantry, and that their object was to disembark at Kizil Soo in Balkan Bay, and, having occupied that place, to open a road for commerce thence to Khiva and Turkestan.

Meerza Saeed Khan had replied, that the Persian frontier extended along the Turkoman coast, beyond the point to which the expedition in question had been directed, and that, if the Russians landed troops and established themselves there, whether for conquest or for the development of their trade with Central Asia, such a proceeding would be viewed by the Persian Government as a direct violation of the Shah's sovereign rights in that quarter.

M. Beger denied that Persia had any reasonable grounds for objecting to the course pursued by the Russian Government in this matter, for the Persian frontier he contended, did not extend further than the Attrek River, beyond which the Shah had never exercised any authority over Turkoman tribes, who professed to be and in reality were an independent population under the immediate Government of their own hereditary chiefs, and in support of this he pointed to a map of Persia in which the boundary line was traced along the course of that River.

The Persian Minister met these remarks by saying that the authority of the Shah was more or less precarious in many other districts near the line of frontier, but that this could not invalidate his claim to these places; that the same argument might be employed respecting the whole tract of country from Balkan Bay to the Attrek, and even to the territory between that River and the Goorgaun, extending to within a few miles of Asterabad and stretching eastward along the frontier of Khorassan to Merve, for there also it must be admitted that Persia had hitherto been unable to consolidate her authority and that Russia would not, he supposed, be prepared, to admit such arguments if applied to the Kirghize and other refractory tribes within the line of frontier claimed by her in Central Asia.

M. Beger desired the Persian Minister to assure the Shah that he need be under no apprehension respecting the dispatch of a Russian expedition to the Turkoman coast, as this measure had been adopted solely in the interests of commerce, and Russia had no desire to encroach upon territory belonging to Persia or to interfere with any tribes owing allegiance to His Majesty.

After describing at great length the manner in which the above points had been discussed in detail between himself and the Russian Minister, Meerza Saeed Khan observed to me that the Russian expedition having now doubtless reached its destination, it was useless to expect that the Russians would withdraw from that position in consideration of any objections raised by Persia. The Shah's Government would nevertheless continue to urge these objections both in Tehran, and in St. Petersburg. There could be no doubt, he said, that it was entirely owing to the representations which England was believed to have made that the advance of the Russians in Central Asia had for the present at least been checked, and that Bokhara had not as yet been occupied by their troops, and if Her Majesty's Government were now induced to exert their influence to restrain Russia on this side, the Shah and his Ministers conceived that the danger with which the frontier was threatened would be averted.

This danger would appear to be imminent for, in order to open a road to the Oxus from the Caspian, the Russians would have to construct forts and station troops within the Turkoman country through which it will pass, and this being done the Turkoman tribes will all sooner or later be brought under the protection and authority of Russia. The desert across which the Russians now propose to establish a line of communication with Central Asia, is ill adapted for the purpose, the supply of water being insufficient for caravans traversing the plains, and the heat in summer being excessive. It is possible that before long they will find these difficulties insurmountable, and they may then seek a more practicable route which will be found by starting from Hassan Kooli at the embouchure of the Attrek in the Bay of Asterabad near Ashoorada; the Russian naval station in the south-east of the

Caspian; following the course of that river eastwards, and then skirting along the hills to the north of Bojnoord and Kochan in the direction of Merve, which is not more than four marches from the Oxus, and within ten easy stages of Herat. By that line the road would pass for nearly the whole distance from the Caspian through an inhabited tract of country, where an abundant supply of water exists together with rich pasturage and a salubrious climate at all seasons.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROLAND THOMSON.

No. 23.

Mr. Hammond to Mr. Alison.

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 17, 1869.

I AM directed by the Earl of Clarendon to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a despatch which has been received from Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Tehran, reporting a conversation which he had with the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the subject of a Russian expedition to the east coast of the Caspian;* and I am to request that you will be so good as to furnish his Lordship with a report on the subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) E. HAMMOND.

No. 24.

Mr. Alison to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 18.)

My Lord,

London, December 18, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's instruction, dated yesterday, conveyed through Mr. Hammond, inclosing copy of a despatch, dated the 14th November, from Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in Persia, respecting the Russian expedition to Balkan Bay, on the east coast of the Caspian. Any remarks which I had to make on that subject are contained in my communication to your Lordship dated the 19th November.

It now appears from Mr. Thomson's Report that the Persian Minister considered that the Russian expedition having already reached its destination, it was useless to expect that the Russians would withdraw from that position in consideration of any objections raised by Persia. As an inducement, however, to Her Majesty Government to take action in this matter the prospect is held out of Russia (failing to establish a practicable route from Kizil Sou) endeavouring to effect that purpose from Hassan Kooli, at the mouth of the Attrek, in the Bay of Asterabad; and, in the event of the Russians failing to divert a portion of the waters of the Oxus into the ancient channel so as to fertilize the new route such a plan might no doubt be seriously contemplated.

Indeed, a few years back the question of moving the Russian naval station at Ashoorada to Hassan Kooli, just opposite on the mainland, was discussed and strongly recommended by Prince Onkhtomski, the Commandant. It is thus clear that Russia considers that Persia has no claim to territory on the eastern coast of the Caspian, north of the Attrek, while she is exposed to constant raids on the part of hostile Turkomans between that river and the Gourgan still further south.

The establishment of a Russian military post at Hassan Kooli, and the formation of a route along the course of the Attrek River would afford matter for serious consideration to Persia, whose frontier in that direction might be exposed to the organized inroads of overwhelming hostile tribes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. ALISON.

No. 25.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 4, 1870.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, December 29, 1869.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 1st instant, reporting a conversation with Prince Gortchakow, in which he denied that the Russian Government had any intention

of conquering the Khanate of Khiva, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that reports of military preparations for a campaign in these countries have reached me within the last few days from several sources, and that a large force would cross the Caspian in February under the command of General Heymann, a distinguished officer of great experience in Asiatic warfare, and march on Khiva from Krasnovodsk Bay.

The object of the expedition was said to be conquest, and the creation of a new province on the left bank of the Oxus, which would extend to and absorb Bokhara.

It was also stated that the expedition would be accompanied by a flotilla on the Oxus, and that surveys of the country would be made on the march from Krasnovodsk Bay for ascertaining the feasibility of connecting the Oxus by a railway with the Caspian.

Having taken means to seek further information on the subject, the result of the inquiries which I caused to be made left an impression that, though the report above referred to might be exaggerated, some measures are being taken by the War Department to have troops in readiness for employment in Central Asia.

I therefore called this morning on Prince Gortchakow, and having placed in his hands the inclosed extract from my despatch of the 1st instant, I asked whether it contained a correct report of his language and whether he was now able to confirm that language. His Excellency read the report aloud, expressing his entire approval of each passage as he read it, observing, however, on the statement that "he would not consent to an extension of the Empire," that it could only mean he would disapprove of it, as he could not prevent such an eventuality were the Emperor to decide in its favour, and he said that the restoration of Samarkand would depend upon whether General Kaufmann could effect a satisfactory arrangement with the Government of Bokhara.

I then stated that further reports had recently reached me of the intention of Russia to conquer Khiya, and, on his begging me not to believe any rumours of the kind, I asked him to read the memorandum, of which a copy is inclosed, containing the substance of the reports which I have above referred to.

After reading the first paragraph, he sent for M. Stremoukoff; and as he desired him to give me full explanations on the subject, I read the memorandum to them. They both declared the statement it contained to be untrue, adding, that they could have no other foundation than that something would be done to ascertain whether the theory that the Oxus might be restored to its former bed could be carried out,—a measure which Prince Gortchakow said would restore fertility to the country of the Turkomans, and might have the same success as the Suez Canal.

M. Stremoukoff said that, as a proof of the moderation of the Russian Government in their dealings with the Khan of Khiva, he might state that, though they had twelve intercepted letters of the Khan in their possession, exciting the Kirghize to rebellion, they have hitherto restricted themselves to calling upon him to give them the same securities for the protection of trade, and for his maintaining friendly relations with Russia, as they have already received from the Rulers of Bokhara and Kokand. He said that General Kaufmann had addressed two letters to the Khan, making these demands, but no answer had yet been received from him; and, in the last, he had been warned that he must expect punishment if he did not place his relations with Russia on a satisfactory footing. I said, in that case, it was probably true that a force was preparing for the contingency of its being deemed necessary to take active steps against the Khan, or perhaps, I said, arrangements are making for the relief of the troops employed in Central Asia; but M. Stremoukoff denied both suppositions. He said there were now, including troops and artificers, about 1,000 men at Krasnovodsk Bay, and that workmen in large numbers would doubtless be sent over in the spring from the Caucasus to construct buildings and to execute other works, and he looked forward to the place becoming an important commercial town. With respect to it, or rather to the country of the Turkomans, Prince Gortchakow observed that the Shah of Persia had never any better claim to it than the King of Italy to the Throne of Jerusalem; but the question had been discussed in Count Nesselrode's time, when Russia acknowledged Persian sovereignty to the Attrek, and held Persia responsible for the conduct of the Turkomans within that limit; "and now," he said, "the Persian Government has asked us for assurances which we have readily given, that we do not intend to build fortresses, or establish ourselves on the Attrek."

I then asked whether, in the event of these differences with Khiva leading to war, they believed that a military force could march from Krasnovodsk to the Oxus; and they both said they had no doubt upon the subject, as a caravan had arrived from Khiva; and, on my suggesting that what was accomplished by a caravan of sixty

camels, might be impracticable for an army, they seemed to consider that the difficulties of the march could be easily overcome.

Prince Gortchakow said he was glad I had asked him for the explanations he had given me instead of transmitting reports to England which were incorrect, and which I might afterwards have to contradict, and, as I said I should always follow the same course, he answered I should find him always ready to give me confidential explanations on such subjects if I did not demand them officially. He said, there is, doubtless, a desire among Russian military men, who wish to gain decorations, that we should make further conquests in Central Asia; but the Minister of War would maintain a perfect understanding with him, and the explanations which I had received ought to satisfy me that he had no wish to add new territories to the Empire.

He concluded by saying that he might withhold information from me; but what he did tell me would be true.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 25.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, December 1, 1869.

I HAVE spoken to Prince Gortchakow of the alleged intention of the Russian Government to dispatch a military expedition to Khiva, and he denied positively the existence of any such intention, repeating what he had formerly stated as to the proposed establishment of a factory protected by a small garrison at Krasnovodsk, for the purpose of at once opening a shorter commercial route to Central Asia, and of acting as a warning to the Khan of Khiva, that he is within reach of punishment if he renews his intrigues among the Kirghize; but, unless such provocation is given, there is no idea, his Excellency said, of going to war with him, and much less, of occupying his country, the possession of which would only be an embarrassment to the Government. In support of this statement he read to me a despatch to the same effect which he had written to Baron Brunnow.

I said that I was glad to receive such a declaration, as an attack on Khiva had been spoken of by the Russian newspapers as a certain eventuality, and reports in confirmation of such a belief had been received by Her Majesty's Government from Persia and other sources.

His Excellency having then observed that I might feel assured he would never consent to an extension of the territory of the Empire, and that the Emperor even wished to withdraw from the advanced position already occupied in Bokhara, I expressed a hope that the Emperor's intention of retiring from Samarkand would be carried out, as such a measure would have a powerful influence on promoting tranquillity in Central Asia; and, in reply, he spoke of the necessity of first obtaining guarantees against aggression in future from Bokhara, adding that, he hoped, as the Bokharan Envoy now here had convinced himself of the power of Russia, and of her desire to live on friendly terms with the Ameer, that a satisfactory arrangement might be made on his return.

Inclosure 2 in No. 25.

Memorandum respecting Proposed Russian Expedition to Central Asia (Khiva).

PERSONS here declare that a large force will cross the Caspian from the Caucasus in February next under the command of General Heymann a distinguished officer with great experience in warfare with Asiatics.

The object of the expedition is, I am told, to be the conquest of the Khanate of Khiva and the creation of a new Russian province on the left bank of the Oxus, which will extend to and absorb Bokhara.

According to the communications which have been made to me, the expedition will be accompanied by a flotilla on the Oxus, and surveys will be made on the march from Krasnovodsk Bay for ascertaining the feasibility of connecting the river by a railway with the Caspian.

No. 26.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 4, 1870.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, December 29, 1869.

PRINCE GORTCHAKOW denied any intention of conquering Khiva; but he guarded himself against what circumstances might eventually induce the Emperor to command; and while his Excellency and M. Stremoukoff denied that any preparations have been made for a hostile demonstration against Khiva, they both said that the reports on the subject must have arisen from something which would be done to ascertain the feasibility of opening up the old course of the Oxus to the Caspian; and they both spoke with confidence of there being no physical difficulties to prevent a military force marching from the sea to the river.

No. 27.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir,

Foreign Office, January 5, 1870.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch of the 29th ultimo, and I have to state to your Excellency that I approve the language you held to Prince Gortchakow as reported therein, on the subject of the reported intention of Russia to send an expedition to Khiva.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 28.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 7.)

(Extract.)

St Petersburg, January 12, 1870.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 29th ultimo, reporting a conversation with Prince Gortchakow relative to the alleged intention of the Russian Government to send a military expedition to Khiva, I have not been able to obtain any certain information on the subject since the date of that despatch. Prince Gortchakow now talks of the project for turning the waters of the Oxus into the Caspian as a visionary scheme, in the practicability of which he has little faith; and when I ask if he expects the Khan of Khiva to look quietly on if it is attempted to carry it out, he says that he will not dare to interfere. M. de Westmann says that the reports received on the subject give reason to hope that the idea may be accomplished. I have just been informed that in about six weeks 10,000 men, with three brigades of artillery and a battery of rockets, will march under General Heymann from Krasnovodsk to Khiva, and that a second expedition is already on the march from Tashkend for the same destination; but that the object of the operation will be merely to force the Khan to enter into Treaty engagements, which will place him in the same position of vassalage as that now occupied by the Emirs of Bokhara and Kokand.

No. 29.

Mr. Thomson to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 14, 1870.)

My Lord,

Tehran, December 10, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to report that the Governor of Asterabad has notified to the Government here the arrival of the Russian expedition referred to in my despatch of the 14th ultimo, at Kizisoo or Kizil Soo in the Bay of Balkan. Reliable or detailed information from that part of the Caspian coast is obtained with difficulty by the Persian Government, but it seems from the intelligence they have been able to gather at Ashoorada, and through their emissaries amongst the Turkoman tribes encamped between the Goorgan and Attrek Rivers, that the force reached its destination about a month ago, that the troops were at once disembarked without opposition and that a favourable site having been selected for the purpose, they commenced the

construction of a fort which, from its size and strength, left no question as to its being the intention of the Russian Government to retain permanently the position they have now occupied.

M. Beger has had several interviews with Meerza Saeed Khan on this subject, at which he has endeavoured to allay the apprehensions felt by the Shah and his Ministers, by assuring them that the Russian Government has dispatched this expedition to the Turkoman coast with the sole object of developing and giving additional security to trade with Central Asia. It had been found, he said, that owing to the recent revolt of the Kirghize tribes, the routes across the steppes from Orenburg to Khokan, and through Manguishlak to Khiva were no longer safe for caravans, and Russia had therefore determined to open up a new and direct road for commerce, from the Caspian to the Oxus, whereby a great saving in time and cost of transport would doubtless be effected. But, in order to make this route safe and practicable, it had been considered indispensable that the Russian Government should occupy a position on the coast, where the presence of a small force would have a salutary effect in repressing Turkoman marauders and in imparting confidence to merchants about to engage in trade through that country. Kizil Soo had therefore been selected, he said, as the most suitable spot for such an establishment, it being at some distance from the Persian frontier and the intervening territory between the Caspian and the Oxus being inhabited by tribes who owed no allegiance to the Shah. On that account alone he conceived that the Persian Government could have no reasonable grounds for alarm or for objecting to the measure, as it clearly involved no consequences in any way prejudicial to this country.

The Persian Minister, considering these assurances as unsatisfactory, proposed that M. Beger should engage formally on the part of his Government that the Russians would not occupy any territory to the south of Kizil Soo, and that he should also come to a distinct understanding with the Shah's Ministers as to what was to be recognized as the Persian boundary line along the frontiers of the Turkoman country. This the Russian Minister declined to do without referring to St. Petersburg for instructions, and it was agreed that he should report to his Government what had passed between him and Meerza Saeed Khan, and that the latter should send instructions to the Shah's Representative in Russia with a view to the question being more fully discussed with Prince Gortchakow.

I am informed that the Persian Government forwarded these instructions to St. Petersburg last week by a special messenger.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RONALD THOMSON.

No. 30.

Mr. Merivale to Mr. Hammond.—(Received January 29.)

Sir,

India Office, January 26, 1870.

I AM directed by the Duke of Argyll to forward, for the information of Lord Clarendon, the accompanying copies of telegrams received from the Viceroy of India yesterday and to-day. It appears from the second of these messages that the apprehensions expressed in the first, with respect to the threatened movement of Oosbeg troops against Badakshan had passed away; but although the immediate danger of a hostile collision is thus removed, the Duke of Argyll is by no means satisfied that these or similar demonstrations may not be renewed at no very remote period, and he would, therefore, call the especial attention of Lord Clarendon to the accompanying despatch from the Viceroy of India in Council, from which it will be seen that his Excellency is of opinion that, as he has done all that lies in his power to maintain peace on the frontiers of Afghanistan, by dissuading the Ameer of Cabul from all aggressive movements in advance of the recognized territories of Dost Mahommed, it is in the right of Her Majesty's Government "to suggest that the Government of the Czar should promise to use all its influence to save from menace and attack the territories of the present Ameer of Afghanistan, and to observe that policy of peace, which Russia professes to be her aim, and which we believe is as essential to the consolidation of her own power, as it is to the interests of humanity and civilization in Turkestan."

I am, &c.
(Signed) HERMAN MERIVALE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 30.

The Viceroy of India to the Duke of Argyll.

(Telegraphic.)

January 23, 1870.

THE latest Cabul news leads us to believe in the possibility of an immediate attack on Badakshan by Bokhara.

Whether this be true or not it is most important that Russia should immediately signify to Bokhara her desire that the King of Bokhara should not undertake military operations against Badakshan.

Inclosure 2 in No. 30.

The Viceroy of India to the Duke of Argyll.

(Telegraphic.)

January 24, 1870.

LATER news report withdrawal of Bokhara troops from threatened attack on Badakshan.

No action therefore required on telegram of yesterday.

Inclosure 3 in No. 30.

The Governor-General in Council to the Duke of Argyll.

(Extract.)

Fort William, December 7, 1869.

WE have now done all that lies in our power to maintain peace on the frontiers of Afghanistan; and though we shall steadily adhere to our policy and continue to maintain an attitude of constant watchfulness, we can do but little more. It rests with the Czar's Government, by adopting the same course with regard to those countries which bound the Russian possessions in Central Asia as we have taken towards Afghanistan, permanently to secure peace throughout those wide districts which are influenced respectively by the Governments of the Queen and of His Imperial Majesty. In view of the success of the efforts we have made to prevent aggression on the countries to the south of the Russian frontier and all interference with Russian interests in Central Asia, we consider that Her Majesty's Government have a right to suggest that the Government of the Czar should promise to use all its influence to save from menace and attack the territories of the present Ameer of Afghanistan, and to observe that policy of peace which Russia professes to be her aim, and which we believe is as essential to the consolidation of her own power as it is to the interests of humanity and civilization in Turkestan.

No. 31.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir A. Buchanan.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, January 29, 1870.

SHERE ALI, while readily accepting the advice of the Indian Government, is himself under some apprehension of hostile designs on the part of his neighbours, and more particularly on that of the King of Bokhara.

The Indian Government very justly observe that, in return for the efforts they have made to prevent aggression on the countries to the south of the Russian frontier, and all interference with Russia in Central Asia, they consider that Her Majesty's Government have a right to suggest that the Government of Russia should promise to use all its influence to save from menace and attack the territories of the present Ameer of Afghanistan, and to observe the policy of peace which it professes.

I have accordingly to instruct you to invite the serious and immediate attention of the Russian Government to this matter, and to express the hope of Her Majesty's Government that it will pursue the course thus indicated.

No. 32.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 31.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, January 20, 1870.

THE Viceroy of India having asked by telegram when instructions to General Kaufmann conveying the orders of the Russian Government as described to

Mr. Forsyth, would be received at Tashkend, I called yesterday upon M. Stremoukoff, the director of the Asiatic department, to make inquiries upon the subject. Having, however, previously read Mr. Forsyth's reports to myself, it appears uncertain to what specific orders the telegram referred. I was therefore prepared for M. Stremoukoff expressing his regret that the Viceroy had not stated more explicitly the points on which he requested information, I might however, inform his Excellency, he said, that a report, or protocol as he called it, containing the substance of Mr. Forsyth's conversation with himself and General Miliutine, was forwarded to General Kaufmann on the ^{2nd December} ~~20th November~~ last, and that it ought to have reached Tashkend in about a month.

I therefore addressed a telegram in this sense to Lord Mayo; but having subsequently thought it possible that, before communicating with Shere Ali on the subject, the Viceroy might have wished to know when General Kaufmann would receive orders to report upon the districts which he believed to be actually in the occupation of the Ameer of Cabul, I asked M. Stremoukoff to-day whether that point had been included in the instructions sent to Tashkend; and his Excellency having answered that General Kaufmann had been ordered to seek information upon it by every means at his disposal, and to report the result of his inquiries to St. Petersburg, I have sent a further telegram to Lord Mayo conveying the substance of this statement.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 33.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 31.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, January 24, 1870.

AS I have learnt that the state of affairs among the Kirghizes on the Khivan frontiers is not yet entirely satisfactory, the necessity of re-establishing completely the authority of the Government among them, and of depriving them hereafter of the means of retiring into the Khivan or Turkoman territories, may have had something to do with the military preparations and movements of which rumours have reached Her Majesty's Embassy.

That the Government really wish to retire from Samarkand I confidently believe, but it may be equally probable that General Kaufmann may, from military ambition, desire to retain his conquest of the tomb of Tamerlane, and, as Governor of Tashkend, may consider that his position there will be more secure if he continues to hold the sources on which Bokhara depends for water, and if he entertains such sentiments, it is possible that he may find some reasonable pretext for not carrying out the intentions of the Emperor. As to the question of Central Asia generally we may readily believe that Prince Gortchakoff would never have written his circular on the Chemkend line,* beyond which Russia was never to pass, had he foreseen the eventualities which were so speedily to follow it; but it is only natural that the Government should now endeavour to render the territory which they have since wisely or unwisely acquired a source of profit to the Empire, and that it is not so at present there can be no doubt. It is almost equally certain that the Russian Foreign Office steadily opposed the extension of the frontier.

No. 34.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received February 15.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, February 8, 1870.

I STATED to Prince Gortchakow, in the language of your Lordship's despatch of the 29th ultimo, that, while the Ameer has readily accepted the advice of the Indian Government, he is himself under apprehension of hostile designs on the part of his neighbours, and more particularly on that of the Khan of Bokhara. I said I had been therefore instructed to invite his Excellency's serious attention to the subject, as the Indian Government, in return for the efforts they have made to prevent aggression on the countries to the south of the Russian frontier, and all interference with Russia in

* See Appendix.

Central Asia, consider that Her Majesty's Government have a right to suggest that the Government of Russia should promise to use all its influence to save from menace and attack the territories of the present Ameer of Afghanistan.

His Excellency having sent for M. Stremoukoff, I said that fears entertained by Shere Ali of an attack on Badakshan had probably been the cause of a telegram from Lord Mayo, which I had recently communicated to M. Stremoukoff, inquiring when a report of the substance of Mr. Forsyth's conversation with the Russian authorities here might be expected to reach Tashkend, but they both treated as absurd the idea that Bokhara, "which hardly can maintain herself," should entertain aggressive views against her neighbours. I said to them that news was often doubtless fabricated, and almost always exaggerated, in the East, but, however this might be, the Indian Government had heard that the Khan of Kokand was threatening Kashgar; that much importance was attached to an Afghan refugee having been made a colonel in the Emperor's service; and that Ismail Khan had written, in November last, to his brother, that, God willing, he would bring an army of Russians to trample Shere Ali's wives under the feet of elephants, and to expose his body on the Bala Hissar. I said, I only mentioned the latter statement to them as an example of the exaggerated and absurd hopes Orientals could form, or the mischievous lies they could propagate, in consequence probably of a little civility which might have been shown to them.

Prince Gortchakow and M. Stremoukoff having again repudiated the idea of Shere Ali having the slightest ground for apprehension, I said that if it can be shown that the Emperor of Russia is following a similar policy with the Government of India, and that the object of His Majesty's policy is to create on his frontiers a series of influential but not tributary or neutralized States, to secure to them national independence, and to put an end for ever to that state of conflict and internal disturbance which has for ages prevailed in those regions, the interests of civilization will be strengthened and possibly permanently consolidated; that the Viceroy had done all in his power to maintain peace on the frontier of Afghanistan, and that it therefore rests with the Government of the Emperor, by adopting the same course with regard to those countries which bound the Russian possessions in Central Asia as the Viceroy has taken towards Afghanistan, permanently to secure peace throughout their wide districts, which are influenced respectively by the Government of the Queen and that of His Imperial Majesty.

When I finished, M. Stremoukoff said, What you have read is our programme, and describes exactly what we desire, and are endeavouring to establish; and I closed the conversation by answering that I had great satisfaction in finding the views expressed by the two Governments were so entirely identical.

No. 35.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 16, 1870.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch of the 8th instant, reporting your conversations with Prince Gortchakoff and M. Stremoukoff on the affairs of Central Asia; and I have to express to you the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government at learning from that despatch the views of the Russian Government in regard to the policy to be observed towards the States bordering on Afghanistan.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 36.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received February 28.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, February 21, 1870.

AT an interview with Prince Gortchakow yesterday, I read to his Excellency your Lordship's despatch of the 16th instant, expressing the satisfaction with which Her Majesty's Government had learnt the views of the Russian Government in regard to the policy to be observed to the States bordering on Afghanistan, as they are set forth in my despatch of the 8th instant, reporting a conversation with his Excellency and M. Stremoukoff.

His Excellency having thanked me for making this communication, I referred to the telegram which I received from Lord Mayo on the 18th of January, mentioned in my despatch of the 20th January, and which I had communicated to M. Stremoukoff, on the subject of Mr. Forsyth's proceedings here; and I said it might greatly strengthen the influence which the Viceroy of India exercised over Shere Ali if a communication were made to Her Majesty's Government as to the steps which had been taken by the Russian Government to restrain the Khan of Bokhara from acts of aggression against Shere Ali, similar to that which your Lordship had made to Baron Brunnow respecting the measures adopted by the Government of India, to induce Shere Ali to abstain from any interference with the Asiatic States beyond his own frontier.

Prince Gortchakow objected that I was questioning the sincerity of the assurances he had given to your Lordship at Heidelberg, those which Mr. Forsyth had received, and those which he had repeatedly given to myself; and that he could not understand why the Viceroy of India should require any other declarations than those made by the Chancellor of the Empire to Her Majesty's Secretary of State and Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg, and those which Mr. Forsyth, his own officer, had received during his stay here from the Russian Ministers.

M. Stremoukoff, whom he sent for, on my entering upon the subject, supported this view of the case; and as I spoke of Shere Ali having been alarmed by the appearance of Bokharan troops near his territories, M. Stremoukoff explained that the Khan of Bokhara had lately, after re-establishing his authority in Kolab, entered upon the territory of Kokand, and occupied a town from which the Kokanhee Governor had retired, on being threatened with an attack; but that General Kaufmann had addressed remonstrances to the Khan of Bokhara, which had induced him to retire from the territory of Kokand. M. Stremoukoff spoke at the same time with some asperity of the Khan of Bokhara, and Prince Gortchakow, while repeating his former declarations as to the wish of the Russian Government to retire from Samarkand, said: "We are still prevented from doing so, because the Emir will not pay us the war indemnity, which he is engaged by Treaty to do."

While Prince Gortchakow was speaking, M. Stremoukoff left the room, and a paper was immediately brought to Prince Gortchakow, which, after looking at it, he said was a despatch from General Kaufmann.

It was in Russian, and he proceeded to translate it to me.

It contained reports from Bokhara up to the 19th and 20th of December, from which it appeared that the Ameer, in proceeding on his expedition to Kolab, had left the country so entirely without troops, that a band of from 300 to 500 brigands had been formed, who were pillaging caravans and villages. These brigands, the despatch states, had committed robberies so near the Russian frontier, that the Russian authorities had called upon the Bey of the nearest district to disperse them; but he excused himself, on the ground of his not having a sufficient force under his orders to do so.

General Kaufmann says that he therefore sent a small detachment of Cossacks into the Bokharan territory to perform this duty, and that, after a skirmish, the freebooters had entrenched themselves in a khan, which was taken by assault, fifty-eight brigands having been killed, and many others burnt in the khan, which took fire. The remainder having been made prisoners, were given up to the Bey of the district; and several of them having been hanged by his orders, the Russian troops withdrew into their own territories.

M. Stremoukoff returned while Prince Gortchakow was translating this despatch to me; and his Excellency having mentioned to him the nature of its contents, he said he was already acquainted with them, and he gave me some explanatory information respecting them. On my asking him, therefore, where the Ameer of Bokhara was when the last information left Tashkend, he said that he was probably still in the neighbourhood of Kolab, and that doubtless as soon as he had returned to Bokhara, Kolab would throw off his authority. He said, also, that the forces at the Ameer's disposal were contemptible, and that even if the Ameer was not aware that his interfering with Shere Ali's States would be displeasing to the Russian Government, he must be too conscious of his own comparative weakness to attempt to do so.

The Russian Government received a messenger from Tashkend, about ten days ago, and the despatch from General Kaufmann, read to me, doubtless came by that opportunity.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received March 7.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, February 25, 1869.

I SAID to the Emperor there was part of the East in which I trusted that His Majesty's Government and that of the Queen might hope to act cordially together, and I could assure him that it would not be the fault of the Viceroy of India if that hope were not realized. The Emperor answered, "Her Majesty's Government will believe, I trust, that I have no feeling of covetousness in Central Asia; but they must know from their own experience in India that our position there is one of extreme difficulty, in which our actions may not depend so much upon our own wishes as upon the course pursued towards us by the native States around us. I earnestly hope, however," he said, "that no new difficulties may arise on our eastern frontier, and that arrangements may be made for the maintenance of tranquillity, but should new conflicts arise with our restless neighbours, they will not be of our seeking." With reference to this subject, he said he believed Mr. Forsyth had left St. Petersburg entirely satisfied with the assurances and explanations which had been given to him. I answered that Mr. Forsyth had already reached India, and I had no doubt that the Viceroy would receive with satisfaction his reports of his visit to Russia; and, in the meanwhile, I might state to His Majesty that I had seen despatches to Her Majesty's Government from the Viceroy which showed that if the policy of the Ameer of Afghanistan could effect it, the peace of Central Asia would be secured, as Shere Ali had not only received the most urgent advice to abstain from aggression against the States beyond his frontiers, but had given a positive promise to the Viceroy to follow it; and Lord Mayo therefore hoped that if the States now more or less under Russian influence would respect the territories held by Shere Ali and inherited from his father, the normal state of war, which had so long prevailed in those regions of Asia, might be succeeded by a period of tranquillity favourable to the advancement of civilization and to the progress of their commercial relations with other countries.

His Majesty then spoke of the recent occupation of Krasnovodsk, which he seemed to consider did not actually amount to a conquest, as the territory had been almost without a sovereign. He said the most positive assurances had been given to Persia that the frontier of the Attrek would be respected, and that the only object of the occupation was to give security and obtain, if possible, increased facilities for commercial communications between the Caspian and the Oxus by a route which had been already sometimes employed. I said I understood that the authorities at Orenburg were of opinion that the proposed route would not offer the advantage which its advocates expected from it, and they might perhaps be right, as the apparently longest route to a place not unfrequently proved in practice the shortest one. But His Majesty said he believed that the representations received from Orenburg on this subject might be attributed to Provincial patriotism.

I asked whether it was true that there would be a difficulty in finding a sufficient supply of water at Krasnovodsk, and His Majesty said there was certainly a scanty supply of water where the troops had landed and that the old bed of the Oxus from which it had been hoped that water might have been procured was likely to furnish none. A supply could, however, be obtained, he said, at some distance in the interior, and I asked from what source, but His Majesty did not reply to the inquiry.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received March 7.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, February 26, 1870.

HAVING met General Miliutine, the Minister of War, last night, at the Hereditary Grand Duke's, I mentioned to his Excellency that Prince Gortchakow had read to me the report from General Kaufmann, referred to in my despatch of the 21st instant; and I said that, when Mr. Forsyth was here, M. Stremoukoff had spoken of the probability of the Khan of Kokand attacking Kolab, whereas it now appeared to be the Ameer of Bokhara who had done so.

His Excellency answered that the Russian authorities expected that the mountainous frontier round their territories would have separated the Kokandees from the Khanate of Bokhara, but they had been disappointed in this expectation, and the rival Khanates had been engaged on war against each other in the mountains.

I then observed that Prince Gortchakow spoke of the Ameer of Bokhara as being indisposed to pay the money due to Russia under the Treaty of Peace, and General Miliutine answered, he did not believe that the Ameer had got so much money, and that his expedition against Kolab had not improbably been undertaken, to raise it by plundering his neighbours. I said, I should be sorry if the non-payment of the indemnity, or any other circumstances, should prevent the restoration of Samarkand to the Ameer, as I looked to it as an act on the part of Russia, which would convince the people of Central Asia, whose territories had not yet been annexed to the Empire, that, though she could extend her frontier to the eastward, if she thought desirable, she had no wish to do so.

The General said, there might be some truth in that view of the case, but, on the other hand, the withdrawal of the Russian troops from any place which they had occupied, might be attributed to weakness. General Kaufmann had, however, gone some time ago to Samarkand, and invited the Ameer of Bokhara to meet him there, in the hope that, if he had come, the Emperor's desire that the town should be restored to him might have been carried out in a manner which would have convinced the population that it was given up to the Ameer as an act of grace and generosity on the part of His Imperial Majesty; but as the Ameer did not comply with this request, General Kaufmann left Samarkand without anything having been done.

General Miliutine said, he still hoped, however, that the Russian occupation might not be permanent, but every day's delay rendered the restoration of the town more difficult, as traders and artizans were establishing themselves in it, and an Orthodox Church had been built, and they could not be abandoned without some guarantees being had for their protection.

Your Lordship will observe that this language is almost identic with that of M. Stremoukoff.

General Miliutine said that it was now nearly two months since the last despatches left Tashkend, and he believed that Indian news from Bokhara was generally more recent than that received at St. Petersburg by Orenburg. He said there was still great uncertainty as to the course which the Khan of Khiva would adopt; for while General Kaufmann, who had not however received any answer to the two letters he had written to him, believed, from indirect information which had reached Tashkend, that he intended to establish friendly relations with Russia, reports from Orenburg represented him as preparing to make new inroads into the Kirghize settlements in spring.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 39.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 7, 1870.

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency the accompanying extract from a communication received from the Government of India, from which you will perceive that the apprehensions entertained of aggressive movements on the part of the Khan of Bokhara upon the Badakshan frontier of Afghanistan were not of the groundless character asserted by M. Stremoukoff in the conversation referred to in your despatch of the 8th of February, and that, notwithstanding M. Stremoukoff's statement to your Excellency on the 20th ultimo, that the forces at the Ameer's disposal were contemptible, and that, even if the Ameer was not aware that his interfering with Shere Ali's States would be displeasing to the Russian Government, he must be too conscious of his own comparative weakness to attempt to do so, still it appears that a detachment of Bokhara troops had actually crossed the Oxus into the Ameer's territory, and occupied, and subsequently burnt, the town or village of Jungée Killa.

You will call Prince Gortchakow's attention to these facts, and express the hope of Her Majesty's Government that the Khan of Bokhara may be induced to follow out for the future the policy of peace which Russia herself is desirous to observe in Central Asia.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 39.

Sirdar Mahomed Ibrahim Khan to the Ameer.

(Abstract Translation.)

22nd Ramzan (December 26, 1869).

I BEG to inform you that, owing to his being unwell, the Naib arrived here by Tukht-a-rawan (palanquin) the day before yesterday. He has waited on me in a respectful manner, and I have shown him the greatest kindness. He will, I hope, do me great service. Yesterday I received a letter from Meer Mahmood Shah Badakshanee, stating that, after burning Jungée Killa, Meer Jehandar Shah retired trans-Oxus, and the troops of the King of Bokhara have also retreated from Kolab. I beg to express my gratification at this news, and submit the original letter to you. I shall leave Tashkurghan for Takhtapool on the 26th instant (30th December, 1869). The Bokharian Envoy, who had waited on Naib Mahomed Alum Khan in Takhtapool, having now come here with the Naib, has waited on me also, and I am going to take him back to Takhtapool. I beg your instructions with reference to his dismissal.

Inclosure 2 in No. 39.

Naib Mahomed Alum Khan, Governor of Turkestan, to the Ameer.

(Abstract Translation.)

[No date.]

SIRDAR MAHOMED IBRAHIM KHAN has arrived in Tashkurghan. I have waited on the Sirdar after four days' journey from Takhtapool by "palkee," and he has been good enough to receive me with honour and kindness. God willing, I will not desist from doing good service to the Sirdar. As to the troops of the King of Bokhara, I beg to inform you that as soon as my letter, as well as that of the Envoy, reached the King, he learnt that his kingdom does not extend beyond the Oxus, and, after understanding that Badakshan and other territories cis-Oxus belong to the Cabul Government, he has directed Mahomed Yakoub Anak, the Commandant of his army, to withdraw his troops from Jungée Killa, representing that the territories cis-Oxus are the dependencies of the Ameer of Cabul. Yakoub Anak has, therefore, called the above troops back to him, as is evident from the letter of Meer Mahomed Shah Khan Badakshanee to Meer Sultan Morad Khan, which Sirdar Mahomed Ibrahim Khan has forwarded to you for your information.

Inclosure 2 in No. 39.

Meer Mahomed Shah Khan Badakshanee to Meer Sultan Morad Khan Ataliq.

(Abstract Translation.)

[No date.]

ON Tuesday, the 17th Ramazan (21st December, 1869), my spy having returned from the Oxus, reported that the Commandant of the troops of the King of Bokhara has approved of the representations of Naib Mahomed Alum Khan, and, having consequently called back the troops detached cis-Oxus, is himself ready to retreat. It has been decided that the kingdom of the King of Bokhara stretches as far as the bank of the Oxus, and that of the Ameer to the other bank. Jungée Killa has, however, been burnt by Meer Jehandar Shah.

No. 40.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received March 14.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, March 8, 1870.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 12th of January, respecting the relations of Russia with Khiva, M. Stremoukoff observed to me, some days ago, that the attitude of the Khan was causing him uneasiness, as General Kaufmann's letters were still unanswered, of which the last was dispatched to Khiva in August; while many sinister reports reached Orenburg with respect to the intentions of the Khan in spring. Having subsequently met General Miliutine, the Minister of War, I mentioned M. Stremoukoff's observations to him, and his Excellency added to them that not

only has the Khan not answered General Kaufmann's letters, which contained the most pacific assurances, but "we have reason to fear, from information which has been received at Orenburg, that he has imprisoned the Kirghize who were the bearers of them." General Miliutine said the Khan was apparently waiting to see whether any new event similar to the late Kirghize insurrection was likely to improve his position; but, as he and his people were, commercially, very great losers by the disturbed state of the steppes last year, his Excellency could not understand that he should again wish to create trouble there, and to expose himself to the danger of a Russian war.

I answered, "In the event of his preferring war to the conditions of peace which you have offered to him, will you attack him from the north and east, or from the Caspian?" His Excellency said, if war should become necessary we shall, of course, advance from both sides; but we are most anxious to avoid war, and as we only ask security for our caravans, we endeavour to hope that we may yet come to a peaceful arrangement with him; and his Excellency added that he had serious objections to embarking in a war with Khiva, for, though no great resistance might be offered to the advance of a Russian force, the difficulty of returning could not be calculated: as he had learnt from his long experience of warfare in the Caucasus, that the dangers of an expedition against Asiatics commenced when the Russian forces, having apparently effected the objects of the expedition, began to retire.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 41.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received March 14.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, March 9, 1870.

THE Emperor said that Prince Gortchakow had mentioned to him my having read to his Excellency some extracts of a private letter from Lord Mayo, and that his Excellency's report of them had given him the greatest satisfaction. I therefore repeated to His Majesty the substance of them, which merely expressed a sanguine expectation on the part of Lord Mayo that good would result from Mr. Forsyth's conversations with the Russian Ministers here, and intimated that if the recent withdrawal of the Bokharian invaders from Badakshan had been the result of the explanations exchanged with the Russian Government, we had every reason to be satisfied; and I also mentioned the substance of a statement which I took from an inclosure in Lord Mayo's letter, and added the extracts from it, which I had read to Prince Gortchakow, that Shere Ali had answered to all overtures for assistance against Russia, that there is a Treaty between England and Russia, and that as long as Afghanistan is not interfered with, he would neither give assistance to those undertaking hostilities against Russia, nor give refuge to persons who had been fighting against her.

I said, therefore, there could be no danger now of Shere Ali's policy being a cause of disagreement between England and Russia, and that I trusted the troops of Bokhara which had invaded his territory, and been afterwards withdrawn, would respect it in future.

No. 42.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 26, 1870.

FROM the latest accounts received from the Government of India it appears that circumstances which at one time gave rise to serious apprehensions of a breach between the Ameer of Bokhara and the Ameer Shere Ali are now in a fair way of being arranged.

The circumstances alluded to were the harbour and countenance reported to have been given in Bokhara to certain enemies of Shere Ali, and the asylum given in Afghan territory to Meer Surrah Beg, who had been in rebellion against the Ameer of Bokhara.

In December last it was reported that Abdul Rahman, a nephew of Shere Ali, and one of his enemies, had arrived at Bokhara, that he had been granted an allowance,

and had, together with his cousin Ishak Khan, been appointed by the Ameer respectively, Governors of Kolab and Hissar. Some misunderstanding had about the same time arisen in consequence of the shelter stated to have been given in Afghan territory to Surrah Beg, who had been in rebellion against the Ameer of Bokhara, and who had on the approach of the Bokhara force sent to reduce him, fled across the Oxus. The Bokhara commander demanded his surrender, and threatened aggressive action in case his demand was refused: he was it appears supported by Jehandar Shah, the dispossessed Meer of Badakshan. Early in January it was reported that a body of troops, consisting in great part of Afghan refugees had crossed the Oxus, and that Jehandar Shah had occupied Jungee Killa in Badakshan.

Ameer Shere Ali is reported to have shown on that occasion how entirely he had accepted the policy of forbearance which the Indian Government had repeatedly impressed upon him, for, on hearing of Surrah Beg's flight, the menaces of the Bokhara commander, and the attitude of Jehandar Shah, he gave instructions either to deport Surrah Beg as a state prisoner to Cabul, or to expel him from the Afghan territories, according as Abdul Rahman and Ishak Khan should be treated by the Ameer of Bokhara. He remonstrated against the return of Jehandar Shah to Badakshan, and gave orders to defend his territory, but not to meddle with frontiers or to interfere in any way with the territories or dependencies of the Ameer of Bokhara. The result of these remonstrances and defensive measures was the withdrawal of the Bokhara troops to the right bank of the Oxus, which river was acknowledged to be the boundary between the dependencies of Bokhara and of Afghanistan.

By the latest news received, it is reported that an envoy has been deputed to Cabul charged by the Ameer of Bokhara with the mission of establishing the relations between the two countries on a friendly footing, and especially of adjusting the border questions in a manner satisfactory to the Afghan Government. The Indian Government consider that the happier prospect opened of a cessation of misunderstandings tending to disturb peace on the Upper Oxus would be finally secured if the Russian Government were moved to signify in a marked and public manner to the Ameer of Bokhara their approval of the action now reported to have been taken by him, and were to desire that no countenance whatever should be given by the Ameer to any notorious enemies and opponents of the Ameer of Cabul.

You will urge upon Prince Gortchakow the policy of making a communication to the above effect to the Ameer of Bokhara.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 43.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received March 28.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, March 21, 1870.

I HAVE had the honour to receive your Lordship's despatch of the 7th instant, inclosing an extract from an India Office letter containing information respecting the passage of the Oxus, in December last, by troops of the Khan of Bokhara, under Meer Jehandar Shah, who, after burning the town of Jungee Killa, in the province of Badakshan, are represented to have recrossed the river, the commander having, in consequence of the representations of Naib Mohamed Alum Khan, acknowledged it as the boundary between the territories of Bokhara and Cabul. This incident, which is evidently the same as that to which I have referred in my report of the 9th instant of a conversation with the Emperor, your Lordship observes, is entirely inconsistent with the language held to me by M. Stremoukoff with respect to the military strength of the Khan of Bokhara, and in instructing me to call Prince Gortchakow's attention to the facts referred to, you direct me to express the hope of Her Majesty's Government that the Khan of Bokhara may be induced to follow out for the future the policy of peace which Russia herself is desirous to observe in Central Asia.

At an interview with Prince Gortchakow yesterday, I fulfilled these instructions, and his Excellency desired me to assure you in the most positive manner that the Russian Government lost no opportunity of impressing on the Khan of Bokhara their desire that he should abstain from all aggression on the territories of the Ameer of Cabul. As M. Stremoukoff was referred to in the statement which I made, his Excellency sent for him and requested me to acquaint him with your observations. M. Stremoukoff again repeated what he had previously said to me of the Khan of

Bokhara's expedition to the east to re-establish his authority in Hissar, a district which owed him allegiance, and of his having advanced from thence into the territory of Kokand, until remonstrated with by General Kaufmann, but he seemed unwilling to admit any knowledge of the inroad into Badakshan, and he still maintained that the military resources of Bokhara were inadequate to any successful enterprise against Shere Ali, while the late expedition of the Ameer to the east had so tried his resources that an officer had just arrived from Tashkend stated that General Kaufmann hoped he would devote himself for the present to consolidating his position at home.

With reference to this subject, I may observe that I was informed two days ago by M. Stremoukoff that letters had been received from General Kaufmann expressing satisfaction at the understanding come to here during the visit of Mr. Forsyth, and stating that he would lose no time in endeavouring to have the boundary clearly defined between the territories of Bokhara and Cabul. He also mentioned, at the same time, that intelligence had been received at Tashkend that an army under the command of Shere Ali was on the march towards the north, but that as General Kaufmann had traced the origin of the report to Abdul Rahman Khan, he says he did not attach much importance to it, and had taken no measures in consequence.

No. 44.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received March 28.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, March 22, 1870.

SINCE writing my despatch of yesterday's date on the affairs of Central Asia, I have had some conversation on the subject with M. Stremoukoff, and subsequently with General Miliutine, during which I expressed to them both my regret that they did not communicate to me more frankly and freely information which reached them from Tashkend, as they would, in my opinion, be promoting the maintenance of tranquillity in Central Asia, and therefore the interests of Russia as well as of England, by keeping me fully informed of any occurrences which might take place there.

They both answered that they had in fact very little to communicate as the information which reached them was generally meagre and contradictory. M. Stremoukoff, during my conversation with him, said also that, as nothing seemed to be established permanently, and it was impossible to foresee what incidents might occur, the Russian Government could not safely make declarations on any point, beyond that they were desirous of preventing any change in the existing territorial or political arrangements, and that they would endeavour to accomplish this whatever might be the views of military men, and he said that Mr. Forsyth perfectly understood their position in this respect.

In my conversation with General Miliutine, his Excellency said that General Kaufmann was far from being satisfied with his relations with the Khan of Bokhara. I therefore asked whether the Russian Government had been consulted before the Khan's late expedition to the East, and he assured me it had been undertaken entirely without their knowledge or concurrence. He said that a rumour had reached Tashkend which he regretted, and which he hoped required confirmation, that Shere Ali was about to construct a fort on the Oxus in the district of Andkhai. I said, I had received no information to that effect, but that if the report were true, Russia had no reason for dissatisfaction, as the construction of such a fort would either be merely a defensive measure against Bokhara, or, considering the past history of Afghan Turkestan, Shere Ali might wish to strengthen by it his hold on a distant province in the vicinity of which he had such enemies prowling about as Abdool Rahman Khan, and his other disaffected relatives. General Miliutine acknowledged this, and said, if it could be shown clearly that Andkhai belonged to the Ameer, His Highness would have an undoubted right to adopt such measures as he might think necessary for its defence; but at the same time he seemed to consider that the fort might be a cause of jealousy with Bokhara. I answered that, as to Andkhai, it may have shifted its allegiance from one ruler to another previously to 1850; but there was ample evidence in the Foreign Office at Calcutta to prove its having been an Afghan province ever since that date, and his Excellency intimated that he did not mean to doubt that my statement of the case might be shown to be correct.

He then spoke of the relations of Russia with Khiva, which he said had not assumed a more promising aspect since our last conversation upon them, as General Kaufmann had written a third letter to the Khan in ~~more~~ decided terms, to which no

answer had yet been received, and though his Excellency did not say so, it seemed to me that he was not altogether without apprehensions that there might be some secret understanding between Khiva and Bokhara of a hostile character to Russia.

Should such an understanding exist, and result in hostilities, Shere Ali will have an opportunity of proving that, in consequence of his relations with the Government of India, Russia has nothing to fear from him.

No. 45.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received March 28.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, March 22, 1870.

HAVING received a private letter from Lord Mayo on the 16th instant, informing me that the Ameer of Cabul, on the 14th of January last, had addressed instructions to his Lieutenant in Turkestan to defend the frontier from Badakshan to Maimenah with the exception of Kerkee and Charjui, and to prevent all acts of aggression against the territories of Bokhara, I availed myself of an opportunity, which occurred at a party in the evening, to acquaint M. Stremoukoff with this intelligence. His Excellency expressed great satisfaction with it, and requested me to give him a copy of Shere Ali's instructions to Naib Mahomed Alum Khan with a view to its being sent to General Kaufmann, in order that he might use it in his communications with the Khan of Bokhara. I said I was afraid I could not comply with his request, as I was not in official correspondence with Lord Mayo, and his Excellency's letter to me was of an entirely private character, but I could perhaps meet his wishes in some other way. In the course of the evening the Emperor having been graciously pleased to enter into conversation with me, I took advantage of the opportunity to mention also to His Majesty the substance of Lord Mayo's letter, and to express to him my hope that, while Shere Ali was acting in conformity with the advice given to him by the Government of India, the Khans of Bokhara and Kokand, through the influence of Russia, might be induced to abstain from aggression against the territories of Afghanistan; and His Majesty was pleased to say that I might feel assured that everything possible would be done to secure that object. I therefore addressed on the following day a letter to Prince Gortchakow, of which I inclose a copy, conveying to his Excellency the substance of Shere Ali's instructions to Naib Mohammed Alum Khan, and recording what passed in my conversation with the Emperor and M. Stremoukoff. I called with this letter on the Chancellor, and mentioning the circumstances which had induced me to write it, I placed it in his Excellency's hands. He thanked me for it warmly and said, with regard to Bokhara, Our influence will of course be used; but we cannot do more. I said I had some hesitation in referring, in a letter to his Excellency, to the Emperor's language to me, and also some difficulty in reporting exactly in writing His Majesty's expressions, but Prince Gortchakow said that he had no doubt that I had conveyed to him correctly the assurance which His Majesty had intended to give to me.

His Excellency having sent my letter to the Emperor, His Majesty returned it with an order to express his satisfaction with its contents, and on the next day I received from Prince Gortchakow, the letter of which I have the honour to inclose a copy herewith. Although this correspondence may not have an official international character, I venture to hope that your Lordship will consider it an evident recognition, on the part of the Emperor, of the moral engagements contracted by his Ministers in their conversations with Mr. Forsyth.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 45.

Sir A. Buchanan to Prince Gortchakow.

Mon cher Prince,

St. Pétersbourg, le 17 Mars, 1870.

J'AI donné hier à M. de Strémoukoff lecture confidentielle d'une lettre particulière que je venais de recevoir du Vice-Roi des Indes par laquelle son Excellence me communique les instructions qui ont été adressées par l'Ameer du Cabul le 11 Shamil (1^{er} Janvier) dernier au Gouverneur du Turkestan Afghan.

M. de Strémoukoff, témoignant sa satisfaction de ces instructions m'a

exprimé le désir de pouvoir les communiquer à M. le Général Kaufmann, désir auquel je me serais empressé de me rendre si la lettre de Lord Mayo ne portait pas un caractère essentiellement confidentiel.

Si toutefois je ne puis mettre à la disposition de M. de Strémoukoff une copie de cette lettre et de son annexe, il me semble que j'atteins le même but en communiquant à votre Excellence l'ensemble des instructions de l'Ameer.

Son Altesse, en se référant à des instructions précédentes qui prohibaient toute ingérence dans les affaires des pays qui n'appartiennent pas au Gouvernement du Cabul, réitère à Naib Mohammed Alum Khan l'ordre de veiller à la défense de la frontière de Badakshan jusqu'à Maimenah, à l'exception de Kerkée et de Chargui, qui ne relèvent pas de Cabul. L'Ameer lui prescrit de nouveau de ne s'immiscer d'aucune façon dans les affaires des territoires du Roi de Boukhara, et il le charge de veiller à ce qu'aucun acte agressif ne soit commis contre ses territoires.

En me félicitant, mon cher Prince, de l'occasion qui m'est ainsi offerte de donner à votre Excellence une preuve aussi satisfaisante de la conduite loyalement pacifique tenue par Shir Ali Khan, j'aime à croire que votre Excellence pourra bientôt me communiquer des nouvelles également rassurant du Kokand et de Boukhara, dont les Souverains se seront sans doute empressés de se conformer aux sages conseils du Général Kaufmann.

L'Empereur ayant daigné m'accorder hier soir quelques instants d'entretien, j'en ai profité pour faire connaître à Sa Majesté la teneur de la lettre du Lord Mayo, et pour lui exprimer l'espoir que l'influence de la Russie assurerait à Shir Ali une conduite réciproque de la part de ses voisins. Sa Majesté a daigné me répondre que cet espoir serait réalisé en autant qu'il dépendait d'elle.

Je saisis, &c.

(Signé) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

(Translation.)

My dear Prince,

St. Petersburg, March $\frac{5}{17}$, 1870.

YESTERDAY I read confidentially to M. Stremoukoff a private letter which I had just received from the Viceroy of India, in which his Excellency communicates to me the instructions which have been addressed by the Ameer of Cabul on the 11th Shumil (January $\frac{2}{14}$) last to the Governor of Afghan Turkestan.

M. Stremoukoff, in expressing his satisfaction at these instructions, begged to be allowed to communicate them to General Kaufmann, which I should have made no objection to his doing had not Lord Mayo's letter been of a strictly confidential nature.

Still, though I am unable to put at the disposal of M. Stremoukoff a copy of this letter and its inclosures, it seems to me that the same end will be attained by my communicating to your Excellency the general tenour of the Ameer's instructions.

His Highness, after referring to previous instructions forbidding all interference in the affairs of countries not belonging to the Cabul Government, repeats his orders to Naib Mahomed Alum Khan to be watchful in defence of the frontier of Badakshan as far as Maimana, with the exception of Kerkee and Charjui, which are not dependent on Cabul. The Ameer once more enjoins upon him to avoid mixing himself up in any way in the affairs of the territory of the King of Bokhara, and to take care that no act of aggression be committed against his territories.

While congratulating myself, my dear Prince, on having this opportunity of giving your Excellency so satisfactory a proof of the loyal and pacific behaviour of Sher Ali Khan, I trust that your Excellency will soon be able to give me equally reassuring news from Kokand and Bokhara, the Sovereigns of which countries will doubtless have lost no time in conforming their conduct to the wise advice of General Kaufmann.

The Emperor having yesterday evening graciously favoured me with some minutes' conversation, I took advantage of it to acquaint His Majesty with the tenour of Lord Mayo's letter, and to express to him the hope that the influence of Russia would insure to Sher Ali due reciprocity on the part of his neighbours. His Majesty was pleased to answer that this hope should be realized as far as it depended on him.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure 2 in No. 45.

Prince Gortchakow to Sir A. Buchanan.

Mon cher Ambassadeur,

St. Pétersbourg, le 7 Mars, 1870.

J'AI porté à la connaissance de Sa Majesté l'Empereur la lettre que vous avez bien voulu m'adresser sous la date du 1^{er} Mars sur les explications satisfaisantes qui ont eu lieu entre le Vice-Roi des Indes et l'Ameer de Caboul au sujet du maintien du repos sur la frontière de l'Afghanistan et des ordres donnés qu'aucun acte agressif ne soit commis contre le territoire de l'Emir de Bokhara.

Mon auguste Maître y a vu une nouvelle preuve de la bonne entente existant entre les deux Empires dans ces parages comme ailleurs, et a daigné m'ordonner de vous remercier pour les informations qui vous nous avez transmises.

Recevez, &c.

(Signé) GORTCHAKOW.

(Translation.)

My dear Ambassador,

St. Petersburg, March 7, 1870.

I ACQUAINTED His Majesty the Emperor with the letter which you had the goodness to address to me on the 5th of March, on the subject of the satisfactory explanations which have passed between the Viceroy of India and the Ameer of Cabul, respecting the maintenance of peace on the Afghan frontier, and the orders given that no act of aggression should be committed against the territory of the Emir of Bokhara.

My august Master looked upon this as a fresh proof of the good understanding which exists between the two Empires in those parts of the world as elsewhere, and has commanded me to thank you for the information you have given us.

Accept, &c.

(Signed) GORTCHAKOW.

No. 46.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 29, 1870.

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve your proceedings and the language which you held on the affairs of Central Asia, as reported in your despatches of the 21st and 22nd of March.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 47.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 11.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, April 5, 1870.

I INQUIRED yesterday of Prince Gortchakow whether any change had taken place in the relations of Russia and Khiva. He said that the Khan continued to maintain his silence without vouchsafing any reply to the representations addressed to him by General Kaufmann. It was to be presumed, therefore, that he was dissatisfied with the occupation of Krasnovodsk Bay by Russia, and that he would probably show his dissatisfaction by some overt act of hostility, in which event he would be punished; but his Excellency still professes that the Government have no wish to annex his territories to the Empire.

The prospect of his retaining his independence does not, however, appear to be very satisfactory.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 11.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, April 5, 1870.

AT an interview yesterday with Prince Gortchakow I placed in his Excellency's hand your Lordship's despatch of the 26th ultimo on the relations of Bokhara and Cabul, and his Excellency appeared to read it with much interest, admitting generally the correctness of its statements, but intimating that the Russian Government had not yet received any information as to the Ameer of Bokhara having agreed to consider the Oxus as the boundary between his territories and those of Afghanistan.

He said he entirely concurred in the hope of the Indian Government that happier prospects had opened of a cessation of misunderstandings tending to disturb peace on the Upper Oxus, and that he would not fail to signify to the Ameer of Bokhara the approval of the Russian Government of the friendly relations which he is endeavouring to establish with Afghanistan, and to recommend him not to give countenance to any notorious enemies and opponents of the Ameer of Cabul.

His Excellency observed he would only, however, be repeating advice which had already been given to the Ameer of Bokhara, and he said also that, in consequence of my recent communications to him, he had written by the Emperor's order to General Kaufmann, instructing him to make it known everywhere in Central Asia that a perfect understanding exists between the Governments of Great Britain and Russia with reference to the affairs and interests of these countries.

At his Excellency's request, I left your Lordship's despatch with him.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Mr. Thomson to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 14.)

My Lord,

Tehran, March 7, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to inclose translation of the Asterabad Agent's journal for January and February, from which it appears that the Shah had addressed a Firman to the Governor of that province, stating that the presence of the Russians at Kizil Soo, in Balkan Bay, would not injuriously affect either the tribes or territory of Persia, and that they were at liberty to occupy and build what they pleased on the right bank of the Attrek, so long as they did not interfere with the territory situated between that river and the Goorgan.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RONALD THOMSON.

Inclosure in No. 49.

Report from the Asterabad Agent.

(Translation.)

January 1870.

MAOLLA DAOUDAR, a Chief of the Jaajer Bai tribe, who has been in the Russian service for two years, accompanied the Russian expedition to Kizil Soo, and during these days he wrote a letter to the chiefs and elders of the said tribe, inviting them to come and visit the Russian Commander, and to bring presents for him; the chiefs on receiving the letter sent it to the Governor of Asterabad, who has forwarded it to Tehran.

To-day, the 22nd instant, a courier arrived from the capital bringing a reply to the Governor's representation respecting the landing of the Russians at Kizil Soo. The Shah has addressed a Firman to the Governor, saying that the Russians intend having a port at Kizil Soo for their commerce with Turkestan, and that such a step would in no way injuriously affect Persia, its subjects or tribes. But, the Persian Ministers have written that the Russians are not to cross the Attrek, which is 6 fursakhs distant from the Goorgan River and Ak-Kaleh; they are at liberty to build whatever they like on the other side of the Attrek, but not anything on the Persian side.

The Governor wrote back in reply that many evils would arise out of the Russians

being at Kizil Soo. In the first place, Kizil Soo belongs to Charkan, and the salt and naphtha mines which are at Charkan yield a considerable revenue every year, and the Russians will certainly take possession of them. Secondly, the hills and pasture lands of Balkan which are opposite Kizil Soo belong to the Yamoot and Jaajer Bai tribes, and the Russians will certainly prevent them from going there. He also pointed out other evils, and then dispatched the courier.

No. 50.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 25.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, April 19, 1870.

THE Russian newspapers report that an abundant supply of water has been obtained for the use of Krasnovodsk from springs which have been discovered about 50 versts from the coast.

No. 51.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 25.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, April 19, 1870.

PRINCE GORTCHAKOW communicated to me yesterday a Memorandum, of which I inclose a copy, drawn up in his Excellency's Chancery from letters of General Kaufmann dated the ^{19th November} ^{1st December}, the ^{17th February} ^{2nd March} last, containing the substance of the communications which have taken place between General Kaufmann and Abdul Rahman Khan, who appears to have lately arrived at Samarkand with the intention of proceeding to Tashkend.

General Kaufmann, it is stated, in reply to offers of Abdul Rahman's influence in Afghanistan in favour of Russia and a request for support to establish his alleged rights there, caused him to be informed in November, that Russia being determined to abstain from all interference with the internal affairs of Afghanistan, any negotiations with him would be useless; and his Excellency will again decline categorically both his offers and his requests, and will declare to him that he can only be granted an asylum in the territories of Russia, on condition of his abstaining from intrigues and political projects, for the realization of which he will also be told that he must not in any way reckon on assistance from Bokhara.

I may take this opportunity of mentioning that, though messengers from Tashkend have been on some occasions forty-eight days on the road, an officer recently performed the journey in twenty-one days.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 51.

Abstract of Letters from General Kaufmann, dated November 19, 1869, and 7th and 17th February, 1870.

ABDUL RAHMAN KHAN, interné provisoirement par l'Emir de Boukhara dans la ville de Karchi, envoya au Général Kaufmann un homme de confiance et plusieurs lettres pour lui offrir son crédit et ses liaisons dans l'Afghanistan et pour lui demander en retour l'appui nécessaire à l'établissement de ses droits. Le Général lui fit répondre que la Russie était fermement résolue à ne point se mêler des affaires intérieures de l'Afghanistan, et que, par conséquent, toute négociation était superflue.

D'après les dernières nouvelles, malgré cette réponse décourageante, Abdul Rahman est arrivé à Samarcand et ne manquera pas d'aller jusqu'à Taschkent. Le Général Kaufmann se propose de décliner très catégoriquement ses offres, ainsi que ses demandes, et de lui déclarer que nous ne pourrions lui accorder qu'un asile, mais à la condition de son abstention absolue de toute intrigue et de tous projets politiques. Il lui déclarera, en outre, qu'il ne doit nullement compter sur Boukhara pour réaliser ces projets.

(Translation.)

ABDUL RAHMAN KHAN, who was interned meanwhile by the Emir of Bokhara in the town of Karchi, sent a confidential messenger with several letters to General Kaufmann, to offer him his influence and relations with Afghanistan, and to ask in return the support necessary for the maintenance of his rights. The General gave him as his reply that Russia was determined not to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, and that consequently all negotiation was unnecessary.

According to the last news received, in spite of this discouraging reply, Abdul Rahman has arrived at Samarkand, and will not fail to proceed as far as Taschkend. General Kaufmann intends declining categorically his offers as well as his requests, and will inform him that we can only offer him an asylum on the condition that he abstains from all political intrigues and projects. He will inform him also that he must not reckon on Bokhara for the realization of his designs.

No. 52.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir,

Foreign Office, April 26, 1870.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 19th instant, and I have to instruct your Excellency to express to Prince Gortchakow the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government that Abdul Rahman's offers to use his influence in Afghanistan in favour of Russia have been rejected by General Kaufmann.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 53.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received May 9.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, May 4, 1870.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 26th ultimo, I have the honour to inform you that I have expressed to Prince Gortchakow the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government that Abdul Rahman's offers to use his influence in Afghanistan in favour of Russia, has been rejected by General Kaufmann. His Excellency, on thanking me for this communication, said that, in consequence of the understanding which exists with Her Majesty's Government respecting the affairs of Central Asia, he had instructed Baron Brunnow to communicate to your Lordship a despatch lately received from the Russian Minister in Persia, attributing great activity to Shere Ali Khan, who is said to be endeavouring to induce the Tekée Turkomans, a tribe occupying lands to the south of Khiva, to acknowledge his sovereignty; and to have been sending money and arms into Beloochistan with a view to proceedings in Seistan hostile to Persia.

His Excellency said he made no complaint, and he did not appear to attribute much importance to the information which had reached him, and which he seemed to consider required confirmation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 54.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received May 9.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, May 4, 1870.

WITH reference to my preceding despatch of this date, I have reason to believe that General Kaufmann's last reports represent the Khan of Khiva to have sent an envoy to Bokhara to offer his alliance to the Ameer, with a view to a holy war against Russia, and that General Kaufmann also believes a Turkish Agent and an Envoy from Cabul to be at Bokhara.

It is also alleged that the late attack on Fort Alexander by a tribe of Kirghize was instigated by the Khan of Khiva.

I have made some inquiries respecting the alleged dealings of Shere Ali with the Tekke Turkomans and his proceedings in Beloochistan, and I have said that I know nothing on the subject, except what I have read in Indian newspapers; and it appears to me from their reports that in India there is an impression that Beloochistan, instead of acting aggressively against Persia, has reason to fear encroachments on her part.

I do not believe that any importance is attached here to the report of Shere Ali having sent an Envoy to Bokhara, and I have said that, if he has done so, the object of the mission has probably been to make arrangements for the tranquillity of his frontier.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 55.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 6.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, June 1, 1870.

WITH reference to the late Kirghize hostilities at Manguishlak, I understand that the Russian Government are disposed to attribute them to the instigation of Kirghize refugees in Khiva rather than to the Ruler himself of that Khanate. I am told also that the Steppe is still much disturbed, though it is hoped the summer may nevertheless pass over without any serious operations being taken against Khiva; and that there is still no intention of annexing that Province to Russia, whatever steps may be eventually taken to force the Khan to live on satisfactory terms with his neighbours.

With respect to Bokhara, Prince Gortchakow informs me that the Ameer has not yet paid the war indemnity which he owes to Russia, amounting it is said, to 200,000 or 300,000 roubles, and I understand that the Emperor told the Bokhara envoys before they left St. Petersburg that, until this engagement is punctually fulfilled, the Ameer must not expect that negotiations will be entered into with him for the evacuation of Samarkand.

If it be true therefore, that the Ameer is capable of paying the war indemnity, as the Russian Government profess to believe that he is, his conduct has been very impolitic, for while the debt will continue to stand as a claim against him, every day that it remains unpaid, diminishes, I fear, at an increasing ratio, the probability of his ever recovering Samarkand.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 56.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 20.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, June 14, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Prince Gortchakow, at an interview which I had with his Excellency to-day, said that Russia neither required nor desired to possess the Khanates. That at present the Ruler of Kokand was ready to act according to her wishes, and there was every prospect of her relations with Bokhara being placed on a friendly and satisfactory footing. Khiva alone, he said, seemed disposed to act hostilely towards her, and the Khan, who was suspected of having incited the late hostilities of the Kirghize at Manguishlak, had made an insolent communication to General Kaufmann through his so-styled Minister for Foreign Affairs.

It was not at all improbable, therefore, that measures might be taken to force him to accept the propositions which had been made to him.

No. 57.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 20.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, June 15, 1870.

WITH reference to my despatch of yesterday's date, reporting a conversation with Prince Gortchakow on Central Asian Affairs, I have been informed that the letter

of the Khan of Khiva's Minister for Foreign Affairs to General Kaufmann, states that Russia appears to believe that her greater Power gives her a right to dictate to her weaker, though independent neighbours; and that while Khiva denies that she has given Russia any just cause of complaint, she will meet her in arms, if she attempts to invade the territories of the Khanate; and as battles are decided by God, Russia may be mistaken in her confidence of victory.

It appears that the Khan has sent an Embassy to Bokhara to propose an offensive and defensive alliance against Russia, and General Kaufmann has thought it necessary to dispatch an officer to Bokhara to ascertain what may be passing there, and to endeavour to keep the Ameer steady to his engagements with Russia. Prince Gortchakow spoke to me as if this Envoy had given a satisfactory report of the dispositions of the Ameer, but they are as yet unconfirmed. Statement has arrived of His Highness having decapitated the senior member of his late Embassy to St. Petersburg.

The Kirghize insurrection in Manguishlak has not yet been suppressed, but I am still assured that, if tranquillity is restored on the Steppe, and no bands arrive from Khiva, the summer may be allowed to pass without any force being sent into the Khanate.

Perhaps, however, notwithstanding these assurances, there is more reason to believe that the long spoken of Khivan expedition will take place than that it will be postponed.

Prince Gortchakow tells me that General Kaufmann had written a letter to Shere Ali, of which M. Stremoukoff is instructed to send me a translation, explaining that Abdul Rahman Khan's presence at Tashkend has been permitted from mere feelings of hospitality towards the unfortunate, but not from any intention of supporting him as a rival to the Ameer, with whom the Russian Government wish to cultivate the same friendly relations as exist between England and Russia.

M. Stremoukoff has excused himself for not being able to send me a translation of the letter immediately as the only copy has been forwarded to the Emperor, but he promises that I shall receive one in a day or two.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 58.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 23.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, June 18, 1870.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 15th instant, on the affairs of Central Asia, I have the honour to inclose herewith the translation of a letter from General Kaufmann to the Ameer of Afghanistan, which has been communicated to me by Prince Gortchakow.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 58.

General Kaufmann to Shere Ali Khan.

Taschkent, le 30 Mars, 1870.

VOUS avez déjà probablement appris que votre neveu, le respectable Abdul Rahman Khan, qui a été autrefois Gouverneur de Balkh et d'autres villes de l'Afghanistan, s'est rendu dernièrement à Taschkent, et qu'en ma qualité de représentant de mon puissant Maître et Souverain, je l'ai reçu avec honneur et cordialité. Comme je ne voudrais pas que vous prissiez ombrage du séjour à Taschkent du Sirdar Afghan, j'ai jugé à propos de vous adresser la présente pour vous exposer en toute vérité et franchise mon point de vue sur les rapports dans lesquels le Turkestan Russe et l'Afghanistan se trouvent l'un vis-à-vis de l'autre, et pour vous faire part des principes qui me guident dans mes relations avec vous.

Les possessions du Tzar dans le Turkestan ne sont point limitrophes avec les pays qui vous obéissent aujourd'hui: nous sommes séparés par le Khanate de Boukhara, dont l'Emir Seid Mouzaffar, ayant conclu la paix avec la Russie, se trouve en rapports d'amitié et sous la protection de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies. Il ne

peut donc y avoir entre nous aucune collision, aucun malentendu, bien que nous soyons voisins éloignés, nous pouvons et devons vivre en paix et concorde. Je n'ai point l'intention d'intervenir dans les affaires intérieures de l'Afghanistan, vû que, d'un côté, vous vous trouvez sous la protection du Gouvernement Anglais, qui est en relations d'amitié avec celui du Tzar, comme probablement vous le savez; de l'autre parceque je ne vois de votre part aucune intermixture dans les affaires de la Boukharie.

L'Afghanistan et la Boukharie ne doivent avoir entre eux rien de commun; chacun des deux pays doit vivre pour soi, sans se soucier de ce qui se passe chez son voisin.

C'est cette manière de voir qui m'a fait répondre à Abdul Rahman Khan, lorsqu'il m'a demandé d'être reçu à Tashkent, que mon auguste Maître ne refusait l'hospitalité à personne, surtout à un homme dans le malheur, et que je lui ferai, par conséquent, un accueil bienveillant; mais qu'il ne devait compter en aucune façon sur mon intervention dans ses démêlés avec vous, ni sur n'importe quel secours de notre part. Je tiens à rester avec vous en bons rapports, vû que vous ne m'avez donné aucun sujet de mécontentement.

C'est donc dans l'espoir que nos relations resteront à l'avenir ce qu'elles sont aujourd'hui que j'écris cette lettre; je serais très satisfait de recevoir de vous par écrit l'assurance que vous vous proposez de suivre le même programme.

Puisse le Très Haut prolonger vos jours pour votre gloire et pour le bonheur du peuple!

(Translation.)

Tashkend, March 30, 1870.

YOU have probably learnt already that your nephew, Abdul Rahman Khan, formerly Governor of Balkh and of other cities of Afghanistan, came lately to Tashkend, and that I, as the Representative of my august Master and Sovereign, received him with honour and cordiality. Being anxious that you should not take umbrage at the stay of the Sirdar of Afghanistan at Tashkend, I have considered it advisable to address this letter to you in order to set before you truthfully and frankly my views with regard to the relations existing between Russian Turkestan and Afghanistan, and to make you acquainted with the principles by which I am guided in my intercourse with you.

The Czar's possessions in Turkestan do not border on the countries at present under your rule: we are separated by the Khanate of Bokhara, whose Ameer, Seid Mouzaffar, has concluded a peace with Russia, and is at present friendly towards and under the protection of His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias. No collision or misunderstanding can therefore take place between us, though we are distant neighbours, and we can and ought to live in peace and concord. I have no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, because, on the one hand, you are under the protection of the English Government, who, as you are probably aware, are friendly towards that of the Czar; and because, on the other hand, I do not perceive any interference on your part in the affairs of Bokhara.

Afghanistan and Bokhara ought to have nothing in common; each country ought to look to itself, without busying itself about its neighbour's affairs.

It was from this point of view that I replied to Abdul Rahman Khan's request to be admitted to Tashkend that my august Master refused hospitality to no one, especially to a man in misfortune, and that I would therefore give him a gracious reception; but that he must not in any way count on my interference in his differences with you, or on any help whatever from me. I desire to maintain friendly relations with you, as you have given me no cause for dissatisfaction.

I write you this letter in the hope that our relations will for the future be as friendly as they are at present; it would give me great satisfaction to receive from you in writing the assurance that it is your intention to carry out the same programme.

May the Almighty prolong your days for your own glory and the welfare of your people!

No. 59.

Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, Foreign Office, to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 29, 1870.

I HAVE to request your Excellency to express to the Russian Government the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government at the amicable tone of the despatch

addressed by General Kaufmann to the Ameer of Afghanistan on the affairs of Central Asia, a copy of which was inclosed in your despatch of the 15th instant.

I am, &c.

(For Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State),
(Signed) E. HAMMOND.

No. 60.

Mr. Merivale to Mr. Hammond.—(Received June 30.)

Sir,

India Office, June 30, 1870.

I AM directed by the Duke of Argyll to forward, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, copy of a letter recently received from India, relative to the policy of the Russian Government in Central Asia.

I am, &c.

(Signed) HERMAN MERIVALE.

Inclosure in No. 60.

The Governor-General of India in Council to the Duke of Argyll.

My Lord Duke,

Simla, May 20, 1870.

SINCE the receipt of your despatch of the 26th November, Mr. Forsyth has returned to India, and we have had much satisfaction in learning from him personally the friendly assurances given by His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, and by the Ministers of State, in respect of the policy of the Russian Government in Central Asia.

2. In the inclosures of your despatch of the 6th August, 1869, we were informed that, at an interview with Mr. Forsyth at Baden Baden, Prince Gortchakow "dilated with pleasure on the happy relations existing between Her Majesty's present Government and that of Russia, and expressed great satisfaction on hearing that the non-aggressive policy which had marked Sir J. Lawrence's viceroyalty was not likely to be departed from by Lord Mayo;" that he stated that "Russia had no intention of interfering with Herat, Cabul," &c.; that "if Shere Ali confined himself within his own dominions, he need fear no molestation from Russia;" and that "it was the determination of the Russian Government that there should be no quarrel between the two countries regarding the Asiatic boundaries."

3. In the conversation with Lord Clarendon at Heidelberg on 3rd September, of which we were informed in Mr. Kaye's letter of the 17th September, 1869, Prince Gortchakow assured his Lordship "that we had no cause for apprehension" (of a difference between the two Governments in regard to Central Asia) "as the Emperor considered, and he entirely shared His Majesty's opinion, that extension of territory was extension of weakness, and that Russia had no intention of going further south;" that the determination of the British Government (of which Lord Clarendon informed him) to restrain Shere Ali from aggression on his neighbours "was quite sufficient and most satisfactory, and that he should have great pleasure in forthwith reporting it to the Emperor."

4. These assurances have been repeated to Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg, who, in his despatch to Lord Clarendon of 2nd November, quotes the language of Prince Gortschakoff, which we extract in the margin.* We learn also from Mr. Forsyth and from his letters, of which copies were transmitted to us with your despatch of 26th November, that General Miliutine, the Russian Minister of War, and M. Stremoukoff, Director of the Asiatic Department of the Russian Foreign Office, "concurred in opinion that we should accept as Afghanistan all the provinces which Shere Ali now holds; that beyond this limit he should not exercise any influence or interference; that the good offices of England should be exerted to restrain him from all thought of aggression; and that similarly Russia should exercise all her influence to restrain Bokhara from transgressing the limits of Afghan territory;" that

* "Pray, therefore," he added, "tell Lord Clarendon that, as both Governments are free from all *arrière-pensées*, ambitious views or unfriendly feelings towards each other, the more fully and frankly all questions connected with Central Asia are discussed between them the more effectually will the mist be blown away, which, through the misrepresentations of over-zealous subordinate agents, may at any time hang over them."

His Majesty the Emperor himself remarked, "that there was no intention of extending the Russian dominions;" and assented to the remark of Mr. Forsyth, "that whilst on our side every effort would be made to induce Shere Ali to keep within his present dominions, we hoped that Bokhara would be restrained from aggression."

5. We learn with pleasure from the inclosures of your despatch of the 4th March that the Russian Government have expressed their adherence to the above assurances, and that M. Stremoukoff describes the policy sketched in our despatch dated 7th December last, the substance of which was communicated to him by Sir A. Buchanan, as coinciding exactly with that which the Russian Government desire, and which they are endeavouring to establish.

6. We have great satisfaction in finding that the policy of Russia, thus frankly described, coincides so entirely with that laid down by us at Umballa, which was sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government, and to which we since consistently adhered; and we feel assured that so long as this policy is acted on by the two great Governments, who may be said to divide political influence in Central Asia, the peace and prosperity of those vast and important regions will be permanently secured.

7. M. Stremoukoff has suggested, with a view to the further development of this peaceful policy, that measures should be taken by the British Government and by Russia to ascertain the limits of the territories which acknowledged the sovereignty of Dost Mahomed, and are at present under the Government of Shere Ali Khan, in order that the frontier between those territories and the neighbouring States of Central Asia should be as nearly as possible defined.

8. In our telegram of 11th June, 1869, we have informed your Grace that, if the Ameer should show any disposition to extend his boundaries beyond the limits held by Dost Mahomed, we should remonstrate with him at once. The possessions of the present Ameer on the north and north-west appear to coincide almost exactly with those held by his father; and the limits of Dost Mahomed's kingdom may therefore be generally taken as the boundary which should divide the kingdom of Afghanistan from the other States of Central Asia to the north and north-west.

9. We do not think it necessary to enter on any elaborate review of the rule of Dost Mahomed. The extent of his conquests in Afghan-Turkestan is, we believe, not disputed. Save during very short and exceptional periods, the Oxus has been the recognized boundary between Bokhara and Afghanistan; and in the negotiations between Dost Mahomed and the Ameer of Bokhara in 1859, the latter declared that, if the Afghans would refrain from interference with the Turkomans north of the Oxus, the Bokhara authorities would raise no claim regarding Badakshan, Maimana, and other States south of that river. Practically, the Oxus was the limit of the conquests of Dost Mahomed in the north, from the district of Balkh on the west to the extreme east of Badakshan. The right of the Ameer to Balkh is recognized in the Ist Article of the Treaty concluded with Dost Mahomed on 26th January, 1857. Its western boundary is the province of Kerki, which terminates near the ford of Khojah Saleh; and Kerki and Charjui are admitted by Ameer Shere Ali to be Bokharian provinces and to march with his own provinces of Herat (including Maimana) and Balkh.

10. From the western boundary of Balkh to the eastern limits of Badakshan, the entire country between the Oxus and the Hindu Koosh, fell under the conquest of Dost Mahomed. In various campaigns between 1850 and 1855, Khulm, Maimana, Andkhoy, Shibergam, and Siripool were all conquered. Kunduz was annexed in 1859; Badakshan submitted the same year; and before his death in the trenches at Herat, on the 9th of June, 1863, the Dost had consolidated his power in all these territories. Practically, these form the Turkestan provinces now in the possession of Ameer Shere Ali Khan.

11. The north-western boundary of what, in our opinion, ought to be considered Shere Ali's dominions, runs in a south-westerly direction from a point on the Oxus between Khojah Saleh and Kerki, skirting and including the provinces of Balkh, Maimana with its dependencies of Andkhoy, &c., and Herat with its dependencies between the Murghab and the Herizrood. The northern boundary is the Oxus from the same point between Kerki and Khojah Saleh eastward to Punjab and Wakkan, and thereafter the stream which passes Wakkan up to the point where the range of the Hindu Koosh meets the southern angle of the Pamir Steppe.

12. In countries which have never been scientifically surveyed, and the boundaries of which have been liable to more or less fluctuation, it may be difficult to describe existing boundaries with perfect accuracy. But we are satisfied that the description above given of the northern and north-western boundaries of Afghanistan, is sufficiently correct for all practical purposes; and we feel assured that the inquiries which General

Kaufmann has been instructed to make, will not fail to establish the fact that these boundaries are consistent with present circumstances, and with the rights which the Ameer inherited from his father. We rely, therefore, with confidence on the pledges which the Russian Government have given, that they will use all legitimate means to save these territories from menace and attack on the part of the neighbouring States and Chiefs subject to Russian influence.

We have, &c.
(Signed)

MAYO.
NAPIER OF MAGDALA.
H. M. DURAND.
J. STRACHEY.
R. TEMPLE.
J. F. STEPHEN.
B. H. ELLIS.

No. 61.

Earl Granville to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 6, 1870.

I TRANSMIT, for your Excellency's information, the accompanying copy of a despatch, as noted in the margin, respecting the policy of Russia in Central Asia.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Inclosure in No. 61.

The Governor-General of India in Council to the Duke of Argyll, May 20, 1870.

[See Inclosure in No. 60.]

No. 62.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Granville.—(Received July 18.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, July 11, 1870.

I HAVE acquainted M. de Westmann with the contents of a despatch from your Lordship's office of the 29th instant, requesting me to express to the Russian Government the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government at the amicable tone of the despatch addressed by General Kaufmann to the Ameer of Afghanistan on the affairs of Central Asia, of which a copy was inclosed in my despatch of the 15th instant.

M. de Westmann took a note of the despatch for communication to the Emperor.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 63.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Granville.—(Received July 18.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, July 13, 1870.

I HAVE read to M. de Westmann the despatch from the Government of India, which a copy was inclosed in your Lordship's despatch of the 6th instant, and I, as I expected, that his Excellency was not prepared to express any opinion upon except his satisfaction that the two Governments appear to have arrived at a cordial understanding on the question to which it refers.

I have, however, also acquainted M. Stremoukoff, the Director of the Asiatic Department, with the contents of the despatch, and, while he assented to the correctness of its statements as to the explanations and assurances which have been given by the two Governments respecting their policy in Central Asia, he appeared to be very satisfactory the opinions expressed by the Government of India with

regard to the boundaries of Afghanistan. The only doubt he expressed was as to the point from which the western boundary line should commence on the Oxus, as Khojah Saleh is represented in Russian maps to be itself the western limit on the Oxus of Afghan Turkestan. He asked whether I could communicate a copy of the despatch to the Russian Government, in order that it might be sent to General Kaufmann for his guidance, but this I declined to do, as I said it had been merely sent to me for my information. As it appears to me, not only to define with sufficient precision the territories which are to be considered Afghan, but also to record clearly and distinctly the assurances which Her Majesty's Government have received from that of Russia, I think it of importance that I should be instructed to communicate a copy of it to M. de Westmann, with an intimation that Her Majesty's Government would be glad to learn if the Government of the Emperor assent to the opinions which it expresses as to boundaries of the territories, which they will use all legitimate means to protect from aggression on the part of the neighbouring States and Chiefs subject to Russian influence.

With reference to this subject, I understand that the Emperor has stated to Prince Orloff, that he may confirm the assurances already given to Her Majesty's Government, that His Imperial Majesty is determined to permit no further extension of the territories of Russia in Central Asia, and that he will withdraw his troops from Samarkand as soon as the Ameer of Bokhara fulfils his engagements which he has contracted towards him; I have therefore asked M. Stremoukoff whether a sum of money, mentioned in the newspapers as having been sent by the Ameer to Tashkent, was a portion of the war indemnity, and whether much more remained due. He said it was true that an instalment of the indemnity had been paid, and that the question of the indemnity, he had little doubt, would soon be arranged; but it was more difficult, he said, to induce the Ameer to engage to punish acts of aggression on the Russian frontier, of which his subordinates might be guilty, so as to secure the Russian authorities from the risk of being obliged hereafter to have recourse to military expeditions in cases of the kind. I observed that, as this objection would apply to any frontier which might be established, I did not see how it should affect the restoration of Samarkand to the Ameer; and his Excellency said he hoped the difficulty might be got over by the Ameer agreeing not to appoint any one to the Government of Samarkand without General Kaufmann's approval of the appointment being previously obtained; and by his engaging to dismiss and punish the Governor so appointed, if his conduct towards the subjects of the Emperor should give occasion to just grounds of complaint. Under such an arrangement, however, the real sovereignty of the Province will apparently remain in the hands of Russia.

With respect to Khiva, I am told that the Khan still maintains a defiant attitude towards the authorities at Tashkend, and that he has ordered his subjects to suspend their commercial operations with Russia. Meanwhile military measures are in progress for repressing the late insurrectionary movements of the Kirghize in the south-western steppe, and it may be presumed that, if they retire towards the Khivan frontier, and are supported by sympathizers from the Khanate, the conflict, which has been long imminent, will occur.

No. 64.

Mr. Melvill to Mr. Hammond.—(Received July 23.)

Sir,

India Office, July 22, 1870.

I AM to state, for the information of Earl Granville, that his Grace has no objection to the despatch of the Government of India being communicated to M. de Westmann; and I am to suggest, with reference to the remark of M. Stremoukoff (as communicated in Sir A. Buchanan's letter of the 13th instant) as to the point from which the western boundary line should commence on the Oxus, Khojah Sahib (Saleh) being represented in Russian maps to be itself the western limit on the Oxus of Afghan Turkestan, that provided Khojah Saleh, which is at the mouth of the Oxus, on the high road from Balkh to Bokhara, is admitted to be Afghan land, Her Majesty's Government would not object to a definition of frontier by which the rights of Bokhara should be determined to commence at a point upon the left bank of the Oxus, immediately below that place.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

J. C. MELVILL

No. 65.

Earl Granville to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 30, 1870.

YOU will perceive by the inclosed copy of a letter from the India Office that there is no objection to your communicating to the Russian Government, as suggested in your despatch of the 13th instant, a copy of the despatch from the Government of India inclosed in my despatch to your Excellency of the 6th of this month.

Your Excellency will also make known to M. Stremoukoff the observations in the inclosed letter respecting Khojah Saleh.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 66.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Granville.—(Received August 16.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, August 4, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a translation of the extract of a letter from General Kaufmann to Prince Gortchakow, dated the 29th of June last, which has been communicated to me by M. de Westmann, reporting the language which he has held to Abdul Rahman Khan in answer to an attempt of that personage to persuade his Excellency that it would not only be for the interests of Russia, but that it is absolutely indispensable, to secure her against the hostility of England, that he should be assisted to conquer the Throne of Cabul.

General Kaufmann states that he has informed the Sirdar that hospitality had been afforded to him by his Excellency in consideration of his destitute circumstances, and not as an enemy of England or a pretender to the Throne of Cabul; that the relations of Russia with England are of the most friendly and harmonious character; and that she wishes every possible prosperity to Shere Ali, who has never given her any cause for dissatisfaction.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 66.

General Kaufmann to Prince Gortchakow.

(Extrait.)

Le 17^e Juin, 1870.

IL y a lieu de croire que la surexcitation des esprits qui règne en ce moment dans les Khanats de l'Asie Centrale voisins de nos frontières, tient en partie à la conviction dont les peuples de ces pays, et principalement les Afghans, sont pénétrés, que tôt ou tard, grâce à une haine implacable et invétérée, les Russes et les Anglais doivent en venir aux mains en Asie. Plus d'une fois cette conviction a été exprimée par le Serdar Afghan Abdul Rahman Khan, et il a insisté sur ce point pour tâcher de me persuader que la Russie avait intérêt, voire même qu'il lui était absolument indispensable de l'aider, lui Abdul Rahman, à s'emparer du trône de Caboul.

En refusant au Serdar notre co-opération, je lui fis entendre que si nous lui avions donné asile, ce n'est point comme à l'ennemi des Anglais ou à un prétendant au trône de Caboul; mais uniquement parcequ'il était dans le malheur, sans abri ni foyer, dénué de toutes ressources pour subvenir à ses besoins et à ceux de ses proches. Je lui déclarai sans détours que nos rapports avec les Anglais, les protecteurs immédiats de Shir Ali Khan, son oncle, étaient empreints d'amitié et d'une parfaite harmonie; pour ce qui regarde Shir Ali Khan, non seulement nous ne songeons point à lui faire la guerre, mais encore nous lui souhaitons toute sorte de prospérité, vu que dans nos rapports avec l'Emir de Boukhara et avec ses autres voisins il ne nous a jamais donné aucun sujet de mécontentement.

À peine après l'arrivée d'Abdul Rahman sur notre territoire, j'ai adressé à Shir Ali une lettre dans ce sens. Depuis, j'ai appris que cette lettre, expédiée par Balkh, était parvenue dans cette ville par le fils de Shir Ali Khan, qui l'a envoyée à son père à

(Translation.)

(Extract.)

June $\frac{17}{29}$, 1870.

THERE is reason to believe that the excited feeling which at this moment exists in the Khanates of Central Asia bordering on our frontiers partly arises from the conviction which prevails throughout these countries, and more especially among the Afghans, that, owing to an implacable and inveterate hatred of one another, the Russians and English must sooner or later come to blows in Asia. This conviction has been expressed more than once by Abdul Rahman Khan, the Sirdar of Afghanistan, and he insisted on this point in order to persuade me that it was Russia's interest, nay, that it was even absolutely indispensable for her, to assist him, Abdul Rahman, to seize the throne of Cabul.

Whilst refusing our co-operation to the Sirdar, I pointed out to him that when we sheltered him it was not as an enemy to England or as a claimant to the throne of Cabul, but solely as an unfortunate and homeless man deprived of all means of supplying his own wants and those of his family. I declared to him without preamble that our relations with the English, the immediate protectors of his uncle, Shere Ali Khan, were marked with friendship and perfect harmony; that, as regards Shere Ali Khan, not only are we not dreaming of going to war with him, but we even wish him all prosperity, since the state of his relations with the Ameer of Bokhara and his other neighbours have never given us cause for dissatisfaction.

Shortly after the arrival of Abdul Rahman in our territory I addressed a letter to Shere Ali Khan in this sense. Since then I have learnt that this letter, forwarded by Balkh, was received in that city by the son of Shere Ali Khan, who sent it to his father at Cabul.

No. 67.

Earl Granville to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 20, 1870.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch of the 4th instant, inclosing the translation of the extract of a letter from General Kaufmann to Prince Gortchakow, reporting the language which he held to Abdul Rahman in answer to an attempt of that personage to persuade his Excellency that it would not only be for the interests of Russia, but that it would be absolutely indispensable to secure her against the hostility of England that he should be assisted to conquer the Throne of Cabul; and I have to request your Excellency to convey to the Russian Government the thanks of Her Majesty's Government for the language held by General Kaufmann to the Sirdar Afghan Abdul Rahman on that occasion.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 68.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Granville.—(Received August 29.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, August 18, 1870.

IN conformity with the instructions conveyed to me in your Lordship's despatch of the 30th ultimo, I have communicated to Prince Gortchakow a copy of the despatch from the Government of India to the Duke of Argyll, of which a copy was transmitted to me in your Lordship's despatch of the 6th of July; and I left at the same time with his Excellency a memorandum, of which I inclose a copy, stating, with reference to a doubt expressed by M. Stremooukoff as to Khojah Saleh being within the Afghan frontier, that if Khojah Saleh be admitted to be within the territories of the Ameer of Cabul, Her Majesty's Government would not object to a definition of the point by which the rights of Bokhara should be determined to commence at a point on the left bank of the Oxus, immediately below that place.

I also stated to his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government would learn if the Government of the Emperor acknowledged the correctness of the despatch of the Government of India, and his Excellency answered that M. Stremooukoff, who had been absent for a short time, returned to his Asiatic Department, this despatch would be taken into consideration.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN

Inclosure in No. 68.

Memorandum.

M. STREMOOUKOFF having expressed a doubt as to Khojah Saleh being within the territories of the Ameer Shere Ali Khan as stated in the accompanying despatch from the Government of India to the Duke of Argyll, dated Simla, May 20, 1870, Sir A. Buchanan has been informed by Lord Granville that, provided Khojah Saleh be admitted to be within the Afghan frontier, Her Majesty's Government would not object to a definition of the frontier, by which the rights of Bokhara should be determined to commence upon the left bank of the Oxus immediately below that place.

St. Petersburg, August 16, 1870.

No. 69.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Granville.—(Received September 12.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, September 7, 1870.

I READ this morning to Prince Gortchakow your Lordship's despatch instructing me to convey to the Government of the Emperor the thanks of Her Majesty's Government for the language held by General Kaufmann to the Sirdar Abdul Rahman Khan when that Afghan refugee attempted to persuade his Excellency that it would be expedient for Russia, in order to secure herself against the hostility of England, to assist him to conquer the Throne of Cabul.

I left your Lordship's despatch with Prince Gortchakow, at his Excellency's request, in order that he might communicate it to the Emperor.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 70.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Granville.—(Received September 26.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, September 21, 1870.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 18th ultimo, I have been informed by the Director of the Asiatic Department in the Russian Foreign Office that the despatch of the Government of India relative to the boundaries of the Territories of the Ameer of Cabul, has been sent to General Kaufmann for his observations. M. Stremoukoff said that this measure was expedient, as if General Kaufmann accepted as correct the opinions of the Government of India on this subject, his doing so would be equivalent to an engagement that their definition of the frontier would be respected. With reference to Khojah Saleh, his Excellency said that probably no objection would be made to include it within the Afghan frontier, but that great care would be required in tracing a line from thence to the south, as Merve and the country of the Turkomans were becoming commercially important.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 71.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Granville.—(Received October 10.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, October 4, 1870.

A RUSSIAN officer, who was recently charged by General Kaufmann with a mission to Bokhara, has arrived here from Tashkend, and reports that previously to his departure a Russian force took possession of Sherri Yebst, as the Governor of that province had ceased to respect the authority of Bokhara and protected freebooters who molested the Russian frontier. The Russian troops, however, retired immediately afterwards from the town and the territory annexed to it, which were made over to the Ameer of Bokhara.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Granville.—(Received April 24.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, April 19, 1871.

I UNDERSTAND that no change for the better has taken place in the relations of the Khan of Khiva with the Russian authorities in Central Asia, I am told therefore, that as soon as the season is sufficiently advanced for military operations, it is intended to make reconnaissances on the Khivan territory from Turkestan and from the Russian settlements on the Caspian; and, in the hope that these demonstrations may convince the Khan of the danger he incurs by declining an amicable arrangement with Russia, General Kaufmann will address another letter to him, when they are completed, offering terms of peace, before having recourse to more serious measures.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, June 12, 1871.

I HAVE had some conversation with M. Westmann respecting reported Russian military movements in Central Asia; and his Excellency at once assured me, that he was aware of no change in the policy of the Government, or of there being any intention to send expeditions either to Khiva or Bokhara.

The expediency of sending a force to Khiva to punish the Khan for acts of hostility against Russia, which he is believed to have instigated on the part of the Kirghize, and to force him to respect the Russian caravans had, he said, been contemplated, but the expedition would not take place, and any measures which might be adopted would be limited to partial operations on the frontier, with a view to the protection of Russian frontier.

With reference to Bokhara he repeated that he believes the relations of Russia with that Khanate to be satisfactory.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, June 13, 1871.

WITH reference to my previous despatch of this date, reporting M. de Westmann's language respecting Khiva, I think it right to observe that, though no important expedition may be directed for the present against Khiva, the military operations which it is admitted are likely to take place have, doubtless, for their object to give Russia the command of the navigation of the Oxus.

The principal object of Russia it may be presumed, in any military operations she may now undertake on the frontier, or eventually adopt against Khiva, is to secure a safe commercial route to Central Asia, from the Caspian and her Transcaucasian provinces; and I understand that, when the Grand Duke Michael was last at St. Petersburg his Imperial Highness strongly urged upon the Government the expediency of promoting a transit trade to the east through Poti, Krasnovodsk, and the Oxus.

It may be well also to remember that, in a conversation which I had with M. de Stremoukoff, reported in my despatch of the 21st September last, respecting Khojah Saleh, he said that the Afghan boundary from thence should be traced with great care, as Merve was becoming a place of considerable commercial importance.

Earl Granville to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 21, 1871.

THE Secretary of State for India does not consider that the recent events in Herat in any way affect the question of the territorial boundaries of Afghanistan, and

his Grace is therefore desirous of obtaining General Kaufmann's opinion on the reference which you state, in your despatch of the 21st September last, had been made to him relative to the boundaries of the territories of the Ameer of Cabul; and I have accordingly to instruct your Excellency to address the Russian Government again upon the subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 76.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Granville.—(Received July 3.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, June 28, 1871.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 21st instant, I have stated to M. Westmann that I have been instructed to inquire when Her Majesty's Government may expect to be made acquainted with the observations of General Kaufmann on the opinions expressed by the Government of India respecting the boundaries of Afghanistan in their despatch of May 20, 1870, a copy of which I communicated to Prince Gortchakow on the 16th of August last. His Excellency said that the time which has elapsed without an answer having been received from General Kaufmann may be accounted for, not only by the distance of Tashkend from St. Petersburg, but also by M. Struve, the Diplomatic Agent of the Foreign Office, attached to General Kaufmann, having been absent from Tashkend on a mission to Bokhara.

His Excellency promised, however, to bring the question again before General Kaufmann's notice, and to request an early answer from him.

I called at the Foreign Department to-day, and left the letter with his Excellency, of which a copy is inclosed; and I suggested at the same time the expediency of a copy of my letter being sent to General Kaufmann.

On my putting the inclosure into M. Westmann's hands he read it aloud, and appeared to concur entirely in the correctness of the views which it expressed.

I have thus put on record, in a form which will, I trust, be considered satisfactory by Her Majesty's Government, that they are not prepared to admit that the limits of Afghanistan can be affected by any change which may take place eventually in the position of Shere Ali Khan, or his successors, with respect to the Provinces which have hitherto acknowledged his sovereignty, and that of his father.

Inclosure in No. 76.

Sir A. Buchanan to M. Westmann.

My dear M. Westmann,

St. Petersburg, June $\frac{16}{28}$, 1871.

WITH reference to our recent conversation relative to the wish of Her Majesty's Government, that an early answer may be obtained from General Kaufmann on the subject of a despatch from the Government of India, dated Simla, May 20, 1870, of which a copy was annexed to a Memorandum I communicated to Prince Gortchakow on the 16th August last, I have the honour to suggest that, as the object of that despatch is to preclude the possibility of any future conflict of opinion between the Governments of the Queen and the Emperor as to the limits of Afghanistan, it may be expedient in applying again for General Kaufmann's observations upon its contents to state to his Excellency that, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, the question has been in no way affected by any recent events at Herat, the territorial boundaries of Afghanistan not being a mere personal question, as between Chief and Chief, but a question between one State and another, which is consequently wholly independent of all internal revolutions and vicissitudes.

Believe, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 77.

Earl Granville to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 4, 1871.

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that I approve the course you adopted, as reported in your despatch of the 28th ultimo, with reference to the Afghanistan boundary question.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 78.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Granville.—(Received July 31.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, July 26, 1871.

I HAVE reason to believe that the relations of the Russian authorities in Central Asia with the Ameer of Bokhara are at present entirely satisfactory, and that a Russian Envoy, recently returned from a mission to the Ameer, has given a most favourable report of the state of feeling in the Khanate.

I have been assured that a desire evinced by the Sirdar Abdul Rahman Khan to avail himself of the rebellion of Yacoub Khan against his father, to further his own interests in Afghanistan, has met with a severe rebuke from General Kaufmann.

Abdul Rahman Khan is alleged to have stated that he would prove his gratitude for the hospitality he has received from Russia, if he were permitted to organize an expedition at Samarkand against Shere Ali, but that he was told the relations of Russia and Great Britain were of the most friendly and cordial character; that the Emperor was determined to abstain from all interference in the affairs of Afghanistan; and that Shere Ali's own conduct has been friendly, and has given no cause for complaint.

Should, therefore, Abdul Rahman Khan abuse the hospitality accorded to him by exciting disaffection against Shere Ali in Afghanistan, he would not only receive no encouragement from General Kaufmann, but would be expelled from the territories of Russia.

With respect to Khiva, I am told that no improvement has taken place in the relations of the Russian authorities with the Khan, and that several inroads of marauders into Russian territory from the Khanate have recently taken place, against whom troops have been sent.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 79.

Prince Gortchakow to Count Brunnow.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Count Brunnow, December 13.)

(Extrait.)

St. Pétersbourg, le 13 Novembre, 1871.

VOTRE Excellence a été tenue exactement au courant des pourparlers auxquels les affaires de l'Asie Centrale ont donné lieu entre le Cabinet Impérial et le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique.

Elle n'ignore pas qu'à la suite des explications que nous ayons eues avec Mr. Forsyth, il avait été convenu en principe—

1. Que l'on considérerait les territoires se trouvant actuellement en la possession effective de Shir Ali Khan comme formant les limites de l'Afghanistan.

2. Que cet Emir ne chercherait à exercer aucune influence ni aucune immixtion au delà de ces limites, et que le Gouvernement Anglais appliquerait tous ses soins à le détourner de toute tentative d'agression.

3. Que de son côté le Gouvernement Impérial emploierait tout son influence afin d'empêcher l'Emir de Boukhara de porter aucune atteinte au territoire Afghan.

Ces principes avaient reçu la pleine adhésion du Cabinet de Londres et du Gouverneur-Général des Indes.

Au mois de Mai 1870, M. l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté Britannique nous avait communiqué une dépêche de Lord Mayo qui, tout en exprimant cette adhésion,

développait les principes posés, dans une direction qui nous a paru s'écarter sensiblement de la pensée sur laquelle on était tombé d'accord.

Je joins ici copie de cette pièce. Votre Excellence y relèvera la nuance importante établie par Lord Mayo.

La section 4 de sa dépêche constate le principe établi quant aux limites reconnues du territoire Afghan, c'est-à-dire, toutes les provinces possédées actuellement par Shir Ali Khan. ¶

La section 6 témoigne sa satisfaction de voir la politique de la Russie coïncider aussi parfaitement avec celle du Gouverneur-Général des Indes sanctionnée par le Gouvernement Britannique.

A la section 7, il adhère pleinement à l'idée que pour développer cette politique pacifique, le Gouvernement Russe et le Gouvernement Anglais prennent des mesures pour constater les limites des territoires qui reconnaissent la souveraineté de Dost Mohamed Khan et sont actuellement en la possession de Shir Ali Khan.

A la section 8, il se réfère à un télégramme annonçant que si Shir Ali Khan montre une disposition quelconque à étendre ses territoires au delà des limites possédées par Dost Mohamed Khan, le Gouvernement des Indes lui adressera des remontrances. Il ajoute que les possessions de l'Emir actuel au nord et au nord-ouest semblent coïncider à peu près exactement avec celles de son père, et il conclut qu'en conséquence les limites du Royaume de Dost Mohamed Khan peuvent être, en général, adoptés comme les limites destinées à séparer le Royaume de l'Afghanistan des autres Etats de l'Asie Centrale au nord et au nord-ouest.

Ainsi dans la même dépêche, le point de départ de l'*uti possidetis* actuel de Shir Ali Khan, conduit par une transition insensible à l'adoption de l'état de possession de Dost Mohamed Khan comme limite naturelle de l'Afghanistan.

Cette nuance importante marque la différence qui sépare notre point de vue de celui de Lord Mayo.

Nous ne l'avons pas relevée jusqu'à présent en répondant d'une manière officielle à la dépêche de M. le Gouverneur-Général des Indes, par plusieurs raisons.

D'abord, toutes les données existantes sur l'état de ces contrées sont très vagues et incertaines. Le peu de témoignages indigènes que l'on possède ne méritent aucune créance. Les cartes sont problématiques, hypothétiques et souvent contradictoires. Nulle contrée n'offre une plus grande incertitude quant aux conditions géographiques et historiques présentes et passées.

Ensuite, il avait été convenu que la tâche de recueillir le plus de lumières possible sur la situation politique de ces pays serait confiée à M. l'Aide-de-camp Général Kaufmann, que sa proximité et ses contacts avec plusieurs d'entre eux mettaient à même de contribuer efficacement à élucider ces questions. Les instructions nécessaires lui ont été données et nous en attendons le résultat.

Enfin, dans la pensée du Cabinet Impérial, et nous aimons à la croire partagée par le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique, il ne s'agit point ici d'improviser un ordre de choses quelconque, mais d'assurer aux principes salutaires sur lesquels les deux Gouvernements sont si heureusement tombés d'accord, une exécution pratique et un développement ultérieur qui puissent en faire la base d'un système politique solide et permanent propre à garantir d'une manière durable la sécurité de leurs intérêts et de leurs relations réciproques, ainsi que la tranquillité et la prospérité des contrées interposées entre leurs possessions mutuelles.

Dans cet ordre d'idées, il nous a paru que l'essentiel n'était pas d'accélérer une issue quelconque au risque d'en compromettre la solidité en lui donnant pour base des données incomplètes et conjecturales qui pouvaient devenir plus tard la source d'interprétations divergentes. Nous avons jugé au contraire que, les principes généraux étant posés, le plus important était d'étudier d'abord avec la plus grande précision possible le terrain auquel ils devaient être appliqués, afin d'écarter pour l'avenir toute chance de malentendus et rendre ainsi l'accord des deux Gouvernements aussi solide dans la pratique qu'il était sincère et loyal dans leur pensée.

Toutefois Sir A. Buchanan étant revenu avec insistance sur ce sujet au moment de quitter la Russie, nous ne voulons pas différer plus longtemps de faire part au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique de notre point de vue sur une question qui nous intéresse au même degré.

(Translation.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, November 13, 1871.

YOUR Excellency has been kept well informed of all the conversations that have passed between the Imperial Cabinet and Her Britannic Majesty's Government upon the subject of the affairs of Central Asia.

You are aware that, in consequence of the explanations exchanged between us and Mr. Forsyth, it had been agreed in principle—

1. That the territory in the actual possession, at the present moment, of Shere Ali Khan should be considered to constitute the limits of Afghanistan.

2. That beyond these limits the Ameer should make no attempt to exercise any influence or interference, and that the English Government should do all in their power to restrain him from any attempts at aggression.

3. That, for their part, the Imperial Government should use all their influence to prevent any attack by the Emir of Bokhara upon Afghan territory.

These principles had been unreservedly accepted both by the Cabinet of London and the Governor-General of India.

In May 1870 Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador had communicated to us a despatch from Lord Mayo, which, while fully accepting those principles, drew from them conclusions which seemed to us to lose sight, in most material points, of the spirit of the original agreement.

I inclose copy of this paper, by which your Excellency will perceive the important character of the modification introduced by Lord Mayo.

Section 4 of his despatch records the principle which has been laid down with respect to the recognized limits of Afghan territory, that is to say, of all the provinces in the actual possession of Shere Ali.

Section 6 expresses the satisfaction with which he sees Russian policy so completely in harmony with that of the Governor-General of India, as approved by the British Government.

In section 7 he fully accepts the proposal that, in furtherance of this policy of peace, the Russian and British Governments should take measures to ascertain the limits of the territories which acknowledged the sovereignty of Dost Mahomed Khan, and are in the actual possession of Shere Ali Khan.

In section 8 he refers to a telegram announcing that the Indian Government will address remonstrances to Shere Ali Khan, in case of his showing any disposition whatever to extend his possessions beyond the boundary line held by Dost Mahomed Khan. He adds, that to the north and north-west the possessions of the present Ameer almost exactly coincide with those of his father; and the conclusion he draws is, that consequently the boundaries of the kingdom of Dost Mahomed Khan may, on the whole, be accepted as the boundaries which are to separate the Kingdom of Afghanistan on the north and north-east from the other States of Central Asia.

Thus, in one, and the same despatch, starting from the present *uti possidetis* of Shere Ali Khan, we are led by an imperceptible gradation to the adoption, as the natural boundary line of Afghanistan, of the limits of the territory occupied by Dost Mahomed Khan. This important distinction is the measure of the difference between our views and those of Lord Mayo. We took no notice of it in our official answer to the despatch of the Governor-General of India, for several reasons.

In the first place, all the data we have to rely on respecting those regions are very vague and uncertain. The little native testimony that there is, is unworthy of credence. The maps are problematic, hypothetical, and often contradictory. No country offers less resource to the inquirer into its historical and geographical conditions, past or present.

In the second place, it had been agreed that General Kaufmann, whose position in contact with those countries enabled him to throw much light upon these questions, should be commissioned to collect all the information possible respecting their political situation. We are now waiting for the result of the instructions we gave him.

Lastly, it is the belief of the Imperial Cabinet—a belief that we trust is shared by the Government of Her Britannic Majesty—that it is no question in this case of settling things for the moment, but of insuring that the sound principles as to which the two Governments are so happily in accordance should be put into practice, and eventually so developed as to make them the basis of a stable and permanent policy, such as may be a guarantee for the security of their respective interests and relations, as well as for the peace and prosperity of the countries which lie between their respective frontiers.

Such being our views, we considered that the essential thing was not to precipitate matters at the risk of compromising the result, by basing it on incomplete and conjectural data, which might lead eventually to differences of interpretation. We were, on the contrary, of opinion that after once laying down the general principles, the most important point was to make a most careful study of the ground to which they were to be applied, so as to avoid all danger of future misunderstanding, and thus give sound practical effect to the sincere and loyal intentions of the two Governments.

Sir A. Buchanan having, however, at the moment that he was leaving Russia, reverted in a pressing manner to the subject, we are unwilling to delay any longer in making the Government of Her Britannic Majesty acquainted with our views on a question which is one of equal interest to both Governments.

Inclosure in No. 79.

The Governor-General of India in Council to the Duke of Argyll, May 20, 1870.

[See Inclosure in No. 60.]

No. 80.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Granville.—(Received November 20.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, November 14, 1871.

AT an interview with Prince Gortchakow yesterday, his Excellency said that the despatch of the Government of India of the 20th May* had apparently put forward opinions which were not entirely in accordance with the understanding come to with Mr. Forsyth, and he had addressed a despatch to Baron Brunnow, which he hoped would enable him to come to an arrangement with your Lordship, on the basis of that understanding.

No. 81.

Lord A. Loftus to Earl Granville.—(Received March 25.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, March 19, 1872.

I HAD an interview to-day with M. Stremoukoff, the Director of the Asiatic Department, and I inquired of his Excellency what news he had lately received from Bokhara and Central Asia.

He replied, that the reports as regarding Khiva were not satisfactory, the Khan continuing in the same hostile attitude as hitherto. He said that General Kaufmann had made three appeals to him. To the first letter the Khan made no reply; and to the two latter ones he had answered in a tone of insolence and defiance. The Emir of Bokhara, at the instigation of General Kaufmann, had further sent an Envoy to the Khan of Khiva to expostulate with him, and in a friendly tone to advise him to come to an amicable arrangement with the Russian Government, instancing the benefit he had himself derived from the support and protection of Russia, citing also the increase of wealth and prosperity which his country had acquired by entertaining friendly relations with Russia.

The Khan of Khiva, from M. Stremoukoff's report, has turned a deaf ear to all these seductions, and defiantly resists the Russian demands.

In reply to my inquiry, M. Stremoukoff related a list of grievances against the Khan of Khiva: that he was in community with the nomadic tribes, who pillaged the caravans, and that he participated in the booty; that he sheltered these marauders; that Russian prisoners who had fallen into his hands were made prisoners, and otherwise ill-treated. "The difficulty we have," said M. Stremoukoff, in dealing with Khiva, is the fact of its being so weak. If we were to chastise the Khan, the whole fabric would fall like a pack of cards. We have done everything to bring the Khan to reason, but without any result."

He then stated that a reconnaissance had been already made on both sides of Khiva, from the side of the Caspian, and from Tashkend, and that the occupation of Khiva would offer no strategical difficulties.

From this conversation with M. Stremoukoff, I have gained the conviction that an expedition against Khiva is decided upon, and will be made by the Russian commander in Central Asia, as soon as the weather and circumstances permit.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

* See Inclosure in No. 60

Lord A. Loftus to Earl Granville.—(Received April 8.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, April 3, 1872.

I INQUIRED yesterday of M. Stremoukoff, the Director of the Asiatic Department, whether an Embassy was on its way to St. Petersburg from the Khan of Khiva. His Excellency replied that two Embassies had been sent by the Khan of Khiva: one had arrived at Fort Alexandroff, on the Caspian, and was there waiting to know whether they would be received by the Grand Duke Michael at Tiflis; the other had proceeded northward towards Orenburg, with the intention of opening amicable negotiations with the Governor-General Kryanowski, and with the ultimate view of repairing to St. Petersburg for the purpose of presenting presents to the Emperor of Russia, and of bringing about a cordial understanding with the Russian Government.

M. Stremoukoff, after repeating to me the hostile and obdurate conduct of the Khan of Khiva towards General Kaufmann, as reported in my despatch of the 19th ultimo, stated that no reliance could be placed in him; that his aim was to ignore General Kaufmann, and to endeavour to conciliate the Grand Duke Michael and the Russian Government without paying any respect or attention to the Governor-General.

M. Stremoukoff said that last year it had been proposed by the military authorities to undertake an expedition against Khiva, and to punish the Khan for his hostile acts against Russia, but that he, M. Stremoukoff, had dissuaded the Imperial Government from taking this course, and had advised a military reconnaissance against Khiva from three separate points simultaneously, which had been successfully carried out, and had, no doubt, been the means of frightening the Khan and of inducing him to send the Embassies referred to.

M. Stremoukoff then said that it had been decided by order of the Emperor to inform the two Embassies now on their road that they cannot be received until the Khan has placed his relations with General Kaufmann on a proper footing.

The Khan will be called upon, first, to liberate all Russian prisoners now in his hands; and, secondly, to address a letter to General Kaufmann expressing his readiness to enter into an amicable understanding with him and to maintain harmonious relations with him.

When the Khan shall have thus placed his relations with General Kaufmann on a friendly footing, the Embassies now on their road for Tiflis and St. Petersburg will be graciously received.

Lord A. Loftus to Earl Granville.—(Received April 22.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, April 16, 1872.

I BELIEVE that the Emperor and the Imperial Government are anxious to abstain from extending Russian territory in Central Asia, whilst at the same time they are desirous of obtaining a complete control over the small States of which Central Asia is composed. The expedition to Central Asia has been a great drain both in men and money on the Russian Government, and it is felt that, with the small Russian force now occupying Turkestan (about 30,000 men), the power of concentration will diminish in proportion with an increase of territory.

As far as I can learn, the object of the Russian Government is to come to a similar good understanding with the Khan of Khiva as now exists with the Khan of Bokhara, and thus, by avoiding collision, to obtain entire influence over Turkestan by conciliatory means through the existing Rulers of the several States.

Lord A. Loftus to Earl Granville.—(Received May 20.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, May 16, 1872.

I HAD some conversation yesterday with M. Stremoukoff, the Director of the Oriental Department. In reply to my inquiry as to the reception of the Khivan Embassy, his Excellency stated that the Embassy which had gone northwards had reached Orenburg. The Khivan Envoy had been informed by the Military Governor

there, that before any negotiation could be entered upon with the Khan of Khiva, the Imperial Government required that, first, all Russians who were prisoners at Khiva should be restored; secondly, that the Khan should address a proper letter to General Kaufmann, to whose communications he had hitherto replied in an improper tone; and thirdly, that the Khan should declare himself desirous of maintaining friendly relations with the Russian Government.

Until these conditions were fulfilled, no negotiations would be commenced, and they would only be carried on at Tashkend or at Tiflis, and not at St. Petersburg.

The Khivan Envoy, after receiving this communication from the Governor of Orenburg, had returned to Khiva to report to the Khan. As yet no answer had been received, but it is thought that the Khan has been so alarmed at the near approach to Khiva which was made by a Russian reconnoitering party, and from the western side, which he least apprehended, that he will finally conform to the conditions of the Russian Government.

M. Stremoukoff added, that until a Treaty was signed with Khiva, no Embassy would be received at St. Petersburg from the Khan.

The other Khivan Embassy will remain at the fort on the Caspian until the answer of the Khan has been received.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 85.

Lord A. Loftus to Earl Granville.—(Received June 4.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, May 28, 1872.

M. STREMOUKOFF informed me that the Russian reconnoitering parties approached within a few miles of Khiva from Tashkend on the eastern side, and from Krasnovodsk on the western side, and that the Khan, under the influence of fear, and the proximity of danger from a quarter where he had least expected, had dispatched the two Embassies to which I have referred in my previous despatches of the 3rd April and 16th instant.

No. 86.

Mr. Dickson to Earl Granville.—(Received July 12.)

My Lord,

Tehran, May 18, 1872.

I HAVE the honour to inclose translation of a letter from the Agent at Asterabad, reporting that it had been decided that the River Attrek was to be the frontier-line in that quarter between Russia and Persia.

I understand that an arrangement to that effect was made about two years ago between the Russian Mission and the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Sadr Azem, however, professes to have been, until very lately, when the Governor of Asterabad applied to him for instructions on the subject, ignorant of the transaction.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs thinks that the arrangement will check Turkoman inroads, and restore tranquillity to the Province of Asterabad.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. J. DICKSON.

Inclosure in No. 86.

The Astrabad Agent to Mr. Alison.

(Translation.)

(Extract.)

March 27, 1872.

THE Governor has been instructed from Tehran that the Attrek is to be the frontier between the Russians and the Persians, and should the Turkomans make any raids in the Asterabad Province, the Russians are to punish them. On the other hand, should they annoy the Russian camp, the Persians are to punish them. Since the tribes, who are stationed on and near the Attrek, have heard the above, they have become very quiet and peaceful.

Mr. Thomson to Earl Granville.—(Received July 12.)

My Lord,

Tehran, May 30, 1872.

THE Khan of Khiva appears to have been recently endeavouring, though unsuccessfully, to place himself in communication with the Russian authorities in the Caucasus, with a view to obtain an amicable settlement of the differences which have arisen of late years between himself and the Russian Government.

When passing through Bakoo, I was informed by some of the Russian officers stationed there that two envoys had recently been deputed by that Ruler to Tiflis to convey friendly assurances on his part to the authorities there, and to endeavour to arrive at some understanding which would extricate him from the danger he is exposed to from a threatened invasion of his territory by Russian troops.

Having arrived at Mangushlak, on the Caspian Sea, these Agents crossed over to Petrofski and proceeded thence to Tiflis; but, before reaching the latter place, they were informed, under instructions from St. Petersburg, that they could not be permitted to continue their journey, as the Emperor's Government would not receive or hold communication with any Agent of the Khan of Khiva so long as Russian subjects were detained in captivity within the Khivan territory. All negotiations with Khiva were, in fact, declined, until every prisoner so detained had been set at liberty.

In consequence of this intimation, the Khan's Envoys returned to Khiva without having obtained any reply to the representation they were authorized to make to the Russian Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RONALD F. THOMSON.

Lord A. Loftus to Earl Granville.—(Received September 23.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, September 16, 1872.

BEING at Moscow to see the closing of the Exhibition on the 13th instant, I had the honour of being invited to dine at an official dinner, given by the Governor Prince Dolgnowkoff on the 11th instant, in honour of the Emperor's fête-day.

On that occasion General Kaufmann, the Governor-General of Turkestan, introduced himself to me.

His Excellency stated that he had just arrived from Turkestan on leave of absence, and was on his way to St. Petersburg, where he hoped to pass a great portion of the winter. In reply to my inquiry as to the state of the negotiations with Khiva, his Excellency said that they were not progressing satisfactorily. The Khan had not yet restored all the Russian subjects prisoners in his hands, and was seeking subterfuges and to gain delay.

Lord A. Loftus to Earl Granville.—(Received October 7.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, October 1, 1872.

I TOOK an opportunity to inquire from M. Westmann whether there was any foundation for the report circulated by the press of a Russian expedition against Khiva.

His Excellency said that the relations with the Khan of Khiva were in a very unsatisfactory state. The Khan had dispatched two embassies to negotiate with the Russian Government. The one had been sent to Tiflis the other northwards. The Imperial Government had made known to the Khan that no negotiations would be entered into, until the Khan had released the Russian prisoners in his hands, and had addressed a suitable letter to the Governor of Turkestan.

Up to the present moment the Khan had fulfilled neither of those requirements, and consequently all negotiations with the Khan through the two Embassies had been declined.

With regard to any acts of coercion against Khiva, his Excellency said that the

Imperial Government would be glad to avoid them if possible, and would as they had hitherto done, continue a policy of patience and forbearance.

The Imperial Government felt all the difficulties and embarrassments of fresh conquests, and they still hoped that the Khan of Khiva would yield to prudent counsels and save them from the necessity of coercion.

His Excellency denied that any expedition had been prepared or decided upon as stated by the press, but he said that detachments had been sent from the Fort of Alexandroff on the Caspian to reconnoitre in the direction of Khiva, with a view, I imagine, to inspire the Khan with alarm. M. Westmann observed that there would be no strategical difficulty in undertaking an expedition against Khiva from the Caspian. The distance was only 360 miles, and water was in sufficient abundance for an army on the line of march. His Excellency however stated that the Imperial Government would still continue patient and forbearing, in the hope that the Khan of Khiva would finally listen to the voice of reason and prudence. All that the Imperial Government required from the Khan of Khiva was that commerce should not be endangered by the hostile tribes which infest the Khanate, and that Russian subjects should not be exposed to illegal seizure and imprisonment.

His Excellency then observed that he had read with great pleasure in the newspapers a telegram stating that the Indian Government had declined to a Khivan Envoy sent to Calcutta any assistance to the Khan, and had advised him to restore the Russian prisoners and to come to a reconciliation with the Russian Government.

This language, said his Excellency, was in perfect harmony with the understanding between the Imperial Government and that of Her Majesty, and would give great satisfaction to the Emperor. I stated to his Excellency that I had likewise read this telegram with much satisfaction, but that I had received no official confirmation of it.

No. 90.

Earl Granville to Lord A. Loftus, October 17, 1872.

[See Parliamentary Papers presented February 6, 1873, p. 1.]

No. 91.

Lord A. Loftus to Earl Granville.—(Received October 21.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, October 16, 1872.

I HAVE every reason, from my conversations with M. Westmann and M. Stre-mooukoff, to confide in the assurances of the Imperial Government that they continue to desire a good understanding with Her Majesty's Government, and that it is their wish that the relations of England and Russia should be established on the most friendly footing.

No. 92.

Lord A. Loftus to Earl Granville.—(Received November 18.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, November 12, 1872.

ON the day following the receipt of your Lordship's telegram of the 3rd instant I had an interview with M. de Westmann and having read to his Excellency your Lordship's despatch of the 17th ultimo, I placed a copy of it, in conformity with your Lordship's instructions, in his Excellency's hands.

M. de Westmann made no observation during the communication of this despatch. At the termination of my perusal of it his Excellency said that the two points which had attracted his attention were those relating to Badakshan and Maimana; but he added that he was not sufficiently informed on the subject of the frontiers to hazard an opinion.

I then observed to his Excellency that in the interests both of Great Britain and Russia it was of importance that the frontiers of Afghanistan and Bokhara should be strictly defined; and that the conclusion to which Her Majesty's Government had come was in complete harmony with the understanding which had been agreed upon with Mr. Forsyth when he visited St. Petersburg in 1869.

I stated that it was of equal importance to the interests of both countries that peace and order should continue to exist in Central Asia, and that nothing could contribute so effectually to this desirable object as a cordial and perfect understanding between Great Britain and Russia in all matters relating to Central Asia. For Russia, indeed, this consideration was even of greater moment, inasmuch as her influence and power in Central Asia was of recent date, and could only be consolidated by acquiring, through peaceful means, the respect and obedience of the Asiatic population, and by developing the internal resources of the country.

M. de Westmann concurred heartily in these opinions. He said that he could assure me with all sincerity that the views and opinions of the Imperial Government were identical with those I had expressed. He said Russia required peace in Central Asia, and he admitted that a cordial understanding between our respective countries was more necessary to Russia than to England. India, he said, was an established Government, and the country had, under the wise rule of England, far advanced in civilization.

In referring to Mr. Forsyth, his Excellency remarked that he had entertained some plan of establishing a neutral zone between the English and Russian frontiers in Central Asia, which, in fact, would necessitate two frontier lines.

I replied, that the neutral zone, as far as I understood the idea, merely referred to those independent States lying between the frontier of Afghanistan and the Russian frontier, and that this idea would be perfectly represented by Bokhara in the north, and even, perhaps, by Afghanistan south of the Oxus. Further than this I could see no object in creating a neutral zone.

On M. de Westmann expressing some hesitation about Badakshan appertaining to Afghanistan, I observed to him that incorrect reports had frequently caused wrong opinions to be formed. I mentioned, for instance, a lecture given by M. Vernikoff, as related by the Russian press, in which he had incorrectly cited a passage in a report of Major Montgomerie's, relative to the Ruler of Badakshan, and I promised to forward to his Excellency (which I subsequently did) a memorandum on this subject, copy of which I have the honour to inclose herewith.

On taking leave of M. de Westmann, his Excellency said that your Lordship's despatch would be translated and immediately submitted to the Emperor.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 92.

Memorandum.

IN the "Invalide Russe" of the ^{23rd May} 4th June, 1872, No. 113, Colonel Vernikoff gave an account of a journey to Badakshan performed by an Indian sapper under the orders of Major Montgomerie, officiating superintendent of the great trigonometrical survey of India.

Quoting from the general Report on the operations of the great trigonometrical survey of India, during 1870-71, Colonel Vernikoff states that the sapper "proceeded along the Koksha river to Faizabad, the chief town in Badakshan, where at that time, i.e., in the autumn of 1870, ruled Jehandar Khan, independent of the Ameer of Cabul."

The India Office have pointed out that this is a misinterpretation of Major Montgomerie's report, who, on the contrary, stated that the Ameer of Cabul "has considerable authority in Badakshan," and that "the sapper found that Jehandar Shah, the Mir or Ruler, who held Badakshan when the Mirza was there, had been supplanted by Mahmood Shah, who was assisted by the Ameer of Cabul."

No. 93.

Earl Granville to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, November 23, 1872.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch of the 12th instant, reporting that you had communicated to M. Westmann my despatch of the 17th ultimo, on the subject of the Afghan boundary question; and I have to state to you that I approve the language you held to his Excellency on that occasion.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 94.

Earl Granville to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, November 26, 1872.

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency a copy of a despatch from the Government of India, which has been communicated to me by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India inquiring whether there is any truth in the report of the arrival of a Russian force at Charjui on the Oxus with the view of entering Khivan territory.

I have to instruct you to endeavour to obtain this information from the Russian Government, and I have also to instruct you as far as possible to carry out the wishes of the Indian Government as expressed in the concluding paragraph of their despatch.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Inclosure in No. 94.

The Governor-General of India in Council to the Duke of Argyll.

(Extract.)

Simla, October 12, 1872.

REPORTS of Russian invasion of Khiva have reached us from native sources on more than one occasion; but we have hesitated to believe them because they were unsupported by any intelligence from Her Majesty's Government. Your Grace will, we doubt not, agree in considering it important that Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg, and other officers under the Imperial Government who may be in a position to obtain reliable information regarding Russian movements in Central Asia, should communicate such intelligence to us as quickly as possible, and we would suggest the advisability of instructions being given to this effect.

No. 95.

Mr. Thomson to Earl Granville.—(Received November 27.)

My Lord,

Tehran, October 7, 1872.

MR. CONSUL ABBOTT reports that the Russian Government was making preparations for dispatching an expedition against Khiva, and that troops were now being concentrated at Krasnovodsk for that purpose.

Similar reports have reached the ~~Sadr~~ Azem, from the Persian authorities, on the Caspian coast.

The Governor of Asterabad moreover states, in his last communication to the Government here, that the expedition in question will leave Krasnovodsk for its destination before the winter commences, and that the Russians have for some time been endeavouring to induce the Turkoman tribes residing on the Attrek, and in the interior, to furnish camels and baggage animals for their transport service, but that the Khan of Khiva had also lately sent his Agents amongst the Chiefs of these tribes, and had succeeded in dissuading most of them from accepting the overtures that were being made by the Russian officials with this object.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RONALD F. THOMSON.

No. 96.

Lord A. Loftus to Earl Granville.—(Received December 2.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, November 27, 1872.

M. STREMOOUKOFF confirmed to me yesterday a report which had been current that the Russian reconnoitering force which had left Krasnovodsk last September in the direction of Khiva had been subjected to two attacks. The first was by a body of Kirghizes, a nomad tribe, independent of Khiva. The second attack made on the Russians was by Khivans, who were repulsed and forced to retreat.

The Russian force sent from Krasnovodsk this autumn was considerably larger than a similar reconnaissance undertaken last year. It amounted in all to about 2,000 men.

It is surmised here as likely that the Commander of the Russian force, having been attacked by Khivans, will, if in sufficient strength, march direct to Khiva in order to avenge the attack made on Russian troops.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 97.

Lord A. Loftus to Earl Granville.—(Received December 2.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, November 27, 1872.

M. STREMOOUKOFF informed me that M. de Struve, the Civil Adlatus of General Kaufmann, was now occupied with drawing up a memorandum from the voluminous papers relating to the frontier question. His Excellency said that before taking any decision, the Imperial Government must have the question duly investigated. He had instructed M. Struve to discard all information or data of a vague and uncertain nature, and merely to record the evidence which was clear and indisputable.

When this Memorandum was finished a copy of it would be forwarded to your Lordship through Count Brunnow.

He assured me that there was the greatest desire on the part of the Imperial Government to meet the views and wishes of Her Majesty's Government, and that if the claims put forward by Afghanistan were clearly proved to be founded on justice and right, the Imperial Government would not hesitate a moment in acknowledging them. But he observed that if Badakshan, which in the estimation of the Imperial Government had been hitherto an independent State, was to be included in the territory of Afghanistan, it would bear the character of an "annexation," which was neither in conformity with right or justice.

M. Stremoukoff did not appear to object to any portion of the frontier as delineated in your Lordship's despatch of the 17th October, excepting that portion relating to Badakshan and Wakhan. With regard to this district, his Excellency observed that, in lieu of tracing the frontier in a direct line, it took a northern direction, following a confluent of the Oxus, and making a triangle in the form of a wedge which would equally menace Bokhara, Kokand, and Kashgar. He contested that this district rightfully belonged to Afghanistan, and adverted in support of this opinion to the memoir which I had given to M. Westmann (as reported in my despatch of the 12th instant), referring to a lecture of M. Vernikoff, and correcting an erroneous citation from a report of Major Montgomerie.

In this memoir, M. Stremoukoff observed the "Ruler" of Badakshan was only "supported" by Shere Ali.

In reply to the observations of M. Stremoukoff, I stated generally, that the question as to the frontiers of Afghanistan was not one of "selection" but of "facts."

I quoted Prince Gortchakow's despatch to Count Brunnow of the 1st 13th November, 1871, in which his Highness says:—"Il ne s'agit point ici d'improviser un ordre de choses quelconque."

The question referred to a definition of those territories which are in the possession of Dost Mahomed at his death, and which were now under the rule of Shere Ali.

I expressed my conviction that the Imperial Government would, on due examination, recognize the just right of Shere Ali, as expressed in your Lordship's despatch, and that a basis would thereby be laid for a lasting and cordial understanding between the two Governments on all questions referring to Central Asia, so desirable for their mutual interests, and of such vital importance to the peace and prosperity of that country.

No. 98.

Lord A. Loftus to Earl Granville.—(Received December 16.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, December 11, 1872.

IN conformity with the instruction of your Lordship's despatch of the 26th ultimo, I took occasion, in conversation with M. Westmann to-day, to refer to a report of a

Russian force having arrived in May last at Charjui on the Oxus with a view to entering Khivan territory.

His Excellency (having previously denied the rumours of the occupation of Khiva by a reconnoitering force from Krasnovodsk, which information he said had reached him through the English press) stated that there was no foundation for the reported presence of Russian troops at Charjui, and his Excellency added that no military action beyond a mere reconnoitre had been yet taken against Khiva.

All matters therefore relating to Khiva will henceforth be under the direction of the Grand Duke Michael, and not of General Kaufmann.

No. 99.

Lord A. Loftus to Earl Granville.—(Received December 23.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, December 19, 1872.

I RECEIVED last evening a note from Prince Gortchakow, requesting me to call on him to-day at 12 o'clock.

I accordingly waited on his Highness at the hour named, when he stated that he wished to communicate to me a despatch he had addressed to Count Brunnow on the Asiatic boundary question, in reply to your Lordship's despatch of the 17th of October, copy of which I had communicated to the Imperial Government.

His Highness requested me to read his despatch to Count Brunnow as also the memoir of General Kaufmann and M. Struve annexed thereto, and although he was aware that I could only accept them *ad referendum*, he expressed a wish to hear any observations which I might be disposed to offer respecting them.

I assented to the request of Prince Gorchakow, stating at the same time, that any observations which I might offer could only bear a personal and not an official character.

After reading the despatch addressed to Count Brunnow and its inclosures, I observed to his Highness that I was happy to see in that correspondence the desire of the Imperial Government to maintain a cordial understanding with Her Majesty's Government on the affairs of Central Asia, and I could assure his Highness that this desire was sincerely reciprocated by Her Majesty's Government. The tranquillity which had happily reigned in Central Asia since 1869 was in great part, if not wholly, attributable to the understanding existing between the two Governments, and to a knowledge on the part of the Asiatic population of those countries of the amicable relations between Great Britain and Russia.

It was of great importance to the mutual interests of both countries that this belief should not be impaired.

For my own part I could not think it possible that where such important interests were at stake, and with an empire of such boundless extent as that of Russia, the question as to whether a few square miles of territory should belong or not belong to Afghanistan, could seriously disturb the good understanding hitherto so happily existing between Great Britain and Russia in the affairs of Central Asia.

Prince Gortchakow coincided in this opinion, and entered into some explanation to prove that Badakshan and its dependency Wakhan were independent States and had never been under the rule of Shere Ali. His Highness considered that if now included in Afghanistan, it would bear the nature of an annexation, and would disturb the existing relations in Central Asia, and might possibly bring about that very collision with the bordering States which Her Majesty's Government with that of Russia were so desirous of averting. His Highness stated that he did not consider Badakshan as under the present rule of Shere Ali, and that if now annexed to Afghanistan, it would be simply "a creation" of a new state of things and consequently a departure from the existing *status quo*.

In reply to his Highness I observed that Her Majesty's Government could not deny to Shere Ali his rightful claims to the province which had acknowledged the sovereignty of his father, and had given in their allegiance to him; nor could I foresee any of the dangers of a collision to which his Highness had adverted.

On taking leave of his Highness, I expressed a hope that the Imperial Government would on a due consideration of the question, recognize that the frontiers of Afghanistan, as delineated in your Lordship's despatch were based on the rightful claims of Shere Ali, and that the two Governments would continue as heretofore to maintain a cordial understanding on all questions relating to Central Asia.

Prince Gortchakow was most friendly and cordial in the expression of his wish for an amicable understanding with Her Majesty's Government on this question.

His Highness placed in my hands a copy of his despatch to Count Brunnow with two annexes, which I have the honour to inclose to your Lordship herewith, and he informed me that he should forward it to-morrow to Count Brunnow by a special messenger.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 99.

Prince Gortchakow to Count Brunnow, December 7th, 1872.

[See Parliamentary Papers presented February 6, 1873, p. 2.]

Inclosure 2 in No. 99.

General Kaufmann to Prince Gortchakow, November 29, 1872.

[*Ibid.*, p. 7.]

Inclosure 3 in No. 99.

Memorandum.

[*Ibid.*, p. 9.]

No. 100.

Lord A. Loftus to Earl Granville.—(Received December 30.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, December 24, 1872.

I REGRET to say that Prince Gortchakow is still confined to his room with gout, but was good enough to receive me yesterday.

Being informed that very exaggerated reports were circulated here as to the negotiation between England and Russia on the Central Asiatic question (a statement having been even made in one of the foreign newspapers that Her Majesty's Government had protested against a Russian expedition against Khiva), I thought it advisable, acting in a conciliatory sense, to read to his Highness my despatch of the 19th instant, inclosing copies of Prince Gortchakow's despatch to Count Brunnow and its inclosures. Before doing so, I observed to his Highness that the best diplomacy in the present day was truth and frankness, and I therefore thought that it might interest him to know the terms in which I had reported to your Lordship the substance of our late conversation on the subject of the Asiatic boundary question.

His Highness expressed his thanks, and duly appreciated this proof of a friendly and conciliatory spirit.

When I had finished the perusal of my despatch, Prince Gortchakow stated that I had faithfully reported his observations to your Lordship, and he asked me whether he might communicate this despatch to the Emperor, to whom it would give satisfaction. I had no reason for declining his Highness' request, and I accordingly left the despatch with him for that purpose.

I trust that your Lordship will approve of the course I have taken.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 101.

Earl Granville to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 30, 1872.

COUNT BRUNNOW yesterday read to me and gave me copies of Prince Gortchakow's despatch of the 7th December and its inclosures, in reply to my despatch to your

Excellency of the 17th October, in which I stated, for the information of the Russian Government, the view taken by that of Her Majesty respecting the proper frontier of Afghanistan. I had already received copies of these papers from your Excellency in your despatch of the 19th instant.

His Excellency dwelt on the desire of the Emperor of Russia to have this question settled in a conciliatory spirit, of which no greater proof could be given than the answer of the Russian Government to the despatch which I had sent to your Excellency. He pointed out to me various passages of the despatch as exemplifying the justice of the Russian proposal.

I informed Count Brunnow that I appreciated and rejoiced at the Emperor's readiness to settle this important question. I stated that there was much to be said as the counter-proposal made by the Russian Government; but that I would reserve all observations on the matter, until I had been able to gather the opinions of my colleagues and of the India Office.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 102.

Earl Granville to Lord A. Loftus, January 8, 1873.

[See Parliamentary Papers presented February 6, 1873, p. 12.]

No. 103.

Earl Granville to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 9, 1873.

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that I approve the course you pursued in communicating to Prince Gortchakow your despatch of the 19th ultimo, and also the language held by you to his Highness on the Central Asia question, as reported in your Excellency's despatch of the 24th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 104.

Earl Granville to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 23, 1873.

COUNT BRUNNOW thanked me to-day for the reception which had been given to Count Schouvaloff. He had heard nothing from St. Petersburg since the Count's return.

In the course of conversation, Count Brunnow referred to the letter of the Persian Minister in this country published in the newspapers to-day, of which I inclose a copy, denying that there was a Treaty between Persia and Russia as to the cession of a portion of Persian territory to the latter Power. He supposed the Persian Minister had telegraphed to Teheran.

I then asked Count Brunnow whether he was aware of any such Treaty. He answered that he not only was not aware of it, but was sure it did not exist.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 105.

Earl Granville to Lord A. Loftus, January 24, 1873.

[See Parliamentary Papers presented February 6, 1873, p. 13.]

No. 106.

Earl Granville to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord

Foreign Office, January 29, 1873.

THE Persian Minister spoke to me to-day of the letter which he had written to the newspapers, to deny the rumour of a secret Treaty between Persia and Russia, a copy of which is contained in my despatch to your Excellency of the 23rd instant. He said he had done so after obtaining the authorization of the Grand Vizier by the telegraph.

He was sure that his Government were well acquainted with the facts, but he had thought it right to put an end to suppositions which mislead public opinion.

He had since heard it said that there was a firman from the Shah, giving to the Russians possession of some Persian territory on the Attrek.

This was equally false. There was no such firman, and indeed the territory described did not belong to Persia.

I then asked him whether he was aware of the Russians having taken possession, in any way, of the valley of the Attrek.

He stated he had no knowledge of such an act.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 107.

Prince Gortchakoff to Count Brunnow, January 19, 1873.

[See Parliamentary Papers presented February 6, 1873, p. 13.]

No. 108.

Earl Granville to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 5, 1873.

THE Russian Ambassador communicated to me to-day Prince Gortchakoff's despatch of January 19, in reply to my despatch to your Excellency of the 24th of January respecting Central Asia; and I said that I should have great pleasure in communicating it to my colleagues.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 109.

Mr. Grant Duff to Mr. Hammond.—(Received February 17.)

Sir,

India Office, February 17, 1873.

WITH reference to the recent correspondence terminating with your letters of the 3rd and 6th instant, I am directed by the Duke of Argyll to forward, for the information of Earl Granville, copy of a letter from the Government of India, dated 10th January, 1873, from which his Lordship will observe that the boundary recently proposed respecting the dominions of Bokhara and Afghanistan is in entire accordance with the views of the Viceroy's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) M. E. GRANT DUFF.

Inclosure in No. 109.

The Governor-General of India in Council to the Duke of Argyll.

My Lord Duke,

Fort William, January 10, 1873.

WE have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Grace's despatches regarding the boundary between Bokhara and Afghanistan.

2. The boundary proposed for the acceptance of the Russian Government is in entire accordance with our views and proposals as set forth in our despatches to your Grace. We trust that the settlement of this important question may be effected as soon as possible.

We have, &c.
(Signed) NORTHBROOK.
R. TEMPLE.
B. H. ELLIS.
H. W. NORMAN.
A. HOBHOUSE.
E. C. BAYLEY.

APPENDIX.

Circular Despatch addressed by Prince Gortchakow to Russian Representatives abroad.

(Circulaire.)

St. Pétersbourg, le 21 Novembre, 1864.

LES journaux Russes ont rendu compte des dernières opérations militaires exécutées par un détachement de nos troupes dans les régions de l'Asie Centrale avec un succès remarquable et des résultats importants.

Il était à prévoir que ces événements exciteraient d'autant plus l'attention du public étranger qu'ils se passent dans des contrées à peine connues.

Notre auguste Maître m'a ordonné de vous exposer succinctement, mais avec clarté et précision, la position qui nous est faite dans l'Asie Centrale, les intérêts qui servent de mobile à notre action dans ces contrées, et le but final que nous y poursuivons.

La position de la Russie dans l'Asie Centrale est celle de tous les Etats civilisés qui se trouvent en contact avec des peuplades à demi sauvages, errantes, sans organisation sociale fixe.

Il arrive toujours en pareil cas que l'intérêt de la sécurité des frontières et celui des relations de commerce exigent que l'Etat plus civilisé exerce un certain ascendant sur des voisins que leurs mœurs nomades et turbulentes rendent fort incommodes.

On a d'abord des incursions et des pillages à réprimer. Pour y mettre un terme on est forcé de réduire à une soumission plus ou moins directe les peuplades limitrophes.

Une fois ce résultat atteint celles-ci prennent des habitudes plus tranquilles, mais elles se trouvent à leur tour exposées aux agressions des tribus plus éloignées.

L'Etat est obligé de les défendre contre ces déprédations et de châtier ceux qui les commettent. Delà la nécessité d'expéditions lointaines, coûteuses, périodiques, contre un ennemi que son organisation sociale rend insaisissable. Si l'on se borne à châtier les pillards et qu'on se retire, la leçon s'efface bientôt; la retraite est mise sur le compte de la faiblesse; les peuples Asiatiques en particulier ne respectent que la force visible et palpable; la force morale de la raison et des intérêts de la civilisation n'a point encore de prise sur eux. La tâche est donc toujours à recommencer.

Pour couper à ces désordres permanents ou établir quelques points fortifiés parmi les populations ennemies, on exerce sur elles un ascendant que peu à peu les réduit à une soumission plus ou moins forcée.

Mais au delà de cette seconde ligne d'autres peuplades plus éloignées encore viennent bientôt provoquer les mêmes dangers et les mêmes répressions.

L'Etat se trouve donc dans l'alternative ou d'abandonner ce travail incessant et de livrer ses frontières à des désordres perpétuels qui y rendent toute prospérité, toute sécurité, toute civilisation impossible, ou bien d'avancer de plus en plus dans la profondeur de contrées sauvages où à chaque pas qu'il accomplit les distances accroissent les difficultés et les charges auxquelles il s'expose.

Tel a été le sort de tous les pays qui ont été placés dans les mêmes conditions. Les Etats Unis en Amérique, la France en Algérie, la Hollande dans ses Colonies, l'Angleterre aux Indes; tous ont été inévitablement entraînés à suivre cette marche progressive où l'ambition a moins de part que l'impérieuse nécessité et où la plus grande difficulté consiste à savoir s'arrêter.

C'est aussi la raison qui a conduit le Gouvernement Impérial à s'établir d'abord d'un côté sur la Syr Daria, de l'autre sur le Lac Issyk-Kaul, et à consolider ces deux lignes par des forts avancés qui peu à peu ont pénétré au cœur de ces régions lointaines sans cependant parvenir à établir au delà la tranquillité indispensable à la sécurité de nos frontières.

La cause de cette instabilité réside d'abord dans le fait qu'entre les points extrêmes de cette double ligne il y a un immense espace inoccupé, où les invasions des tribus

pillardes continuent à paralyser toute colonisation et toute commerce par caravanes ; ensuite dans les fluctuations perpétuelles de la situation politique de ces contrées, où le Turkestan et le Kokand tantôt réunis, tantôt séparés, toujours en guerre, soit entre eux, soit avec le Bokhara, n'offraient aucune possibilité de relations fixes ni de transactions régulières quelconques.

Le Gouvernement Impérial s'est donc vu placé, malgré lui, dans l'alternative que nous avons indiquée, c'est-à-dire, ou de laisser se perpétuer un état de désordre permanent qui paralyse toute sécurité et tout progrès, ou de se condamner à des expéditions coûteuses et lointaines sans aucun résultat pratique et qu'il faut toujours recommencer, ou enfin d'entrer dans la voie indéfinie de conquêtes et d'annexions qui a conduit l'Angleterre à l'empire des Indes, en cherchant à soumettre l'un après l'autre, par la force des armées, les petits Etats indépendants dont les mœurs pillardes et turbulentes et les perpétuelles révoltes ne laissent à leurs voisins ni trêve ni repos.

Ni l'une ni l'autre de ces alternatives ne répondait au but que s'est tracé la politique de notre auguste Maître, et qui est non d'étendre hors de toute proportion raisonnable les contrées soumises à son sceptre, mais d'y asseoir sa domination sur des bases solides, d'en garantir la sécurité et d'y développer l'organisation sociale, le commerce, le bien-être, et la civilisation.

Notre tâche était donc de rechercher un système propre à atteindre ce triple but.

A cet effet les principes suivants ont été posés :—

1. Il a été jugé indispensable que les deux lignes fortifiées de nos frontières, l'une partant de la Chine jusqu'au Lac Issyk-Kaul, l'autre partant de la Mer d'Aral le long de la Syr-Daria, fussent réunies par des points fortifiés de manière à ce que tous nos postes fussent à même de se soutenir mutuellement et ne laissassent aucun intervalle par où pussent s'effectuer impunément les invasions et les déprédations des tribus nomades.

2. Il était essentiel que la ligne ainsi complétée de nos forts avancés fût située dans une contrée assez fertile, non seulement pour assurer leur approvisionnement, mais aussi pour faciliter la colonisation régulière qui seule peut préparer au pays occupé un avenir de stabilité et de prospérité, en gagnant à la vie civilisée les peuplades avoisinantes.

Enfin 3. Il était urgent de fixer cette ligne d'une manière définitive afin d'échapper aux entraînements dangereux et presque inévitables qui de répression en représailles pouvait aboutir à une extension illimitée.

Dans ce but il fallait poser les bases d'un système fondé non seulement sur la raison qui peut être élastique, mais sur les conditions géographiques et politiques qui sont fixes et permanentes.

Ce système nous était indiqué par un fait très simple, résultant d'une longue expérience, c'est-à-dire, que les tribus nomades, qu'on ne peut saisir ni châtier, ni contenir efficacement, sont pour nous le voisinage le plus incommode, et que par contre les populations agricoles et commerçantes, fixées au sol et dotées d'un organisme social plus développé, nous offrent la chance d'un voisinage tolérable et de relations perfectibles.

La ligne de nos frontières devait donc englober les premières, elle devait s'arrêter à la limite des secondes.

Ces trois principes donnent l'explication claire, naturelle, et logique des dernières opérations militaires accomplies dans l'Asie Centrale.

En effet, la ligne primitive de nos frontières le long de la Syr-Daria jusqu'au Fort Perovsky d'un côté, et de l'autre jusqu'au Lac Issyk-Kaul, avait l'inconvénient d'être presque à la limite du désert. Elle était interrompue sur un immense espace entre les deux points extrêmes ; elle n'offrait pas assez de ressources à nos troupes et laissait en dehors des tribus sans cohésion avec lesquelles nulle stabilité n'était possible.

Malgré notre répugnance à donner à nos frontières une plus grande étendue, ces motifs avaient néanmoins été assez puissants pour déterminer le Gouvernement Impérial à établir cette ligne entre le Lac Issyk-Kaul et la Syr-Daria, en fortifiant la ville de Tchemkend, récemment occupée par nous.

En adoptant cette ligne nous obtenons un double résultat. D'un côté la contrée qu'elle embrasse est fertile, boisée, arrosée par de nombreux cours d'eau ; elle est habitée en partie par des tribus Kirghises qui ont déjà reconnu notre domination ; elle offre donc des éléments favorables à la colonisation et à l'approvisionnement de nos garnisons. De l'autre elle nous donne pour voisins immédiats les populations agricoles et commerçantes du Kokand.

Nous nous trouvons en face d'un milieu social plus solide, plus compacte, moins mobile, mieux organisé ; et cette considération marque avec une précision géographique

la limite où l'intérêt et la raison nous prescrivent d'arriver et nous commandent de nous arrêter, parceque d'une part toute extension ultérieure de notre domination rencontrant désormais non plus des milieux inconstants, comme les tribus nomades, mais des Etats plus régulièrement constitués, exigerait des efforts considérables et nous entraînerait d'annexion en annexion dans des complications incalculables,—et que d'autre part ayant désormais pour voisins de pareils Etats malgré leur civilisation arriérée et l'instabilité de leur condition politique, nous pouvons néanmoins espérer que des relations régulières pourront un jour se substituer pour l'avantage commun aux désordres permanents qui ont paralysé jusqu'ici l'essor de ces contrées.

Tels sont, Monsieur, les intérêts qui servent de mobile à la politique de notre auguste Maître dans l'Asie Centrale; tel est le but final que les ordres de Sa Majesté Impériale ont tracé à l'action de son Cabinet.

Vous êtes invité à puiser dans ces considérations le sens des explications que vous fournirez au Gouvernement auprès duquel vous êtes accrédité, si vous êtes interpellé ou si vous voyez s'accréditer des suppositions erronnées quant à notre action dans ces contrées lointaines.

Je n'ai pas besoin d'insister sur l'intérêt évident que la Russie a à ne pas agrandir son territoire et surtout à ne pas se créer aux extrémités des complications qui ne peuvent que retarder et paralyser son développement intérieur.

Le programme que je viens de tracer rentre dans cet ordre d'idées.

Bien souvent durant ces dernières années on s'est plu à assigner pour mission à la Russie de civiliser les contrées qui l'avoisinent sur le continent Asiatique.

Les progrès de la civilisation n'ont pas d'agent plus efficace que les relations commerciales. Celles-ci pour se développer exigent partout l'ordre et la stabilité, mais en Asie elles réclament une transformation profonde dans les mœurs. Il faut avant tout faire comprendre aux peuples Asiatiques qu'il y a plus d'avantage pour eux à favoriser et assurer le commerce des caravanes qu'à les piller.

Ces notions élémentaires ne peuvent pénétrer dans la conscience publique que là où il y a un public, c'est-à-dire, un organisme social et un Gouvernement qui le dirige et le représente.

Nous accomplissons la première partie de cette tâche en portant notre frontière à la limite où se rencontrent ces conditions indispensables.

Nous accomplissons la seconde en nous attachant désormais à prouver aux Etats voisins par un système de fermeté quant à la répression de leurs méfaits, mais en même temps de modération et de justice dans l'emploi de la force et de respect pour leur indépendance, que la Russie n'est pas leur ennemi, qu'elle ne nourrit à leur égard aucune vue de conquête, et que des relations pacifiques et commerciales avec elle sont plus profitables que le désordre, le pillage, les représailles et la guerre en permanence.

En se consacrant à cette tâche, le Cabinet Impérial s'inspire des intérêts de la Russie. Il croit servir en même temps les intérêts de la civilisation et de l'humanité. Il a droit de compter sur une appréciation équitable et loyale de la marche qu'il poursuit et des principes qui le guident.

(Signé) GORTCHAKOW.

(Translation.)

(Circular.)

St. Petersburg, November 21, 1864.

THE Russian newspapers have given an account of the last military operations executed by a detachment of our troops in the regions of Central Asia with remarkable success and important results. It was to be foreseen that these events would the more attract the attention of the foreign public that their scene was laid in scarcely known countries.

Our august Master has commanded me to state to you briefly, but with clearness and precision, the position in which we find ourselves in Central Asia, the interests which inspire us in those countries, and the end which we have in view.

The position of Russia in Central Asia is that of all civilized States which are brought into contact with half-savage, nomad populations, possessing no fixed social organization.

In such cases it always happens that the more civilized State is forced, in the interest of the security of its frontier and its commercial relations, to exercise a certain ascendancy over those whom their turbulent and unsettled character make most undesirable neighbours.

First, there are raids and acts of pillage to be put down. To put a stop to them, the tribes on the frontier have to be reduced to a state of more or less perfect

submission. This result once attained, these tribes take to more peaceful habits, but are in their turn exposed to the attacks of the more distant tribes.

The State is bound to defend them against these depredations, and to punish those who commit them. Hence the necessity of distant, costly, and periodically recurring expeditions against an enemy whom his social organization makes it impossible to seize. If, the robbers once punished, the expedition is withdrawn, the lesson is soon forgotten; its withdrawal is put down to weakness. It is a peculiarity of Asiatics to respect nothing but visible and palpable force; the moral force of reason and of the interests of civilization has as yet no hold upon them. The work has then always to be done over again from the beginning.

In order to put a stop to this state of permanent disorder, fortified posts are established in the midst of these hostile tribes, and an influence is brought to bear upon them which reduces them by degrees to a state of more or less forced submission. But soon beyond this second line other still more distant tribes came in their turn to threaten the same dangers and necessitate the same measures of repression. The State thus finds itself forced to choose one of two alternatives, either to give up this endless labour and to abandon its frontier to perpetual disturbance, rendering all prosperity, all security, all civilization an impossibility, or, on the other hand, to plunge deeper and deeper into barbarous countries, where the difficulties and expenses increase with every step in advance.

Such has been the fate of every country which has found itself in a similar position. The United States in America, France in Algeria, Holland in her Colonies, England in India—all have been irresistibly forced, less by ambition than by imperious necessity, into this onward march, where the greatest difficulty is to know when to stop.

Such too have been the reasons which have led the Imperial Government to take up at first a position resting on one side on the Syr-Daria, on the other on the Lake Issyk-Kaul, and to strengthen these two lines by advanced forts, which, little by little, have crept on into the heart of those distant regions, without however succeeding in establishing on the other side of our frontiers that tranquillity which is indispensable for their security.

The explanation of this unsettled state of things is to be found, first, in the fact that, between the extreme points of this double line, there is an immense unoccupied space, where all attempts at colonization or caravan trade are paralyzed by the inroads of the robber tribes; and, in the second place, in the perpetual fluctuations of the political condition of those countries, where Turkestan and Khokand, sometimes united, sometimes at variance, always at war, either with one another or with Bokhara, presented no chance of settled relations or of any regular transactions whatever.

The Imperial Government thus found itself, in spite of all its efforts, in the dilemma we have above alluded to, that is to say, compelled either to permit the continuance of a state of permanent disorder, paralyzing to all security and progress, or to condemn itself to costly and distant expeditions, leading to no practical result, and with the work always to be done anew; or, lastly, to enter upon the undefined path of conquest and annexation which has given to England the Empire of India, by attempting the subjugation by armed force, one after another, of the small independent States whose habits of pillage and turbulence and whose perpetual revolts leave their neighbours neither peace nor repose.

Neither of these alternative courses was in accordance with the object of our august Master's policy, which consists, not in extending beyond all reasonable bounds the regions under his sceptre, but in giving a solid basis to his rule, in guaranteeing their security, and in developing their social organization, their commerce, their well-being, and their civilization.

Our task was, therefore, to discover a system adapted to the attainment of this three-fold object.

The following principles have, in consequence, been laid down:—

1. It has been judged to be indispensable that our two fortified frontier lines—one extending from China to the Lake Issyk-Kaul, the other from the Sea of Aral along the Syr-Daria—should be united by fortified points, so that all our posts should be in a position of mutual support, leaving no gap through which the nomad tribes might make with impunity their inroads and depredations.

2. It was essential that the line of our advanced forts thus completed should be situated in a country fertile enough, not only to insure their supplies, but also to facilitate the regular colonization, which alone can prepare a future of stability and prosperity for the occupied country, by gaining over the neighbouring populations to civilized life.

3, and lastly. It was urgent to lay down this line definitively, so as to escape the danger of being carried away, as is almost inevitable, by a series of repressive measures and reprisals, into an unlimited extension of territory.

To attain this end a system had to be established, which should depend not only on reason, which may be elastic, but on geographical and political conditions, which are fixed and permanent.

This system was suggested to us by a very simple fact, the result of long experience, namely, that the nomad tribes, which can neither be seized or punished, or effectually kept in order, are our most inconvenient neighbours; while, on the other hand, agricultural and commercial populations attached to the soil, and possessing a more advanced social organization, offer us every chance of gaining neighbours with whom there is a possibility of entering into relations.

Consequently, our frontier line ought to swallow up the former, and stop short at the limit of the latter.

These three principles supply a clear, natural, and logical explanation of our last military operations in Central Asia. In fact, our original frontier line, extending along the Syr-Daria to Fort Perovsky on one side, and on the other to the Lake Issyk-Kaul, had the drawback of being almost on the verge of the desert. It was broken by a wide gap between the two extreme points; it did not offer sufficient resources to our troops, and left unsettled tribes over the border, with which any settled arrangement became impossible.

In spite of our unwillingness to extend our frontier, these motives had been powerful enough to induce the Imperial Government to establish this line between Lake Issyk-Kaul and the Syr-Daria, by fortifying the town of Tchemkend, lately occupied by us. By the adoption of this line we obtain a double result. In the first place, the country it takes in is fertile, well wooded, and watered by numerous water-courses; it is partly inhabited by various Kirghize tribes, which have already accepted our rule; it consequently offers favourable conditions for colonization, and the supply of provisions to our garrisons. In the second place, it puts us in the immediate neighbourhood of the agricultural and commercial populations of Kokand. We find ourselves in presence of a more solid and compact, less unsettled, and better organized social state; fixing for us with geographical precision the limit up to which we are bound to advance, and at which we must halt, because, while, on the one hand, any further extension of our rule, meeting, as it would, no longer with unstable communities, such as the nomad tribes, but with more regularly constituted States, would entail considerable exertions, and would draw us on from annexation to annexation with unforeseen complications. On the other, with such States for our future neighbours, their backward civilization, and the instability of their political condition, do not shut us out from the hope that the day may come when regular relations may, to the advantage of both parties, take the place of the permanent troubles which have up to the present moment paralyzed all progress in those countries.

Such, Sir, are the interests which inspire the policy of our august Master in Central Asia: such is the object, by His Imperial Majesty's orders, of the action of his Cabinet.

You are requested to take these arguments as your guide in any explanations you may give to the Government to which you are accredited, in case questions are asked or you may see credence given to erroneous ideas as to our action in these distant parts.

It is needless for me to lay stress upon the interest which Russia evidently has not to increase her territory, and, above all, to avoid raising complications on her frontiers, which can but delay and paralyze her domestic development.

The programme which I have just traced is in accordance with these views.

Very frequently of late years the civilization of these countries, which are her neighbours on the continent of Asia, has been assigned to Russia as her special mission.

No agent has been found more apt for the progress of civilization than commercial relations. Their development requires everywhere order and stability; but in Asia it demands a complete transformation of the habits of the people. The first thing to be taught to the populations of Asia is that they will gain more in favouring and protecting the caravan trade than in robbing them. These elementary ideas can only be accepted by the public where one exists; that is to say, where there is some organized form of society and a Government to direct and represent it.

We are accomplishing the first part of our task in carrying our frontier to the limit where the indispensable conditions are to be found.

The second we shall accomplish in making every effort henceforward to prove to our neighbouring States, by a system of firmness in the repression of their misdeeds, combined with moderation and justice in the use of our strength, and respect for their independence, that Russia is not their enemy, that she entertains towards them no ideas of conquest, and that peaceful and commercial relations with her are more profitable than disorder, pillage, reprisals, and a permanent state of war.

The Imperial Cabinet, in assuming this task, takes as its guide the interests of Russia. But it believes that, at the same time, it is promoting the interests of humanity and civilization. It has a right to expect that the line of conduct it pursues and the principles which guide it will meet with a just and candid appreciation.

(Signed) GORTCHAKOW.

**CORRESPONDENCE respecting Central
Asia.**

*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command
of Her Majesty. 1873.*

CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

RUSSIA

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Correspondence with Russia respecting Central Asia.

No. 1.

Earl Granville to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 17, 1872.

HER Majesty's Government have not yet received from the Cabinet of St. Petersburg communication of the Report which General Kaufmann was long since instructed to draw up on the countries south of the Oxus which are claimed by the Ruler of Afghanistan as his hereditary possessions.

Her Majesty's Government have awaited this communication in full confidence that impartial inquiries instituted by that distinguished officer would confirm the views they themselves take of this matter, and so enable the two Governments to come to a prompt and definitive decision on the question that has been so long in discussion between them.

But as the expected communication has not reached them, and as they consider it of importance both for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in Central Asia, and for removing all causes of misunderstanding between the Imperial Government and themselves, I will no longer delay making known through your Excellency to the Imperial Government the conclusion at which Her Majesty's Government have arrived after carefully weighing all the evidence before them.

In the opinion then of Her Majesty's Government the right of the Ameer of Cabul (Shere Ali) to the possession of the territories up to the Oxus as far down as Khoja Saleh is fully established, and they believe, and have so stated to him through the Indian Government, that he would have a right to defend these territories if invaded. On the other hand, Her Majesty's authorities in India have declared their determination to remonstrate strongly with the Ameer should he evince any disposition to overstep these limits of his kingdom.

Hitherto the Ameer has proved most amenable to the advice offered to him by the Indian Government, and has cordially accepted the peaceful policy which they have recommended him to adopt, because the Indian Government have been able to accompany their advice with an assurance that the territorial integrity of Afghanistan would in like manner be respected by those Powers beyond his frontiers which are amenable to the influence of Russia. The policy thus happily inaugurated has produced the most beneficial results in the establishment of peace in the countries where it has long been unknown.

Her Majesty's Government believe that it is now in the power of the Russian Government, by an explicit recognition of the right of the Ameer of Cabul to these territories which he now claims, which Bokhara herself admits to be his, and which all evidence as yet produced shows to be in his actual and effectual possession, to assist the British Government in perpetuating, as far as it is in human power to do so, the peace and prosperity of those regions, and in removing for ever by such means all cause of uneasiness and jealousy between England and Russia in regard to their respective policies in Asia.

For your Excellency's more complete information, I state the territories and boundaries which Her Majesty's Government consider as fully belonging to the Ameer of Cabul, viz. :—

(1.) Badakshan, with its dependent district of Wakhan from the Sarikal (Woods Lake) on the east to the junction of the Kokcha River with the Oxus (or Penjah), forming the northern boundary of this Afghan province throughout its entire extent.

(2.) Afghan Turkestan, comprising the districts of Kunduz, Khulm, and Balkh, the northern boundary of which would be the line of the Oxus from the junction of the Kokcha River to the post of the Khoja Saleh, inclusive, on the high road from Bokhara

to Balkh. Nothing to be claimed by the Afghan Ameer on the left bank of the Oxus below Khoja Saleh.

(3.) The internal districts of Aksha, Seripool, Maimenat, Shibberjan, and Andkoi, the latter of which would be the extreme Afghan frontier possession to the north-west, the desert beyond belonging to independent tribes of Turcomans.

(4.) The western Afghan frontier between the dependencies of Herat and those of the Persian province of Khorassan is well known and need not here be defined.

Your Excellency will give a copy of this despatch to the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 2.

Prince Gortchakow to Count Brunnow.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Count Brunnow, December 29.)

M. le Comte,

St. Pétersbourg, le 7 Décembre, 1872.

VOTRE Excellence a déjà reçu copie de la dépêche de Lord Granville du 17 Octobre que Lord A. Loftus nous a communiquée d'ordre de son Gouvernement.

Elle a trait aux affaires de l'Asie Centrale.

Avant d'y répondre, il est nécessaire de rappeler la marche de nos pourparlers avec le Cabinet Anglais sur cette question.

Les deux Gouvernements étaient animés d'un égal désir de prévenir entre eux tout sujet de dissentiment dans cette partie de l'Asie. Il voulaient tous deux y établir un ordre de choses qui y assurât la paix et consolidât leurs relations d'amitié et de bonne intelligence.

A cet effet ils étaient tombés d'accord sur l'opportunité de laisser subsister entre leurs possessions respectives une certaine zone intermédiaire qui les préservât d'un contact immédiat.

L'Afghanistan ayant paru devoir remplir ces conditions, il avait été convenu que les deux Gouvernements emploieraient l'influence dont ils disposent sur les Etats placés dans leur voisinage afin d'empêcher toute collision et tout empiétement en deçà ou au delà de cette zone intermédiaire.

Il s'agissait seulement d'en tracer la limite précise pour que l'entente des deux Cabinets fut aussi complète en pratique qu'elle l'était en principe.

Là des doutes s'élevaient.

Le fondateur de l'Etat Afghan, Dost Mohammed Khan, avait laissé après lui une confusion qui ne permettait pas de prendre pour base l'extension territoriale acquise à de certains moments pendant son règne par l'Afghanistan.

On était en conséquence convenu de s'en tenir aux territoires qui auraient jadis reconnu l'autorité de Dost Mohammed et se trouveraient encore aujourd'hui en la possession effective de Shir Ali Khan.

Il restait à constater cet état de possession avec l'exactitude désirable.

A cet effet il était nécessaire d'avoir des données locales positives qui manquaient aux deux Gouvernements à l'égard de ces contrées lointaines et imparfaitement connues.

Il fut convenu que le Gouverneur-Général du Turkestan serait chargé de profiter de sa résidence à proximité et de ses relations avec les Khanats voisins, pour faire recueillir tous les renseignements qui pourraient éclaircir la question et permettre aux deux Gouvernements de se former une opinion pratique en pleine connaissance de cause.

Tel est, M. le Comte, ainsi que votre Excellence s'en souviendra, le point où en étaient arrivés nos pourparlers avec le Cabinet Anglais.

Conformément à ces décisions M. l'Aide-de-camp Général de Kaufmann avait pris les mesures possibles pour procéder à cette investigation préalable. Mais la difficulté des distances, l'extrême complication des points à élucider, le manque de sources authentiques et l'impossibilité d'une enquête directe, ne lui ont pas permis de remplir cette tâche avec la promptitude que nous aurions désirée non moins que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique. De là les retards que signale la dépêche de Lord Granville.

Toutefois nous avons déjà fait observer que ces retards provenaient de l'attention sérieuse vouée par le Cabinet Impérial à cette affaire. Il eût été facile de se borner à

des notions recueillies à la légère et qui plus tard seraient devenues la source de malentendus. Nous avons préféré étudier consciencieusement la question, puisqu'il s'agissait de donner une base solide et durable à l'organisation politique de l'Asie Centrale et aux bonnes et amicales relations que, sur cette base, les deux Gouvernements avaient en vue d'établir entre eux pour le présent et pour l'avenir.

Au commencement du mois d'Octobre dernier, le Ministère Impérial avait été dans le cas d'annoncer à Lord A. Loftus et à votre Excellence que le Conseiller d'Etat actuel Struve, chargé de ces investigations, venait enfin d'arriver à St. Pétersbourg, et qu'aussitôt que les matériaux rassemblés par lui auraient été élaborés, le résultat en serait communiqué au Cabinet de Londres.

C'est pendant que ce travail se poursuivait que nous avons reçu communication de la dépêche de Lord Granville qui nous a fait connaître l'opinion à laquelle le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique a cru devoir s'arrêter sur les points en discussion.

Le Cabinet Impérial se maintenant dans l'esprit de l'accord établi en principe entre les deux Gouvernements, ne se croit pas moins en devoir de transmettre au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique les renseignements recueillis sur les lieux par ordre de M. le Gouverneur-Général du Turkestan, et d'exposer en toute franchise les conclusions qui lui paraissent en découler.

Les unes et les autres sont consignées dans l'office ci-joint en copie que M. l'Aide-de-camp Général de Kaufmann vient de m'adresser et dans le mémoire qui y sert d'annexe.

Je vais les résumer :—

La question qu'il s'agissait de résoudre avait deux aspects.

1. Constater l'état de possession effectif actuel, autant qu'il est possible de l'établir dans ces contrées.

2. Rechercher, en se basant sur ce *statu quo*, la meilleure délimitation à tracer, afin de répondre au but des pourparlers actuels ; c'est-à-dire, d'écarter dans la mesure du possible les causes de conflits et d'empiétements mutuels entre les Khanats voisins, et, par conséquent, de garantir entre eux, autant que faire se peut, l'état de paix que de part et d'autre les deux Gouvernements devraient désormais s'attacher à faire respecter par tous les moyens d'influence dont ils disposent.

Dans ces deux ordres d'idées, il résulte de l'étude qui a été faite :—

1. Qu'au nord, l'Amou-Daria constitue en effet la frontière normale de l'Afghanistan à partir de son confluent avec la Kouktcha jusqu'au point de Khodja Saleh.

Sous ce rapport nos données sont d'accord avec l'opinion du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique, et la frontière dont il s'agit semble d'autant plus rationnelle qu'elle n'offre pas matière à contestations de la part des riverains de l'Amou-Daria.

2. Au nord-est, les données de fait que nous avons recueillies assignent le confluent de cette rivière avec la Kouktcha comme la limite des territoires sur lesquels Shir Ali Khan exerce une souveraineté effective incontestable. Au delà de cette limite, et notamment à l'égard du Badakchan et du Vakhan, il a été impossible de saisir les traces d'une semblable souveraineté,—l'ensemble des informations présente au contraire de nombreux indices qui doivent faire envisager ces contrées comme indépendantes. Dans la communication du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique qui nous a été faite au mois de Novembre dernier, on voit que d'après le témoignage du Major Montgomery, l'Emir de Caboul a "une autorité considérable" dans le Badakchan, et que les Afghans ont aidé Mahmood Shah à renverser le Mir ou chef de ce pays, Jehandar Shah ; mais ces faits eux-mêmes semblent indiquer l'indépendance réelle du Badakchan plutôt que sa sujétion effective à l'Emir de Caboul. Les informations recueillies par M. Struve et consignées dans son mémoire confirment cette conclusion. Elles mentionnent, il est vrai, des interventions de l'Emir Afghan dans les querelles intérieures du Badakchan et des tentatives pour faire payer son assistance par une espèce de tribut ; mais on ne rencontre point les signes qui, en Asie, accompagnent l'exercice de la souveraineté, c'est-à-dire, la présence dans le pays d'officiers Afghans, et d'employés pour collectionner l'impôt. Les chefs du Badakchan se sont considérés, et ont été considérés par leurs voisins, comme des chefs indépendants. On ne peut pas admettre que l'Emir de Caboul a cherché

Il résulte de là qu'on peut tout au plus admettre que l'Emir de Caboul a cherché à diverses reprises à faire entrer le Badakchan sous sa domination, qu'il a exercé plusieurs fois dans les affaires de ce pays, à la faveur de discordes intestines, une ingérence basée sur la supériorité de ses forces, mais qu'il est impossible d'en déduire l'existence d'une autorité souveraine effective et incontestée.

Quant au Vakhan, ce pays ne paraît être resté jusqu'à présent encore plus en dehors de toute action directe des chefs de l'Afghanistan.

3. Il reste à examiner si, dans cet état de choses, et vu le but que nous poursuivons en commun, c'est-à-dire l'établissement dans ces contrées d'une paix solide sous la garantie des deux Gouvernements, il convient de reconnaître à l'Emir de Caboul les droits qu'il revendique sur le Badakchan et le Vakhan, et de faire entrer ces deux pays dans la délimitation territoriale de l'Afghanistan.

Tel n'est pas l'avis de M. l'Aide-de-camp Général Kaufmann, et le Cabinet Impérial arrive aux mêmes conclusions.

Dans l'état actuel des choses il n'existe pas de conflits entre le Badakchan et ses voisins. Le Boukhara n'a aucune prétention sur ce pays. Les deux Etats sont d'ailleurs trop faibles, trop absorbés par leurs propres affaires, pour se chercher querelle. L'Angleterre et la Russie n'auraient donc à s'employer que pour maintenir cet état de paix aussi bien entre ces Khanats qu'entre l'Afghanistan et le Badakchan, et cette tâche ne semblerait pas au-dessus de leurs moyens. Il en serait tout autrement le jour où l'Emir de Caboul étendrait son autorité sur le Badakchan et le Vakhan. Il se trouverait en contact immédiat avec le Kachgar, le Kokand et le Boukhara, dont il est séparé aujourd'hui par ces deux pays. Il serait dès lors bien plus difficile d'éviter des conflits provenant soit de son ambition et du sentiment de sa force, soit de la jalousie de ses voisins.

Ce serait fonder sur une base bien précaire la paix qu'il s'agit d'établir dans ces contrées, et compromettre la garantie que les deux Gouvernements seraient appelés à y donner.

Cette combinaison nous semblerait, par conséquent, aller directement contre le but qu'ils poursuivent en commun.

Il nous paraîtrait beaucoup plus conforme à ce but de laisser subsister l'état actuel des choses. Le Badakchan et le Vakhan formeraient ainsi une barrière interposée entre les Etats du Nord et ceux du Sud de l'Asie Centrale, et cette barrière, fortifiée par l'action combinée que l'Angleterre et la Russie sont en mesure d'exercer sur ceux de ces Etats accessibles à leur influence, empêcherait efficacement tout contact dangereux et assurerait à notre avis, dans la mesure du possible, la paix de ces contrées.

4. Quant aux limites à reconnaître à l'Afghanistan du côté du nord-ouest, à partir de Khodja-Saleh, nos informations signalent également des doutes sur les faits de la possession effective par l'Emir de Caboul des villes d'Aktchi, Seripoul, Meimané, Chibirgan, et Ankhoï, qu'il s'agit de faire entrer dans les limites reconnues de l'Afghanistan.

Toutefois, ces pays étant séparés du Boukhara par des déserts, leur annexion au territoire Afghan n'établirait pas les contacts dangereux que nous avons signalés du côté nord-est. Elle ne présenterait, par conséquent, pas les mêmes inconvénients.

Si le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique persiste dans son opinion quant à l'opportunité de comprendre ces localités dans les limites du territoire Afghan, nous n'insisterons pas sur le principe posé; c'est-à-dire, de ne reconnaître comme faisant partie de l'Afghanistan que les territoires ayant été sous la domination de Dost Mohammed Khan et se trouvant aujourd'hui sous l'autorité effective de Shir Ali Khan.

Par déférence pour le vœu du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique, le Cabinet Impérial serait disposé à adhérer pour cette partie des frontières au tracé indiqué dans la dépêche de Lord Granville.

Tel est, M. le Comte, le résumé des conclusions que nous croyons pouvoir tirer des données que nous possédons.

Veillez les placer sous les yeux de M. le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique.

En les communiquant à son Excellence, notre intention n'est pas seulement de dégager notre promesse. Nous croyons répondre à la pensée qui a présidé dès le début à l'échange amical d'idées établi entre les deux Gouvernements en cherchant à résoudre de la manière la plus rationnelle une question qui les intéresse également.

Recevez, &c.

(Signé) GORTCHAKOW.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte,

YOUR Excellency has already received copy of Lord Granville's despatch of the 17th October, which was communicated to us by Lord A. Potus, by order of his Government.

It refers to the affairs of Central Asia.

St. Petersburg, December 7, 1872.

Before answering it, it becomes necessary for me to recapitulate the different phases of the negotiation between us and the English Cabinet upon this question.

The two Governments were equally desirous to forestall any cause of disagreement between them in that part of Asia. Both wished to establish such a state of things as would secure peace in those countries, and consolidate the relations of friendship and good understanding between the two Governments.

They had consequently come to an agreement that it was expedient to have a certain "intermediary" zone, for the purpose of preserving their respective possessions from immediate contact.

Afghanistan seemed well fitted to supply what was needed; and it was consequently agreed that the two Governments should use all their influence with their neighbouring States towards preventing any collision or encroachment on one side or the other of this "intermediary" zone.

All that remained, in order to make the agreement between the two Cabinets as complete in fact as it already was in principle, was to trace the exact limits of the zone.

It was here that a doubtful point arose.

The founder of the Afghan State, Dost Mahommed Khan, had left behind him a state of confusion which did not allow of the territorial extension which Afghanistan had acquired at certain moments of his reign, being accepted as a basis.

It was consequently agreed that no territories should be taken into account, but such as having formerly recognized the authority of Dost Mahommed were still in the actual possession of Shere Ali Khan.

It thus became necessary to ascertain, with all possible accuracy, what were the territories in his actual possession.

For this purpose it was requisite to have positive local data, which neither Government possessed, with reference to these distant and imperfectly-known countries.

It was agreed that the Governor-General of Turkestan should be instructed to take advantage of his residence in the proximity of and his relations with the neighbouring Khanates, to collect all the information necessary to throw light upon the question, and to enable the two Governments to come to a practical decision with the facts before them.

Such was the point, M. le Comte, as your Excellency will recollect, at which our negotiations with the English Cabinet had arrived.

In conformity with this decision, M. l'Aide-de-camp Général de Kaufmann had taken every possible measure towards carrying out this preliminary investigation. Owing, moreover, to difficulties arising out of the distances involved, the excessively complicated nature of the points to be elucidated, the absence of genuine sources of information, and the impossibility of a direct inquiry, he was unable to accomplish his task as speedily as we, no less than the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, would have desired. Hence the delay pointed out in Lord Granville's despatch.

We have, however, already drawn attention to the fact that the cause of the delay is to be found in the serious attention which the Imperial Cabinet devoted to this affair. It would have been easy to rest content with hastily collected notions, which later would have given rise to misunderstandings. We preferred to study the question conscientiously, since it was one of giving a solid and durable basis to the political organization of Central Asia, and to the good and friendly relations, present as well as future, which the two Governments aimed at establishing between them on that basis.

At the beginning of last October, the Imperial Ministry was able to announce to Lord A. Loftus and to your Excellency that the Councillor of State Struve, to whom these inquiries had been intrusted, had at last just arrived at St. Petersburg, and that, as soon as the materials he had collected had been put into shape the result would be communicated to the Cabinet in London. It was whilst this work was going on that Lord Granville's despatch was communicated to us, informing us of the opinion which Her Britannic Majesty's Government has thought fit to form upon the points under discussion.

The Imperial Cabinet, having in view the spirit of the agreement arrived at in principle between the two Governments, none the less thinks it its duty to transmit to the Government of Her Britannic Majesty the particulars collected on the spot by order of the Governor-General of Turkestan, and to lay before them most frankly the conclusions which, in its opinion, are their natural consequences.

These particulars and conclusions are contained in the letter, copy of which is inclosed, which M. l'Aide-de-camp Général de Kaufmann has just addressed to me, and in the Memorandum which forms its inclosure.

I will sum them up :

The question to be settled had two sides—

1. To ascertain the real state of possession at this moment, so far as it is possible to prove it in those countries.

2. Starting from this *status quo* as a basis, to seek for a line of demarcation, to be traced, which will best answer the object of the present negotiations ; that is, to remove as far as possible all cause of conflict or mutual encroachments between the neighbouring Khanates, and consequently assure, as far as can be done, the state of peace which henceforward the two Governments should respectively use all their influence to cause to be respected.

Looking at the question from these two points of view, its study led to the following conclusions :—

1. That to the north, the Amou Daria, forms, in fact, the proper frontier of Afghanistan from its confluence with the Kouktcha, as far as the point of Khodja Salek.

So far our data confirm the opinion of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, and the frontier in question seems the more reasonable, that it can give rise to no disputes on the part of the inhabitants of the banks of the Amou Daria.

2. To the north-east, the data we have collected give the confluence of that river with the Kouktcha as the limit of the districts over which Shere Ali Khan exercises actual undisputed sovereignty. Beyond that limit, and especially with regard to Badakshan and Wakhan, it has been impossible to find any traces of such a sovereignty ; on the contrary, all our information upon the subject goes to prove that these districts should be regarded as independent. In the communication from Her Britannic Majesty's Government, which was made to us in November last, it is seen that, according to the testimony of Major Montgomery, the Ameer of Cabul has "considerable authority" in Badakshan, and that the Afghans have "assisted Mahmood Shah to upset the Emir or Chief of this country, Jehandar Shah." But these facts themselves seem to point rather to the real independence of Badakshan than to its absolute subjection to the Ameer of Cabul. The information collected by M. Struve, and contained in his Memorandum, supports this conclusion. Mention is made, it is true, of interference by the the Afghan Ameer in the internal disputes of Badakshan, and of attempts on his part to get his assistance paid for by a kind of tribute ; but nowhere are the signs to be found which, in Asia, accompany the exercise of the rights of sovereignty ; for instance, the presence in the country of Afghan officers, and of officials to collect the taxes. The Chiefs of Badakshan looked upon themselves, and were looked upon by their neighbours, as independent Chiefs.

It follows that, from these facts, at the most it may be granted that the Ameer of Cabul has on various occasions attempted to bring Badakshan under his dominion, that he has several times profited by internal discord to exercise over the country considerable control, based on his position as a neighbour and the superiority of his forces ; but that it is impossible to deduce from them the existence of a real and uncontested sovereign power.

As to Wakhan, that country seems to have remained up to the present moment even more outside the circle of the direct action of the Chiefs of Afghanistan.

3. We have next to inquire whether or not, in this state of things, and in view of our common object—that is, the establishment in those regions of a permanent peace guaranteed by both Governments, it is well to recognize the rights claimed by the Ameer of Cabul over Badakshan and Wakhan, and to comprise these two countries within the territorial limits of Afghanistan. Such is not the opinion of M. l'Aide-de-camp Général Kaufmann, and the Imperial Cabinet arrives at the same conclusions.

In the present state of things there is no dispute between Badakshan and her neighbours. Bokhara puts forward no claim to that country. The two States are, besides, too weak, too absorbed in their own affairs, to wish to quarrel. England and Russia would consequently have nothing to do but to maintain this state of peace as well between these Khanates as between Afghanistan and Badakshan ; and this task would not seem beyond their power. Far otherwise would it be the day that the Ameer of Cabul should extend his authority over Badakshan and Wakhan. He would find himself in immediate contact with Kashgar, Kokand, and Bokhara, from which he is now separated by those two countries. From that moment it would be far more difficult to avoid contests due either to his ambition and consciousness of power, or to the jealousy of his neighbours. This would give a most precarious basis to the peace which it is sought to establish in those countries, and compromise the two Governments who would be called upon to guarantee it. This arrangement would consequently seem to us to go

directly counter to the object which they have in common. It would appear to us much more in keeping with that object to allow the present state of things to continue. Badakshan and Wakhan would thus form a barrier interposed between the Northern and Southern States of Central Asia, and this barrier, strengthened by the combined action which England and Russia are able to bring to bear upon such of those States as are accessible to their influence, would effectually prevent any dangerous contact, and would in our opinion secure, as far as anything could do so, the peace of those countries.

4. As for the boundaries to be recognised as those of Afghanistan on the North-west, starting from Khodja-Saleh, the information we have received equally throws doubts upon the *de facto* possession by the Ameer of Cabul of the towns of Aktchi, Seripool, Meimané, Chibirgan, and Andkhoy, which it is a question of comprising within the acknowledged boundaries of Afghanistan.

These districts, however, being divided from Bokhara by deserts, would not, if annexed to the Afghan territory, offer the same dangers of contact that we have pointed out on the north east; and their annexation would not, consequently, be open to the same objections.

If the Government of Her Britannic Majesty adheres to its opinion of the expediency of comprising these places in the limits of the Afghan territory, we will not insist upon the principle from which we started, namely, that no districts should be acknowledged as part of Afghanistan, but such as had been under the rule of Dost Mohammed Khan, and were, at this moment, in actual subjection to Shere Ali Khan. In deference to the wish of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, the Imperial Cabinet would be disposed, as far as this portion of the boundary is concerned, to accept the line laid down in Lord Granville's despatch. Such, M. le Comte, are briefly the conclusions which we think the materials in our hands justify us in forming.

Be so good as to lay them before the Chief Secretary of State of Her Britannic Majesty. Our intention, in communicating them to his Excellency, is not only to fulfil our promise. We believe that, in attempting the rational solution of a question which interests the two Governments equally, we are best carrying out the purpose which has animated both ever since their first friendly interchange of ideas.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) GORTCHAKOW.

Inclosure 1 in No. 2.

General Kaufmann to Prince Gortchakow.

(Traduit du Russe.)

St. Pétersbourg, le 29 Novembre, 1872.

J'AI l'honneur de soumettre ci-près à votre Altesse un mémoire sur la question de la frontière septentrionale de l'Afghanistan. Ce mémoire a été élaboré sur la base des quelques données et matériaux que j'ai réussi à réunir, dans le courant des deux dernières années, au sujet de la situation des affaires sur la frontière de l'Afghanistan et du Boukhara et sur les Etats indépendants du cours supérieur de l'Amou-Daria.

Ces données, je l'avoue, sont loin d'être complètes.

L'investigation ou l'observation personnelle, exercée sur les lieux mêmes, est en Asie Centrale l'unique moyen d'obtenir des éclaircissements sur une question quelconque, soit de politique, soit de géographie. Je n'ai pas, jusqu'ici, eu recours à ce moyen. L'envoi d'un employé Russe dans ces contrées, fût-ce même sous prétexte d'une mission scientifique, aurait pu jeter l'alarme dans l'Afghanistan et aurait éveillé des soupçons et des appréhensions de la part du Gouvernement des Indes. J'ai dû éviter tout ce qui aurait pu nuire, en quoi que ce fût, l'état satisfaisant de nos relations établies à la suite de l'échange d'idées amical et sincère qui a eu lieu entre le Gouvernement Impérial et celui de Sa Majesté Britannique.

J'ai déjà eu l'honneur de communiquer à votre Altesse mon opinion sur une des causes de la fermentation des esprits dans les Khanats de l'Asie Centrale limitrophes et voisins de la Russie. C'est que tous nos voisins, et particulièrement les Afghans, sont pénétrés de la conviction qu'entre la Russie et l'Angleterre il y a une inimitié qui, tôt ou tard, nous amènera à une rencontre avec les Anglais en Asie.

En me conformant aux intentions et aux vues du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères je me suis attaché à faire disparaître ce spectre d'un conflit, soi-disant imminent, des deux grandes Puissances. Dans mes relations avec le Kokand et le Boukhara, et

surtout dans mes lettres à Shir Ali Khan, j'ai toujours parlé de la conformité de vues et de l'amitié qui existe entre nous et l'Angleterre, et je me suis attaché à démontrer que ces deux Puissances, la Russie comme l'Angleterre, sont également soucieuses de la tranquillité des contrées et des populations qui se trouvent dans le rayon de leur influence et de leur protection. Voilà la raison qui, jusqu'ici, m'a déterminé à ne pas envoyer sur les lieux des employés dans le but d'obtenir des éclaircissements sur les questions qui m'étaient posées par le Ministère Impérial.

Cette situation est tout aussi avantageuse pour nous que pour l'Angleterre. Mais elle peut changer du moment où l'on garantirait à Shir Ali Khan ses possessions dans les limites proposées actuellement par Lord Granville dans sa dépêche à Lord A. Loftus, en date du 17^e Octobre dernier. Une pareille garantie lui donnerait un prestige considérable, et il tâcherait immédiatement de s'emparer *de facto* des territoires qui lui auraient été ainsi concédés. Avant tout, son attention se tournerait du côté du Badakchan et du Vakhan, butin le plus facile et le plus abordable. Par l'acquisition de ces deux territoires il prolongerait sa ligne de contact avec le Boukhara, et il se trouverait côté-à-côté avec le Karatéguine, d'où le Kokand est à portée de main. Enfin, il toucherait, sur ses confins nord-est, aux possessions de Yakoub Bek. Voilà un chemin qui mène tout droit à une collision avec la Russie.

Si le Gouvernement Britannique est en effet animé du même désir que nous de maintenir la paix et la tranquillité intérieures dans les Khanats qui nous séparent des possessions Anglaises dans l'Inde; si les Anglais veulent ajouter foi à nos sincères protestations que nous ne songeons même pas à entreprendre quoi que ce soit d'hostile contre leurs possessions de l'Inde, le simple bon sens devra leur suggérer la nécessité de reconnaître l'indépendance du Badakchan et du Vakhan, tant par rapport à l'Emir de Caboul que par rapport à celui du Boukhara.

J'ai, &c.

(Translation.)

(Translated from the Russian.)

St. Petersburg, November 29, 1872.

I HAVE the honour to submit to your Highness herewith a Memorandum on the question of the northern frontier of Afghanistan. This Memorandum has been compiled on the basis of such data and materials as I have succeeded in collecting in the course of the last two years, on the subject of the state of affairs on the frontier of Afghanistan and Bokhara, and the independent States on the upper course of the Amou-Daria.

I confess that these data are far from being complete.

Personal investigation and observation, exercised on the very spot, are in Central Asia the only means of obtaining enlightenment on any question whatever, political or geographical. I have not, as yet, had recourse to these means. To have sent a Russian official into these countries, even on the pretext of a scientific mission, might have created a panic in Afghanistan, and would have awakened suspicions and apprehensions on the part of the Government of India. It was my duty to avoid anything that might in any way have disturbed the satisfactory state of our relations as established by the friendly and sincere exchange of ideas which has taken place between the Imperial Government and that of Her Britannic Majesty.

I have already had the honour of communicating to your Highness my opinion as to one of the causes of the excited state of public feeling existing in the Khanates of Central Asia bordering on Russia. That is, that all our neighbours, and particularly the Afghans, are filled with the conviction that there exists between Russia and England an enmity which, sooner or later, will lead us into a conflict with the English in Asia.

In conformity with the intentions and views of the Minister for Foreign Affairs I have applied myself to dispel this bugbear of an impending conflict between the two great Powers. In my relations with Kokand or Bokhara, and, above all, in my letters to Shere Ali Khan, I have always spoken of the similarity of views and of the friendship existing between ourselves and England, and I have applied myself to the task of demonstrating that these two Powers, Russia as well as England, are equally solicitous for the tranquility of the countries and peoples which lie within the radius of their influence and protection. It is this reason which, up to the present time, has determined me not to send officers into those parts, with the object of obtaining information respecting the questions put to me by the Imperial Government.

This state of things is quite as advantageous for us as for England. But it is

liable to change should once the possessions of Shere Ali Khan be guaranteed to him within the boundaries proposed at the present moment by Lord Granville in his despatch to Lord A. Loftus of the 17th of October last. Such a guarantee would give him a considerable prestige, and he would immediately attempt to seize, *de facto*, the territories thus conceded to him. First of all he would turn his attention towards Badakshan and Wakhan as the easiest and most attainable booty. By the acquisition of these two territories he would prolong his line of contact with Bokhara, and would find himself side by side with Karateguina, whence Khokand is within easy reach. Finally, his north-western boundary would touch the possessions of Yakoub Bek. Here is a road which would lead him straight into collision with Russia.

If the English Government is really animated by the same wish as ourselves to maintain internal peace and tranquillity in the Khanates which separate us from the British possessions in India—if England will give credit to our sincere protestations that we are not dreaming of any hostile enterprise whatever against her Indian possessions, common sense ought to suggest to her the necessity of recognising the independence of Badakshan and Wakhan, equally in the interests of the Ameers of Cabul and of Bokhara.

I have, &c.

Inclosure 2 in No. 2.

Memorandum.

(Traduit du Russe.)

DANS le sens rigoureux du mot, les possessions de l'Emir Shir Ali Khan ne s'étendent à l'est que jusqu'au méridien du point de jonction de la rivière Kouktscha avec l'Amou-Daria. Cette ligne sépare le Badakchan et le Vakhan de la province de Koundouz, qui fait incontestablement partie des domaines de Shir Ali Khan. Elle a été annexée à l'Afghanistan il y a une vingtaine d'années par le fils de Dost Mohammed, Mohammed Afzal Khan, qui était à cette époque gouverneur de Balkh. Afzal Khan, comme nous l'apprend une communication Anglaise, a fait une tentative infructueuse de s'emparer de Badakchan, qui a eu cependant pour conséquence que le Mir de Badakchan, pour assurer la sécurité de son domaine, s'est engagé à payer à Dost Mohammed Khan une contribution annuelle de deux roupies par feu et à lui livrer les gisements de rubis et de lapis-lazuli situés dans ses États. Cependant, cet engagement ne fut point rempli; la mort de Dost Mohammed suggéra aux chefs du Badakchan, peu désireux de se soumettre au Caboul, l'idée de rechercher la protection de Boukhara. L'Emir Seïd Mouzaffar déclina cependant toute immixtion dans les affaires du Badakchan, non point qu'il considérât ce pays comme une dépendance de l'Afghanistan, mais par la raison qu'à cette époque il suivait avec anxiété les progrès de nos armes dans l'Asie Centrale et se préparait à marcher contre le Kokand.

Djandar Shah, qui gouvernait à cette époque le Badakchan, était un souverain complètement indépendant et tous ses voisins le reconnaissaient comme tel. Il s'était mis en rapports d'amitié avec Mohammed Afzal Khan et avec Abdourrahman Khan son fils, et ne leur payait aucune redevance. Lorsque Shir Ali Khan, victorieux d'Abdourrahman Khan, eût occupé Caboul et Balkh et se fut rendu maître de tout l'Afghanistan, il envoya une ambassade à Djandar Shah, en l'invitant à confirmer les engagements qu'il avait contractés autrefois. Djandar Shah répondit par un refus. Alors Mahmoud Shah, son neveu, secondé par les troupes Afghanes, renversa son oncle, se constitue maître de Faïzabad, ville principale du Badakchan, tandis que son frère cadet Mizrab Shah s'emparait de Tchahab, chef-lieu de la province de Roustakh. Aujourd'hui les deux frères paient à Shir Ali Khan, comme par reconnaissance de la co-opération qu'il leur avait accordée, une contribution annuelle de 15,000 roupies (9,000 roubles). Toutefois à l'exception d'un très petit nombre d'aventuriers Afghans, on ne rencontre dans le Badakchan ni employés ni troupes de l'Emir de Caboul, et le peuple lui-même déteste les Afghans.

Ces notions, fournies par Abdourrahman Khan et recueillies en partie de la bouche des envoyés du Serdar de Balkh qui vinrent à Tachkend, se trouvent confirmés par le récit d'Alif Bek, ex-gouverneur de Sarikoul (province du Kachgar, limitrophe du Vakhan), qui se présenta à Tachkend au mois d'Août de cette année. Il a ajouté que Djandar Shah, le maître légitime du Badakchan, qui s'était réfugié d'abord à Boukhara, était retourné dans la suite, par Samarkand et Kokand, à Chougnan.

Un semblable état de choses dans le Badakchan démontre en toute évidence que

l'Emir Shir Ali Khan ne saurait prétendre à la possession du Badakchan, comme à un héritage qui lui aurait été légué par Dost Mohammed Khan, et que son autorité ne s'est pas encore établie à Badakchan; Mahmoud Shah et Mizrab Shah, les maîtres actuels du Badakchan, ne se considèrent point comme Beks de l'Emir de Caboul, et s'ils lui paient une redevance c'est dans l'intérêt de leur propre sécurité et pour se mettre à l'abri des coups de mains des brigands de Koundouz. De plus, ils ont encore à redouter leur oncle Djandar Shah.

Rien ne porte à croire que la position des affaires à Badakchan puisse changer dans un proche avenir en faveur de Shir Ali Khan, et il est certain que l'état actuel des choses dans cette contrée répond, à peu de choses près, aux vues que nous poursuivons dans l'Asie Centrale de commun accord et après une entente préalable et volontaire avec l'Angleterre. Rien ne présage non plus la possibilité d'une collision entre l'Afghanistan et le Boukhara du côté du Badakchan; l'Emir Séid Mouzaffar n'élève point de prétentions à la possession de ce pays. De même Shir Ali Khan, qui maintient à grand'peine un semblant d'autorité à Badakchan, n'est point en mesure aujourd'hui d'exercer une influence quelconque sur les affaires de Kouliab et de Hissar, les villes de Boukhara les plus proches de Badakchan. La reconnaissance officielle par la Russie et par l'Angleterre des droits de Shir Ali Khan sur ce pays porterait aussitôt ce souverain à employer tous ses efforts pour se fixer à Faïzabad et dans le Roustakh, et du moment où il y parviendrait, une collision s'ensuivrait inmanquablement entre l'Afghanistan et le Boukhara. Il suffira de citer à l'appui de cette prévision que l'ancien Bek de Hissar, qui s'était révolté contre l'Emir Séid Mouzaffar en 1869 et qui en 1870 s'est réfugié dans l'Afghanistan, a déjà fait des tentatives pour rentrer en possession de sa province avec l'aide des Afghans, auxquels il promettait l'entière soumission à l'Emir de Caboul de toute la province de Hissar et de Kouliab. Si cette combinaison n'a pas été mise à exécution, il faut l'attribuer à ce que l'autorité de Shir Ali Khan était nulle dans le Badakchan, et que l'Emir ne disposait dans cet état d'aucun moyen d'agression.

A l'est du Badakchan, dans le bassin supérieur de l'Amou-Daria, se trouve une contrée peu connue, nommée Vakhan. Ce pays, que l'on désigne parfois sous le nom de Daria-pendj (les cinq fleuves), à cause des cinq principaux confluent donnant naissance à l'Amou-Daria, avoisine au nord le Pamir, qui le sépare du Karatéguine; à l'est il confine avec Sarikoul, qui fait partie des Etats de Yakoub Bek; au sud il est séparé du Tchitrar (pays complètement indépendant du Caboul) par les montagnes de Nouk-San, qui sont la prolongation orientale du Hindukusch.

Le Vakhan est administré par un chef spécial, mais la pauvreté des habitants et la stérilité du sol de cette région montagneuse l'ont placée sous la dépendance du Badakchan, dont les Beks s'abstiennent, cependant, de se mêler de ses affaires intérieures. Une fois par an le chef du Vakhan fait parvenir aux Beks du Badakchan une certaine somme d'argent; mais il n'existe aucun rapport direct entre ce pays et l'Afghanistan.

Une route reliant Koundouz avec Sarikoul, Yarkend et Kaschgar traverse le Badakchan et le Vakhan. D'après certains renseignements qui sont en notre possession, cette route est plus longue que la route directe de Peschawer à Yarkend, suivie par Mr. Shaw.

Quant à l'Amou-Daria, ce fleuve sert de ligne de démarcation entre l'Afghanistan et le Boukhara sur une étendue approximative de 300 verstes, depuis l'embouchure de la Kouktcha à l'est, jusqu'au point où les deux rives du fleuve deviennent Boukhares, et notamment jusqu'au passage de Tchouckha-Gouzar, situé vis-à-vis du village Boukhare Khodja-Saleh qui se trouve sur la droite du fleuve.

Enfin, pour ce qui est de la limite nord-ouest de l'Afghanistan, bien qu'il existe des doutes quant au fait de la possession par l'Emir de Caboul des villes d'Aktchou, Sarypoul, Maïmané, Chibirgan et Ankhoï, situées à l'ouest de Balkh, on pourrait prendre en considération que toute cette région est isolée des Etats de Boukhara par un désert peu praticable et même en partie par des sables, et que dès lors, de ce côté, une collision immédiate entre l'Afghanistan et le Boukhara serait moins à craindre.

(Translation.)

(Translated from the Russian.)

IN the strict sense of the word, the possessions of the Ameer Shere Ali Khan only extend eastward as far as the meridian of the point of junction of the river Kouktcha with the Amu-Daria. This line separates Badakshan and Wakhan from the province of Kunduz, which incontestably forms part of the dominions of Shere

Ali Khan. It was annexed to Afghanistan about twenty years ago by Mohammed Afzal Khan, son of Dost Mohammed, who was at that time Governor of Balkh. Afzal Khan, as we learn from an English communication, made a fruitless attempt to seize Badakshan, the consequence of which, however, was that the Meer of Badakshan, in order to secure the safety of his dominions, engaged to pay to Dost Mohammed Khan an annual tribute of two rupees for every house, and to deliver up to him the mines of rubies and lapis-lazuli, situated in his territory. This engagement, however, was not fulfilled; the death of Dost Mahommed Khan suggested to the chiefs of Badakshan, who little wished to become subservient to Cabul, the idea of seeking the protection of Bokhara. But the Ameer Seid Mouzaffar totally declined to interfere in the affairs of Badakshan, not because he looked upon this country as a dependency of Afghanistan, but because at that time he was anxiously watching the progress of our arms in Central Asia and was preparing to march against Kokand.

Djandar Shah, who was then ruler of Badakshan, was an entirely independent Sovereign, and recognized as such by all his neighbours. He had entered into friendly relations with Mohammed Afzul Khan and his son Abdourrahman Khan, to whom he paid no tribute. When Shere Ali Khan, having defeated Abdourrahman Khan, had occupied Cabul and Balkh, and made himself master of all Afghanistan, he sent an Embassy to Djandar Shah, calling upon him to fulfil the engagements which he had formerly contracted. Djandar Shah answered by a refusal. Thereupon Mohammed Shah his nephew, supported by the Afghan troops, overthrew his uncle and made himself master of Faizabad, the capital of Badakshan, whilst his younger brother Mizrab Shah seized Tchäiab, the chief town of the province of Roustakh. The two brothers now pay to the Shere Ali Khan, in recognition of the co-operation which he granted them, an annual tribute of 15,000 rupees (9,000 roubles). With the exception, however, of a very small number of Afghan adventurers, one meets in Badakshan with neither officials nor troops of the Ameer of Cabul, and his people themselves detest the Afghans.

This intelligence, furnished by Abdourrahman Khan, and gathered partly from the lips of envoys of the Serdar of Balkh, who came to Tashkend, is confirmed by the statement of Alif Bek, ex-Governor of Sarikoul (a province of Kashgar bordering on Wakhan), who presented himself at Tashkend in the month of August of the present year. He added that Djandar Shah, the legitimate ruler of Badakshan, who first of all fled to Bokhara, had afterwards returned, by Samarkand and Kokand to Chougnan.

Such a state of things existing in Badakshan clearly shows that Shere Ali Khan could have no pretension to the possession of Badakshan as an inheritance bequeathed to him by Dost Mohammed Khan, and that his authority is not yet established in Badakshan; Mohammed Shah and Mizoul Shah, the actual Rulers of Badakshan, do not consider themselves as Beks of the Ameer of Cabul, and, if they pay him tribute, it is only in the interest of their own security and in order to shelter themselves from the sudden attacks of the brigands of Kunduz. Moreover, they have still to fear their uncle, Djandar Shah. There is nothing to favour the belief that the state of affairs in Badakshan is likely to change soon in favour of Shere Ali Khan, and it is certain that the present state of things in that country is in accordance, or nearly so, with the objects we have in view in Central Asia in common, and after a previous and voluntary understanding, with England. Nor does anything point to the possibility of a collision between Afghanistan and Bokhara on the side of Badakshan: the Emeer Seid Mouzaffar has put forward no pretension to the possession of that country. In the same way Shere Ali Khan, who with difficulty keeps up a show of authority at Badakshan, is not in a position at this moment to exercise any influence over Kouliab and Hissar, the towns of Bokhara which lie nearest to Badakshan. The official recognition by Russia and England of the rights of Shere Ali Khan over this country would at once lead that sovereign to make every effort to establish himself at Faizabad and in the district of Roustakh, and, should he once succeed, a collision between Bokhara and Afghanistan would become inevitable. In support of this view it will suffice to state that the former Bek of Hissar, who in 1870 took refuge in Afghanistan, after his revolt against the Emir Seid Mouzaffar in 1869, has already made attempts to recover his province, with the assistance of the Afgans, to whom he promised the entire subjection to the Ameer of Cabul of the whole of the Province of Hissar and Kouliab. That this plan has not been carried out must be attributed to the fact that the authority of Shere Ali Khan in Badakshan was null, and that the Ameer had no means of aggression at his disposal in that State.

To the east of Badakshan, in the upper basin of the Amu-Daria, lies a country

little known, named Wakhan. This country, sometimes called Daria-pendj (the Five Rivers), on account of the five principal tributaries which give rise to the Amu-Daria, to the north borders on the Pamir Steppe, which separates it from Karatégine; to the east it marches with Sarikoul, which belongs to the States under Yakoub Bek; to the south it is separated from Tchitrar (a country completely independent of Cabul) by the mountains of Nouk-San, the eastern prolongation of the Hindoo-Koosh. Wakhan is administered by a Chief of its own, but the poverty of its inhabitants, and the barrenness of the soil of this mountainous district, have brought it into dependence upon Badakshan, the Beks of which do not, however, meddle with its domestic affairs. Once a year the Chief of Wakhan sends a certain sum of money to the Beks of Badakshan; but there are no direct relations between this country and Afghanistan.

A road passes through Badakshan and Wakhan, connecting Kunduz with Sarikoul, Yarkend, and Kashgar. According to certain information in our possession, this road is longer than the direct road from Peshawur to Yarkend taken by Mr. Shaw.

As to the Amu-Daria, this river serves as a boundary line between Afghanistan and Bokhara for a distance of about 300 versts, from the confluence of the Kouktcha on the east up to the point where both banks belong to Bokhara, and especially as far as the pass of Tchouckha-Gouzar, opposite the Bokharan village Khodja-Saleh, which is on the right bank of the river.

To sum up, as far as regards the north-west boundary of Afghanistan, although there are doubts as to the actual possession by the Ameer of Cabul of the towns of Aktehou, Seripool, Maïmané, Chibirgan, and Andkhoui, lying to the west of Balkh, it may be taken into consideration that all this region is isolated from the States of Bokhara by an almost impassable desert, and in part even by the sands, and that, consequently, on that side there would be less fear of any immediate collision between Afghanistan and Bokhara.

No. 3.

Earl Granville to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 8, 1873.

HAVING received information from your Excellency and from Count Brunnow that Count Schouvalow, a statesman enjoying the full confidence of the Emperor of Russia, had left St. Petersburg for London at the desire of His Imperial Majesty, I had the pleasure of receiving his Excellency on the 8th instant.

He confirmed the fact that it was by the Emperor's desire that he had sought a personal interview with me. It had caused great surprise to His Imperial Majesty to learn from various sources that a certain amount of excitement and susceptibility had been caused in the public mind of this country on account of questions connected with Central Asia.

The Emperor knew of no questions in Central Asia which could affect the good understanding between the two countries. It was true that no agreement has been come to as to some of the details of the arrangement concluded by Lord Clarendon and Prince Gortchakow on the basis of Mr. Forsyth's recommendations as to the boundaries of Afghanistan; but the question ought not to be a cause to ruffle the good relations between the two countries. His Imperial Majesty had agreed to almost everything that we had asked. There remained only the point regarding the provinces of Badakshan and Wakhan. There might be arguments used respectively by the Departments of each Government, but the Emperor was of opinion that such a question should not be a cause of difference between the two countries, and His Imperial Majesty was determined that it should not be so. He was the more inclined to carry out this determination in consequence of His Majesty's belief in the conciliatory policy of Her Majesty's Government.

Count Schouvalow added, on his own part, that he had every reason to believe, if it were desired by Her Majesty's Government, the agreement might be arrived at at a very early period.

With regard to the expedition to Khiva, it was true that it was decided upon for next spring. To give an idea of its character it was sufficient to say that it would consist of four and a-half battalions. Its object was to punish acts of brigandage, to recover fifty Russian prisoners, and to teach the Khan that such conduct on his part

could not be continued with the impunity in which the moderation of Russia had led him to believe. Not only was it far from the intention of the Emperor to take possession of Khiva, but positive orders had been prepared to prevent it, and directions given that the conditions imposed should be such as could not in any way lead to a prolonged occupancy of Khiva.

Count Schouvalow repeated the surprise which the Emperor, entertaining such sentiments, felt at the uneasiness which it was said existed in England on the subject, and he gave me most decided assurance that I might give positive assurances to Parliament on this matter.

With regard to the uneasiness which might exist in England on the subject of Central Asia, I could not deny the fact to Count Schouvalow; the people of this country were decidedly in favour of peace, but a great jealousy existed as to anything which really affected our honour and interest; that they were particularly alive to anything affecting India; that the progress of Russia in Asia had been considerable, and sometimes as it would appear, like England in India and France in Algeria, more so than was desired by the Central Governments; that the Clarendon and Gortchakow arrangement, apparently agreeable to both Governments, had met with great delay as to its final settlement; that it was with the object of coming to a settlement satisfactory to both countries, and in a friendly and conciliatory spirit, that I had addressed to your Excellency the despatch of the 17th October.

The only point of difference which now remained as Count Schouvalow had pointed out, concerned Badakshan and Wakhan. In our opinion, historical facts proved that these countries were under the domination of the Sovereign of Cabul, and we have acknowledged as much in public documents; that, with regard to the expedition to Khiva, Count Schouvalow was aware that Lord Northbrook had given the strongest advice to the Khan to comply with the reasonable demands of the Emperor, and if the expedition were undertaken and carried out with the object and within the limits described by Count Schouvalow, it would meet with no remonstrance from Her Majesty's Government, but it would undoubtedly excite public attention, and make the settlement of the boundary of Afghanistan more important for the object which both Governments had in view, viz., peace in Central Asia, and good relations between the two countries.

As to coming to a decision at an early date, it appeared to me desirable, inasmuch as it would bear a different aspect if arrived at in the spirit with which both Governments were actuated, and not complicated by possible discussions raised in the British Parliament.

I concluded by telling Count Schouvalow that I knew the confidence which was placed in him by the Emperor, and that I felt sure that my colleagues would agree with me in appreciating his visit to England, as a gratifying proof of the eminently conciliatory and friendly spirit with which the Emperor desired to settle without delay the question at issue.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 4.

Earl Granville to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 24, 1873.

HER Majesty's Government have attentively considered the statements and arguments contained in Prince Gortchakow's despatch of the 17th December, and the papers that accompanied it, which were communicated to me by the Russian Ambassador on the 17th December, and to your Excellency by Prince Gortchakow on the 29th of that month.

Her Majesty's Government gladly recognize, in the frank and friendly terms of that despatch, the same spirit of friendliness as that in which, by my despatch of the 17th of October, I desired to convey through your Excellency to the Russian Government the views of that of Her Majesty in regard to the line of boundary claimed by Shere Ali, the Ruler of Cabul, for his possessions of Afghanistan.

Her Majesty's Government see with much satisfaction that, as regards the principal part of that line, the Imperial Government is willing to acquiesce in the claim of Shere Ali, and they rely on the friendly feelings of the Emperor when they lay before him, as I now instruct your Excellency to do, a renewed statement of the grounds on which

they consider that Shere Ali's claim to the remainder of the line of boundary referred to in my despatch of the 17th of October, to be well-founded.

The objections stated in Prince Gortchakow's despatch apply to that part of Shere Ali's claims which would comprise the province of Badakshan with its dependent district of Wakhan within the Afghan State. The Imperial Government contend that the province of Badakshan with its dependency, not having been formally incorporated into the territories of Shere Ali, is not legitimately any portion of the Afghan State.

To this Her Majesty's Government reply that the Ameer of Cabul having attained by conquest the sovereignty over Badakshan, and having received in the most formal manner the submission of the chiefs and people of that province, had the right to impose upon it such a form of Government as he might think best adapted to the position of affairs at the time. In the exercise of this right he appointed a Local Governor, and he consented experimentally to receive a fixed portion of the revenues of the country, instead of taking upon himself its general financial and other administration. But the Ameer expressly reserved to himself the right of reconsidering this arrangement, which was, in the first instance, made only for one year, of at any time subjecting Badakshan to the direct Government of Cabul, and of amalgamating the revenues thereof with the general revenue of the Afghan State. Her Majesty's Government cannot perceive anything in these circumstances calculated to weaken the claims of Shere Ali to the absolute sovereignty of Badakshan. The conquest and submission of the Province were complete; and it cannot reasonably be urged that any experimental form of administration which the Ameer, with the acknowledged right of sovereignty, might think fit to impose on Badakshan, could possibly disconnect the province from the general territories south of the Oxus, the sovereignty of which the Russian Government has without hesitation recognized to be vested in the Ameer of Cabul.

Her Majesty's Government have not failed to notice in portions of the statements of the Russian Government to which I am now replying, that its objection to admitting Badakshan and Wakhan to be under the sovereignty of Shere Ali is rested in part on an expressed apprehension lest their incorporation with the remainder of Afghanistan should tend to disturb the peace of Central Asia, and specifically should operate as an encouragement to the Ameer to extend his possessions at the expense of the neighbouring countries. I alluded, in my despatch of the 17th of October, to the success which had attended the recommendations made to the Ameer by the Indian Government to adopt the policy which had produced the most beneficial results in the establishment of peace in countries where it had long been unknown; and Her Majesty's Government see no reason to suppose that similar results would not follow on the like recommendations. Her Majesty's Government will not fail to impress upon the Ameer in the strongest terms the advantages which are given to him in the recognition by Great Britain and Russia of the boundaries which he claims, and of the consequent obligation upon him to abstain from any aggression on his part, and Her Majesty's Government will continue to exercise their influence in the same direction.

Her Majesty's Government cannot however but feel that, if Badakshan and Wakhan, which they consider the Ameer justly to deem to be part of his territories, be assumed by England or Russia, or by one or either of them, to be wholly independent of his authority, the Ameer might be tempted to assert his claims by arms; that perhaps in that case Bokhara might seek an opportunity of acquiring districts too weak of themselves to resist the Afghan State; and that thus the peace of Central Asia would be disturbed, and occasion given for questions between Great Britain and Russia, which it is on every account so desirable to avoid, and which Her Majesty's Government feel sure would be as distasteful to the Imperial Government as to themselves.

Her Majesty's Government therefore hope that the Imperial Government, weighing these considerations dispassionately, will concur in the recognition which they have made of Shere Ali's rights, as stated in my despatch of October, and by so doing put an end to the wild speculations, so calculated to distract the minds of Asiatic races, that there is some marked disagreement between England and Russia, on which they may build hopes of carrying out their border feuds for purposes of self-aggrandizement.

Her Majesty's Government congratulate themselves on the prospect of a definite settlement as between the two Governments of the question of the boundaries of Afghanistan, the details of which have been so long in discussion.

Your Excellency will read and give a copy of this despatch to Prince Gortchakow.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Prince Gortchakow to Count Brunnow.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Count Brunnow, February 5.)

M. le Comte,

St. Pétersbourg, le $\frac{19}{31}$ Janvier, 1873.

LORD Augustus Loftus m'a communiqué la réponse du Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique à notre dépêche sur l'Asie Centrale, sous la date du 19^e Décembre.

Je joins ci-près une copie de cette pièce.

Nous voyons avec satisfaction que le Cabinet Anglais continue à poursuivre, dans ces parages, le même but que nous, celui d'y assurer la paix et autant que possible la tranquillité.

La divergence de nos vues consistait dans les frontières assignées aux domaines de Shir Ali.

Le Cabinet Anglais y fait entrer le Badakshan et le Vakhan, qui, à nos yeux, jouissaient d'une certaine indépendance. Vu la difficulté de constater, dans toutes ses nuances, la réalité dans ces parages lointains, vu le plus de facilité qu'a le Gouvernement Britannique de recueillir des données précises, et surtout vu le désir de ne point donner à cette question de détail plus d'importance qu'elle ne comporte, nous ne refusons pas d'admettre la ligne de démarcation Anglaise.

Nous sommes d'autant plus portés à cet acte de courtoisie que le Gouvernement Anglais s'engage à user de toute son influence sur Shir Ali pour le maintenir dans une attitude pacifique et insister sur l'abandon de sa part de toute agression ou conquête ultérieure. Cette influence est incontestable. Elle repose non seulement sur l'ascendant matériel et moral de l'Angleterre, mais aussi sur les subsides dont Shir Ali lui a l'obligation. Nous pouvons, dès lors, y voir une garantie réelle pour la conservation de la paix.

Votre Excellence voudra bien faire cette déclaration à M. le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique et lui remettre une copie de cette dépêche.

Lord Granville y verra, nous en sommes convaincus, une nouvelle preuve du prix que notre auguste Maître attache à entretenir et à consolider les meilleures relations avec le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine Victoria.

Recevez, &c.

(Signé) GORTCHAKOW.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte,

St. Petersburg, January $\frac{19}{31}$, 1873.

LORD AUGUSTUS LOFTUS has communicated to me the reply of Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State to our despatch on Central Asia of the 19th of December.

I inclose a copy of this document.

We see with satisfaction that the English Cabinet continues to pursue in those parts the same object as ourselves, that of ensuring to them peace, and, as far as possible, tranquillity.

The divergence which existed in our views was with regard to the frontiers assigned to the dominions of Shere Ali.

The English Cabinet includes within them Badakshan and Wakhan, which, according to our views, enjoyed a certain independence. Considering the difficulty experienced in establishing the facts in all their details in those distant parts, considering the greater facilities which the British Government possesses for collecting precise data, and, above all, considering our wish not to give to this question of detail greater importance than is due to it, we do not refuse to accept the line of boundary laid down by England.

We are the more inclined to this act of courtesy as the English Government engages to use all her influence with Shere Ali, in order to induce him to maintain a peaceful attitude, as well as to insist on his giving up all measures of aggression or further conquest. This influence is indisputable. It is based not only on the material and moral ascendancy of England, but also on the subsidies for which Shere Ali is indebted to her. Such being the case we see in this assurance a real guarantee for the maintenance of peace.

Your Excellency will have the goodness to make this declaration to Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, and to give him a copy of this despatch.

We are convinced that Lord Granville will perceive in it a fresh proof of the value which our august Master attaches to the maintenance and consolidation of the most friendly relations with the Government of Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

Receive, &c. . .
(Signed) GORTCHAKOW.

RUSSIA.

**CORRESPONDENCE with Russia respecting Central
Asia.**

*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by
Command of Her Majesty. 1873.*

LONDON:
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FRANCE. COMMERCIAL. No. 1 (1872).

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

TREATY OF COMMERCE

BETWEEN

GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE

OF

1860.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1872.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

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Correspondence respecting the Treaty of Commerce between
Great Britain and France of 1860.

No. 1.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 14.)

(Extract.)

Paris, June 13, 1871.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship, extracted from the "Journal Officiel" of this day, the authentic Report of a short debate which took place yesterday in the National Assembly, on a Bill brought in by the Minister of Finance for augmenting certain taxes and imposing new ones. The Minister gave a brief summary of the measures he proposed.

Your Lordship will perceive that of 488,000,000 francs (19,520,000*l.*) which it is intended to raise, 244,000,000 francs (9,760,000*l.*), or exactly one-half, are to be derived from Customs duties.

5,000,000 francs (200,000*l.*) are to be raised by a revisal of the postal Tariff for printed matter.

The remainder is to be provided for by augmentations of the stamp and registration duties, and of the "Contributions Indirectes." Under the latter head figures a tax on matches.

After some debate the Bill was referred to the Committee on the Budget.

No. 2.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17.)

My Lord,

Versailles, June 15, 1871.

IN my despatch of the 13th instant I communicated to your Lordship a statement made in the Assembly by the Minister of Finance on bringing in a Bill to increase taxation, and I pointed out that one-half of the 488,000,000 francs (19,520,000*l.*) which he proposed to add by this means to the revenue was to be derived from an augmentation of Customs duties.

I had this afternoon some conversation with M. Jules Favre on the subject.

He observed that, in order to give effect to the proposed changes in the Customs Tariff it would be necessary to enter into negotiations with the Governments with whom France had Commercial Treaties. He should, he said, make overtures respecting this matter to Her Majesty's Government as soon as he should be in a position to do so; but it was necessary that the Minister of Finance and the Committee of the Assembly on the Budget should first come to an understanding on the details of the changes. He did not apprehend that he should have any difficulty in bringing the Governments of Europe to agree to them. The notions which had got abroad that the present French Government desired to return to a system of high protective duties were altogether without foundation. The new duties would be imposed entirely for fiscal purposes; and although the Powers of Europe had not come to the help of France during the war, he did not believe that they would desire, by insisting on a rigid adherence to the Treaty Tariffs, to impede her endeavours to raise, in this hour of extreme need, the amount of revenue which the charges brought upon her by the disasters of the war rendered indispensable to her.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

LYONS.

[No. 3.]

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 17, 1871.

WITH reference to the proposed financial measures of the French Government, I have to state to your Excellency that considerable anxiety is felt in this country in regard to the bearing which those measures may have on British trade under the Treaty of 1860, and also in regard to the course which the French Government contemplate adopting as to the Treaty itself.

Her Majesty's Government have as yet received no communication from the French Government of their intentions on the latter point, although there have been on more than one occasion allusions to it incidentally made to your Excellency; and Her Majesty's Government are not at present disposed to suggest to your Excellency to elicit by any direct inquiry an express declaration on the subject.

But I recommend the matter to your utmost attention, and you will not fail to report to me, without delay, whatever you may learn respecting it, taking care, however, not to commit Her Majesty's Government in any way as to the view they may take, or the course they may adopt in consequence of any communication that may be made by the French Government, having for its object, to introduce any modifications into the commercial relations between the two countries as established by the Treaty of 1860.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 4.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 21.)

(Extract.)

Versailles, June 20, 1871.

IN the course of a conversation which I had with him last night, M. Thiers said that the immediate increase of the Customs revenue would be derived mainly from duties on raw materials, such as silk and wool. This would, he said, render it essential to make a corresponding increase of the duty on foreign goods manufactured from such raw materials; for it would of course be necessary to give to the French manufacturers compensation for the disadvantages to which they would be subjected, by a taxation of the raw material used by them. In order to arrange this he should address himself to the Powers with whom France had Commercial Treaties, and especially to Great Britain. It was not his wish to do away with the principles of the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty; much less had he the least desire to return to a system of prohibitive duties. If indeed Her Majesty's Government preferred abandoning the Treaty altogether, he should be willing to do so; because, in principle, he desired that France should resume complete freedom to regulate her Customs Tariff. His present intention, however, was, he said in conclusion, simply to propose to Her Majesty's Government to agree to a moderate increase of duty on certain specified Articles in the Treaty Tariff.

No. 5.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 24.)

(Extract.)

Versailles, June 22, 1871.

M. THIERS said to me last night that he hoped that the speech respecting the loan which he had made in the Assembly the day before had placed the financial situation of the country in a clear light, and had shown that there was an absolute necessity for increasing the Customs duties. He added that, for his own part, he should be very willing that all Commercial Treaties should be put an end to, in order that France might not be hampered by any engagements with foreign Powers in regulating her commercial system. It was not, however, his intention to propose the abrogation of the Anglo-French Treaty; he should merely ask for a modification of the Treaty Tariff. Such a modification would, he said with some emphasis, be indispensable.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 27.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 26, 1871.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copies of the Bill brought in by the Government for augmenting taxation, and of the "Exposé des Motifs" by which it is accompanied. These documents have appeared in an unofficial newspaper. I have marked the passages relative to the Customs and Navigation dues.

Your Lordship will see that the proposed increase of duties falls in particular upon sugar, coffee, raw materials, and foreign manufactures, while drawbacks on French goods exported form a part of the plan.

The Government proposes, moreover, to levy a tax upon all vessels arriving from abroad, whether French or foreign, and to impose an extra tax on indirect importation by foreign vessels.

With respect to raw textile materials (cotton, wool, silk, linen, &c.) it is stated in the "Exposé des Motifs" that the new duties cannot be levied until negotiations shall enable the Government to impose on foreign manufactures duties equivalent to the new taxes which will fall upon native manufactures.

Export duties are proposed upon wine, butter, eggs, fruit, &c.

The following new taxes, among other, seem likely to affect foreigners:—

Succession duties on foreign securities belonging to the estates of Frenchmen or foreigners domiciled in France.

Tax on fire and marine insurances effected abroad upon property in France.

Increase of rates on postage.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 6.

Extracts from the Bill brought in by the French Government for augmenting Taxation, and from the "Exposé des Motifs" by which it was accompanied.

[The passages relating to Customs and Navigation Dues only are printed.]

Extraits de "l'Exposé des Motifs."

QUELQUE étendue que soient les exigences de la situation actuelle, comme elles ne sont pas de nature à peser sur nos finances d'une manière permanente et normale, il nous a semblé que le meilleur moyen d'y pourvoir était de s'adresser à l'impôt indirect dont la charge pourra être atténuée par de simples modifications de tarifs au fur et à mesure de la diminution de nos besoins. Or, dans cet ordre de produits il n'en est pas de plus élastique, de plus facile à relever, de plus universellement accepté que le revenu des douanes. C'est toujours à cet impôt que les Anglais et les Américains du Nord, ces deux peuples pratiques par excellence, ont réclamé les moyens de pourvoir à des charges exceptionnelles; aujourd'hui encore il rapporte 600 millions à la Grande Bretagne, 750 millions à l'Union Américaine, tandis qu'on l'a réduit en France à 150 millions, y compris même la quote-part provenant du droit de consommation sur les sels de nos marais. Les nécessités du moment, les intérêts compromis de certaines industries nous imposaient le devoir de réviser nos tarifs.

* * * * *

Douanes.

Dans la catégorie des impôts perçus par l'Administration des Douanes, les augmentations de droits ont paru devoir porter principalement sur les sucres, sur les cafés, et sur les matières brutes dites matières premières. On demanderait un complément de ressources aux taxes de sortie et de navigation.

Sucres.—L'impôt des sucres, de 54 francs par 100 kilogrammes avant 1860, ramené alors à 30 francs, reporté à 43 francs en moyenne en 1862, représente environ 70 pour cent de la valeur courante du produit et rapporte à peu près 110 millions. Dans d'autres circonstances, et en raison surtout des intérêts agricoles qui se rattachent à l'industrie sucrière, on aurait pu incliner vers une réduction plutôt que du côté d'une augmentation. Mais nous sommes en face de nécessités trop impérieuses pour qu'elles ne dominent pas de

beaucoup l'inconvénient qu'il pourra y avoir à payer la livre de sucre quelques centimes de plus qu'avant la guerre. L'expérience a, d'ailleurs, révélé un fait bien digne de remarque : le prix du sucre en entrepôt a souvent présenté des fluctuations considérables sans que la consommation ait cessé de suivre sa marche régulière. Le Gouvernement croit donc devoir proposer d'augmenter la taxe actuelle de trois décimes.

Cafés.—De 1816 à 1859 la taxe des cafés était demeurée fixée au taux moyen de 100 francs. Sous l'empire de ce droit la consommation s'était développée sans interruption d'année en année. La dernière période décennale (1850 à 1859) offrait une augmentation de 6 pour cent. En 1860 l'impôt a été réduit de 50 pour cent. Malgré cette diminution considérable, l'accroissement n'a guère dépassé ses proportions antérieures. On a été ainsi amené à penser, au moment de la déclaration de guerre, que l'on pouvait, sans ralentir l'essor de la consommation, revenir au droit de 100 francs. Tel a été l'objet de l'Article 7 de la Loi de Finances du 27 Juillet, 1870. Convient-il aujourd'hui d'aller plus loin ? Sans doute l'impôt actuel est déjà élevé, car les deux sortes de café les plus employés en France, l'Haïti et le Brésil lavé, ne valent en moyenne que 145 et 170 francs. Mais il s'agit d'une denrée dont on use généralement par fort petites quantités, et qui, pour la plus grande part, se consomme dans des établissements publics où le prix de vente, quel que soit le droit, demeure toujours invariable. En présence de nos nécessités financières, une augmentation de 50 francs par quintal métrique semblerait suffisamment justifiée. Elle porterait le droit à 150 francs, et pourrait fournir au budget un appoint considérable.

Matières brutes.—Toutes les matières brutes qui étaient admises en franchise depuis 1860 ont paru devoir être tarifées à 20 pour cent de leur valeur, de manière à augmenter d'environ 100 millions les ressources du Trésor.

On ne voit pas, en effet, pour quel motif ces sortes de produits seraient privilégiés, puisque, matières premières pour le vendeur, ils constituent toujours, vis-à-vis de l'acheteur, des produits achevés. La distinction, à la faveur de laquelle ils ont été jusqu'ici ménagés par la Loi de l'Impôt, repose donc sur des raisons qui n'ont rien de décisif.

Textiles.—Il est surtout peu équitable d'affranchir de la taxe les textiles destinés au vêtement et à l'ameublement, et nous n'hésitons pas à vous proposer de frapper un droit de 20 pour cent sur ces matières, persuadés que le consommateur en supportera la charge avec la plus grande facilité.

Les statistiques révèlent, en effet, que la fabrique du coton en France livre chaque année à la consommation du pays :—

- De 900 millions à 1 milliard de produits ;
- Celle de la laine de 500 à 600 millions ;
- Celle de la soie de 200 à 300 millions ;
- Celle du lin, du jute et du chanvre de 300 à 400 millions.

Soit en tout 2 milliards et demi environ, prix de fabrique, ce qui représente au moins 3 milliards pour les consommateurs en raison des bénéfices prélevés par les intermédiaires.

L'ensemble des droits qu'il s'agit de faire supporter à la consommation du pays n'étant que de 70 millions, leur proportion par rapport au prix de vente n'est que 2½ pour cent.

Ils n'atteindront dès lors que d'une manière imperceptible les contribuables peu aisés, dont la dépense en linge et en vêtements est généralement minime.

En effet, pour une famille d'ouvriers composée de cinq personnes, cette dépense n'est guère que de 50 fr. par an, ce qui ne donne lieu, d'après le tarif proposé, qu'à un impôt total de 1 fr. 25 c., soit par tête un surcroît de charge de 25 c. seulement.

Cet impôt ne serait même que de 19 c. par tête si l'on admettait que, comme en Angleterre, la consommation, en tissus, des personnes appartenant aux classes ouvrières ne dépasse pas 6 schellings, c'est-à-dire, 7 fr. 50 c. par tête et par an.

Les contribuables qui supporteront de beaucoup la plus large part de l'impôt nouveau seront précisément ceux auxquels leurs moyens de fortune permettent de faire ce sacrifice à l'intérêt général ; ce seront les personnes riches habituées au confortable de la vie, et qui, pour les besoins divers de leur ameublement, consomment toutes sortes de tissus, rideaux, tentures, tapis, linge de table, &c.

L'impôt sur les textiles n'est donc pas seulement un impôt équitable en lui-même, c'est encore un impôt particulièrement recommandable par la facilité avec laquelle il se proportionnera plus exactement que tout autre à la fortune des contribuables.

Quant à sa perception, elle devra nécessairement être différée jusqu'à ce que des négociations nous aient permis d'établir sur les produits étrangers des surtaxes équivalentes à la somme des droits nouveaux qui grèveront nos produits manufacturés.

Drawbacks.—Mais comme nous devons éviter attentivement de porter atteinte à nos affaires d'exportation, la tarification des matières brutes exigerait l'adoption de drawbacks à

la sortie. Si une certaine impopularité s'est attachée en France à ce mécanisme, c'est qu'on l'a souvent faussé. En bonne règle le drawback ne doit être que la restitution pure et simple, à la sortie d'un produit, des taxes payées à l'entrée par la matière brute employée à le fabriquer. En fait, on avait greffé sur le drawback une véritable prime, c'est-à-dire, qu'on avait calculé les allocations de manière à faire restituer par le Trésor beaucoup plus qu'il n'avait perçu. Dans de semblables conditions le drawback constituait un abus. Dans son fonctionnement normal il est absolument inattaquable, car il n'est pas rationnel de demander l'impôt des Douanes à une marchandise étrangère qui ne pénètre sur notre territoire que pour en ressortir après avoir alimenté le travail Français. On peut ajouter que le drawback fonctionne déjà aujourd'hui, sous la forme de l'importation temporaire, à l'égard d'un grand nombre de produits.

Droits de Sortie.—En matière de droits de sortie, les pratiques de l'Administration Française ont varié. A l'origine nous interdisions l'exportation ou nous la limitions par des taxes élevées, afin de conserver sur notre marché les objets nécessaires à la consommation. Quand le commerce international eut commencé à se développer, ce fut encore à l'exportation principalement qu'on demanda le revenu des Douanes. Le régime qui prévalait alors découlait d'une idée fort simple. Tout droit de Douane augmente le prix de la marchandise; on en frappait le produit Français destiné à être payé par l'étranger plutôt que le produit exotique acheté par les nationaux. Plus tard on fut conduit à la formule inverse: Comme on voulait, avant tout, favoriser l'exportation on réduisit peu à peu et l'on finit par supprimer complètement les taxes de sortie. N'a-t-on point dépassé le but? Nous inclinons à le croire. L'un des plus fermes défenseurs de la liberté commerciale écrivait lui-même, il y a quelques années:—“Une nation chez laquelle tout abonde devrait, pour tirer parti de sa position, non pas prohiber les produits étrangers, mais mettre un droit de sortie sur les siens, comme fait le Pérou pour le guano.” Evidemment, il ne faudrait pas aller trop loin dans l'application d'une telle doctrine; ce serait aujourd'hui d'autant moins opportun que nous n'avons pas cessé, depuis longtemps, d'insister auprès des Puissances étrangères pour les amener à réduire les droits d'entrée sur nos produits. Mais des taxes modérées, établies sous la pression d'impérieuses exigences budgétaires, peuvent, sans entraver la production ou le commerce de la France, se concilier avec nos précédents.

C'est ainsi que nous vous demandons d'établir à la sortie de légers droits sur un certain nombre de produits; sur les vins, les beurres, les œufs, les fruits, &c. Nous avons la confiance que sans entraver l'exportation, nous obtiendrons, par ce moyen, environ 15 millions de francs.

Droits de Navigation.—Dans la plupart des pays étrangers, la navigation internationale est soumise à des redevances destinées à rembourser les frais que s'imposent les Etats pour la création, l'entretien, ou l'agrandissement des ports. Aux termes de la Loi du 19 Mai, 1866, une exemption absolue existe à cet égard en France. Dans les circonstances difficiles que nous traversons, une franchise aussi complète se justifierait peu. Le Gouvernement propose donc de frapper du droit de 1 fr. par tonneau les navires de tous pavillons, Français ou autres, arrivant de l'étranger, et d'appliquer également une surtaxe modérée à l'importation indirecte par navires étrangers.

En résumé, déduction faite des drawbacks, ces différentes dispositions donneraient comme résultat financier:—

	Francs.
Sur les sucres, une augmentation de	33,000,000
Sur les cafés	20,000,000
Sur les matières brutes	180,000,000
Sur les fabrications étrangères	10,000,000
Sur les droits de sortie	15,000,000
Sur les droits de navigation	5,000,000
Total	263,000,000

Extrait du "Projet de Loi."

Douanes.

Art. 19. Le Tarif des Douanes, à l'importation, est modifié conformément au Tableau A annexé à la présente Loi.

Les droits *ad valorem* inscrits à ce tableau pourront être convertis en taxes spécifiques

correspondantes en vertu d'Arrêtés du Chef du Pouvoir Exécutif, rendus après avis du Comité Consultatif des Arts et Manufactures.

Art. 20. Des drawbacks pourront être accordés à la sortie des produits fabriqués avec les matières atteintes par ces droits. Le taux en sera fixé par des Arrêtés du Chef du Pouvoir Exécutif rendus après avis du Comité Consultatif des Arts et Manufactures. N'auront droit au drawback que les quantités donnant ouverture à une allocation de 50 fr. au moins par expédition.

Art. 21. Les produits étrangers similaires de ceux qui profiteront des drawbacks seront frappés de surtaxes correspondantes à ces drawbacks et déterminées aussi par Arrêtés du Chef du Pouvoir Exécutif.

Art. 22. Les droits actuellement perçus sur les sucres de toute espèce et de toute origine sont augmentés de trois dixièmes.

Les sucres extraits, par les procédés barytiques, des mélasses dites épuisées sont assujettis à un droit de 25 fr. par 100 kilogrammes, décimes compris.

Le droit sur les glucoses à l'état de sirop et à l'état concret est élevé, en principal, à 10 fr. les 100 kilogrammes, décimes compris.

Art. 23. Il sera perçu à l'exportation pour remboursement des frais de port, de surveillance, et de vérification, des taxes calculées conformément au Tableau B annexé à la présente Loi.

Art. 24. Les navires de tous pavillons venant de l'étranger ou des colonies dans un port de France, chargé en totalité ou en partie, acquitteront, pour frais de quai, une taxe calculée à raison de 1 fr. par tonneau de jauge.

Art. 25. Des Arrêtés du Chef du Pouvoir Exécutif détermineront les marchandises auxquelles des surtaxes d'entrepôt ou de pavillon devront être appliqués, ainsi que la quotité de ces surtaxes.

Les dispositions contraires de la Loi du 19 Mai, 1866, sont rapportées.

(Translation.)

Extracts from the "Exposé des Motifs."

HOWEVER imperative the necessities of the present situation may be, as they are not of a nature which would weigh on our finances in a permanent and normal manner, it appeared to us that the best mode of meeting them would be to resort to the indirect duty, the burden of which might be diminished by simple modifications of the Tariffs in proportion to the decrease of our wants.

Moreover, in this class of products nothing is more elastic, nothing easier to augment, or more universally accepted than the Customs Revenue.

It has always been out of this duty that the English and the North Americans (these two most practical people) have found a way of providing for exceptional charges. At the present time it brings in 600 millions to Great Britain, 750 millions to the American Union, whilst it has been reduced to 150 millions in France, including even the amount proceeding from the excise duty on the manufacture of native salt.

The necessities of the time, the interests of certain industries which are at stake, made it our duty to revise the Tariffs.

* * * * *

- Customs

In the category of duties levied by the Administration of Customs, the augmentations of duties appear to weigh principally on sugar, on coffee, and on raw materials, called first materials. Export and navigation duties would supply the rest of the revenue.

Sugar.—The duties on Sugar, of 54 fr. per 100 kilos. prior to 1860, reduced later on to 34 fr., raised to an average of 43 fr. in 1862, represents about 70 per cent. of the current value of the product and brings in about 110 millions. In other circumstances, and moreover, in consideration of the agricultural interests which are connected with the sugar interests, one would have looked rather for a reduction than an augmentation. But we have to face necessities so imperious as to out-balance the inconvenience which would arise from the payment of a few centimes more per pound for sugar than we did before the war. Experience has, moreover, revealed to us a fact well worthy of notice—the price of sugar in bond has frequently fluctuated considerably without creating any disturbance in the regular course of consumption. The Government think it right to propose, therefore, an augmentation of the actual tax by 3 décimes.

Coffee.—From 1816 until 1859 the tax on coffee was permanently fixed at the average

rate of 100 francs. While this duty was in force, the consumption increased year by year without interruption. The last decennial period (1850 to 1859) showed an increase of 6 per cent. In 1860 the duty was reduced to 50 per cent. Notwithstanding this considerable decrease the augmentation never exceeded its former limits. One was also led to suppose, at the moment of the declaration of war, that it would be possible to return to the duty of 100 francs without checking the increase of consumption. Such was the object of Article 7 of the "Loi des Finances" of July 27, 1870.

Is it expedient to proceed further now? Doubtless the actual duty has risen, for the two kinds of coffee most used in France, the Haytian and the Brazilian, have not an average value of more than from 145 to 170 francs.

But the provisions generally used in small quantities must now be considered; provisions which for the greater part are consumed in public establishments where the price, whatever may be the duty, always remains the same.

In the presence of our financial wants, an augmentation, of 50 fr. per metrical quintal would seem sufficiently justified. It would bring the duty to 150 fr., and would add to the budget a considerable sum of money.

Raw Materials.—All raw materials admitted free of duty since 1860 should be subjected to a tariff at 20 per cent. of their value, in order to increase the resources of the exchequer by about 100 millions.

It is not clear, in fact, why these kinds of products should be privileged, since what are raw materials for the vendor are always, as regards the buyer, manufactured goods.

The distinction which the Customs law has made in their favour rests on grounds which do not appear conclusive.

Textiles.—It is, moreover, hardly just to free textiles destined for clothing and furniture from taxation, and we do not hesitate to propose to you to fix a duty of 20 per cent. on these materials, being persuaded that the consumer will easily bear the charge.

The statistics show, in fact, that the fabrication of cotton in France, yields to the country each year—

From 900 millions to 1 milliard of products;

That of wool from 500 to 600 millions;

That of silk from 200 to 300 millions;

That of flax, jute, and hemp, from 300 to 400 millions;

Making in all about 2½ millions price of manufacture, which represents at least 3 milliards for the consumer, allowing for the profits made by the middle men.

The aggregate of the duties to be borne by the consumers being but 70 millions, the proportion they pay in comparison with the retail price is only at the rate of 2½ per cent.

They will thenceforward affect only in an imperceptible manner the needy taxpayers, whose expenditure in linen and clothing is very small.

In fact, for a family of artisans composed of five persons, this expenditure is but 50 fr. a year, which, according to the tariff proposed, makes a duty only of 1 fr. 25 c. in all, that is, a surplus charge of only 25 c. per head.

This duty would not even amount to 19 c. per head supposing that the consumption, as in England, of tissue fabrics by persons belonging to the working classes did not exceed 6s.; that is to say, 7 fr. 50 c. per head per annum.

The taxpayers who will bear the far greater portion of the new tax, are precisely those whose fortunes enable them to make this sacrifice for the general interest: they are those rich persons who are accustomed to a comfortable life, and who, for the requisites of their furniture, use all sorts of tissues, curtains, hangings, carpets, table-linen, &c.

The duty on textiles is not merely an equitable duty in itself, but it is also a duty particularly to be recommended on account of the facility with which it adapts itself more equally than any other to the means of the taxpayers.

With regard to its levying, it must necessarily be delayed until the negotiations enable us to impose additional taxes on foreign products equivalent to the amount of the new duties which will press on our manufacturing products.

Drawbacks.—But since we must carefully avoid striking a blow at our export trade, the taxation on raw materials would necessitate the adoption of drawbacks on exports. If this system has been unpopular in France, it is because it has been so frequently broken through.

The drawback ought properly only to be a pure and simple repayment at the exportation of a product of the duties paid at its importation by the raw material used in its manufacture. In fact, they had affixed a real premium to the drawback, that is to say, they had calculated the allowances in such a manner that the Treasury repaid a much greater sum than it had received. Under such circumstances the drawback was an abuse. In its normal application it is perfectly unassailable, for it is not rational to require a

Customs duty on a foreign product which is only imported into our territory for the purpose of being exported after having contributed to French industry. It may be added that the drawback is in force already at the present time, on provisional importation, with respect to a great quantity of products.

Export Duties.—As regards the export duties, the practice of the French Administration has varied. Originally, we prohibited exportation, or we restricted it by means of high taxes, in order to keep the articles necessary for our consumption in our market. When international commerce had begun to be developed, it was chiefly on exports that the Customs revenue was looked for. The system which was then in use originated from a most simple idea. Every Customs duty increases the price of goods; it fell on French products which would be paid for by the foreigner, rather than on foreign products bought by the native consumer.

Afterwards, the opposite system was adopted, as it was desired, before all, to favour exportation. The export duties were reduced little by little, until they were finally completely abolished. Have we not gone beyond the mark? We are inclined to think we have. One of the strongest supporters of commercial liberty wrote some years ago:—"A nation, which has everything in abundance, in order to take advantage of her position, should not prevent the importation of foreign products, but put an export duty on her own, as Peru does with regard to guano." The application of this doctrine must naturally not be carried too far; it would be the more inopportune at the present moment as we have not ceased for some time past to urge on foreign Powers a reduction of the import duties on our products. But moderate duties imposed under pressure of imperious financial necessities, can, without fettering the productive power or commerce of France, be reconciled with precedent.

Thus, we request you to place a small export duty on a certain number of products: on wines, butter, eggs, fruits, &c. We are confident that, without fettering the exportation, we should obtain, by these means, about 15 millions of francs.

Navigation Dues.—In most foreign countries, international navigation is subject to certain contributions destined to repay the expenses to which the State is put, for the creation, maintenance, or improvement of the ports. By the terms of the Law of the 18th May, 1866, an entire exemption, as regards this, exists in France. Under the difficult circumstances in which we are placed, an immunity so complete as this can scarcely be justified. The Government proposes, therefore, to fix a duty of 1 fr. per ton. on vessels of every flag, French or otherwise, arriving from abroad, and equally to put an additional tax on indirect importations in foreign vessels.

To sum up, drawbacks being deducted, these different arrangements give the following financial result:—

	Francs.
On sugars, an increase of	33,000,000
On coffee	20,000,000
On raw materials	180,000,000
On foreign manufactures	10,000,000
On export duties	15,000,000
On navigation dues	5,000,000
Total	263,000,000

Extract from the Bill.

Customs.

Art. 19. The Customs Tariff, on importations, is modified in conformity with Table A annexed to the present Law.

The duties *ad valorem* inserted in this Table will be convertible into specific corresponding taxes, issued by order of the chief of the Executive Power, with the consent of the Consulting Committee of Arts and Manufactures.

Art. 20. Drawbacks may be granted on the exportation of products made from materials subject to these duties. Their rate will be fixed by orders issuing from the Chief of the Executive Power, with the consent of the Consulting Committee of Arts and Manufactures. Only quantities which pay a duty of 50 fr. at least on re-exportation will have a right to the drawback.

Art 21. Foreign products similar to those which profit by drawbacks will be subjected

to differential duties corresponding to these drawbacks, and fixed in like manner by order of the Chief of the Executive Power.

Art. 22. The duties now levied on sugars of every kind and origin are increased by three-tenths.

Sugars extracted by barytic processes from molasses already used are subjected to a duty of 25 fr. per 100 kilos., décimes included.

The duty on glucous matters in a state of syrup and in a solid state, is raised to 10 fr. the 100 kilos., décimes included.

Art. 23. Taxes calculated in accordance with Table B annexed to the present Law, will be levied on exportation to repay the harbour, warehousing, and attendant expenses.

Art. 24. Ships of all nations coming from abroad or from colonies to a French port, freighted in whole or in part, will pay, as quay dues, a tax calculated at the rate of 1 fr. per ton.

Art. 25. Orders of the Chief of the Executive Power will specify the goods to which "surtaxes d'entrepôt ou de pavillon" will be applied, as well as the amount of these taxes.

The contrary provisions of the Law of 19th May, are revoked.

No. 7.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 29.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 28, 1871.

IN my despatch of the day before yesterday, I transmitted to your Lordship a copy, which had just appeared in an unofficial newspaper, of the scheme for increasing taxation, submitted by the Government to the Committee of the Legislative Assembly.

In addition to the obvious results which the intended increase of import duties and imposition of export duties cannot fail to produce on foreign trade if the scheme be sanctioned by the Assembly, three other proposals contained in it have been pointed out to me as likely to exercise an unfavourable influence on British interests.

In the "Exposé des Motifs" it is stated that no change will be made with regard to coal and iron. It is, nevertheless, proposed to lay a duty of 1 franc per ton upon all ships, French or foreign, coming from abroad. It would seem that this duty would have the effect of giving a considerable advantage over sea-borne coal, not only to native French coal, but to that imported by land from other countries.

In the same document the intention is announced of putting an end to a practice which has prevailed on the French railways, of charging a lower rate of freight on goods passing through France *in transitu* to foreign countries than on goods in general. The practice has, I believe, been adopted, in order to enable the French railways to compete successfully for the transit freight with the railways of Belgium and other neighbouring countries. The cessation of it may be inconvenient and disadvantageous, in the case of British goods sent *in transitu* through France.

Lastly, it has been suggested to me that the benefits which have attended the reduction of the import duties on wine in England will be in some measure neutralized by the proposed imposition in France of an export duty on wine sent abroad.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 8.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, July 1, 1871.

THE Duc de Broglie, who called on me to-day, told me that in the changes about to be made there was no question of protection against free trade; that a largely increased revenue was required for the payment of the expenses of the war, and other absolutely necessary objects; and that the increase of Customs duties is merely for fiscal purposes.

Political economical questions may be, with many others, postponed for a time; that it is impossible to tax raw materials without taxing the finished manufactures; that the increase will turn on textile manufactures, and not on coal and iron.

There are two courses—the French may denounce the Treaty, taking as the time

that which is fixed in the Treaty, which at the time that it expires will set them at liberty; or we may negotiate as to fresh terms at once.

I received the statement *ad referendum* to the Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 9.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received July 3.)

(Extract.)

Versailles, July 1, 1871.

M. JULES FAVRE told me this afternoon that an official person, versed in financial and commercial matters, would probably be sent to London next week to negotiate with Her Majesty's Government on the subject of the alterations which the French Government desired to make in the Customs Tariff settled by the Commercial Treaty.

M. Jules Favre went on to say that it was not the intention of the French Government to propose any departure from the principle of the Treaty, or any considerable modification of its details; on the contrary, he affirmed that all they intended to ask was that they should be enabled to augment some of their Customs duties, in order to procure an addition to the revenue, which was indispensable under present circumstances.

In fact, the French proposal would, M. Jules Favre said, be that the duties on "textiles" should be raised. He did not conceive that Her Majesty's Government would make any difficulty in consenting to a change which would be of material benefit to France, under the present strain upon her finances. He added, that the duties on coal and iron, which were, he believed, the most important to British interests, would not be altered.

I simply answered that, undoubtedly, your Lordship and Her Majesty's Government in general were most sincerely anxious to be of use to France.

No. 10.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received July 5.)

My Lord,

Versailles, July 4, 1871.

M. THIERS told me last night that he had desired the Duc de Broglie to state to your Lordship, as he himself had done to me, the general views of the French Government with regard to the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty. He intended, he said, to send M. Ozenne to London to explain the details of the changes which would be proposed, and as soon as these details were settled he would, if I would allow him, himself undertake the office of communicating with me upon them.

M. Thiers went on to say that these changes would bear mainly, if not entirely, upon the duties on textile matters. An increase of these duties was, he observed, essential to the execution of the measures for augmenting the revenue which were imposed upon France by the disasters of the war. He felt confident that, viewed in this light, the proposals he was about to make could not give rise to any displeasure on the part of Her Majesty's Government. For his own part he was of opinion that the best course would be to allow the Treaty to subsist, and merely to make certain changes in the Tariff prescribed by it. If, however, Her Majesty's Government should prefer any other course, he should be ready to meet their wishes: only it must be remembered that the increase of duties which he contemplated was an absolute necessity for France.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 11.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, July 5, 1871.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 1st instant, I have to request that you will ask the French Government to be so good as to furnish the Government of Her Majesty with a written statement of their proposals with respect to a modification of the Treaty of Commerce.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 12.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received July 8.)

My Lord,

Versailles, July 6, 1871.

THIS afternoon, in obedience to the instruction contained in your Lordship's despatch of yesterday, I informed M. Jules Favre that I was instructed by your Lordship to ask the French Government to be so good as to furnish the Government of Her Majesty with a written statement of their proposals with respect to a modification of the Treaty of Commerce.

M. Jules Favre said that of course a written communication would be proper, and added that M. Ozenne, the Director of the Department of Foreign Trade in the Ministry of Commerce, would be sent to London as soon as the details were settled, and that then the precise alterations which the French Government thought necessary would be laid before Her Majesty's Government.

He went on to say that the progress of the Committee on the Budget made it probable that M. Ozenne might be dispatched in a few days. Some changes would, he observed, probably be made in the scheme originally presented by the Government to the Assembly; and, among other alterations, it would, perhaps, be found advisable to abandon the drawback upon the exportation of silk goods.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 13.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, July 17, 1871.

M. DE BROGLIE called upon me this afternoon at the Foreign Office, and brought with him M. Ozenne, with whom I already had the pleasure of being acquainted.

M. Ozenne stated the necessities of French finance, and made some observations to the effect that whatever taxes were imposed they must have a restrictive effect on trade and commerce; that articles upon which increased Customs duties were to be levied would, in a slight degree only, affect our commerce.

He mentioned the articles upon which no increase was proposed, dwelling upon some. On my observing that the Customs duties were very high, he entered into some explanations as to the advantage the temporary admission of iron was to the British producer.

He then communicated to me a project for the revision of the Commercial Treaty with this country, of which the accompanying Memorandum contains the substance, and in answer to my observations that, as regards the imposition of tonnage duty, its effect would amount to a differential protection to French and to land-borne goods, he defended the imposition of this duty on the ground that it was one which was almost universally levied.

He denied that there would be any differential protection to French vessels in the indirect trade, and denied also any intention on the part of his Government to interfere with the reduced Tariffs on goods carried *in transitu* by French railways. He made no defence of the duties imposed upon the export of wines.

Having heard all that M. Ozenne had to say, I told him that I had at present no

instructions from the Cabinet, and that I declined entering into any politico-economical discussions on the subject; but I requested him to put in writing what he had said, and I promised to bring it before Mr. Gladstone and my colleagues without loss of time.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Inclosure in No. 13.

Projet.

(A.)

IL ne serait apporté aucune modification au régime actuel :—

1. Des fontes, fers, aciers, et de leurs dérivés à quelque degré de fabrication qu'ils soient.
2. Des houilles et cokes.
3. Des bâtiments de mer et des coques de bâtiments de mer en fer.
4. De la verrerie et de la cristallerie (sauf reprise du droit sur le plomb qui entre dans la fabrication des cristaux).
5. Des poteries.
6. Des produits chimiques à base de sel et de la plupart des autres (l'exception ne porterait que sur les produits chimiques dont la matière première devra être frappé d'un droit d'entrée), tels que la céruse, le blanc de zinc, les extraits de bois de teinture, &c.
7. Poisson d'eau douce et de mer frais, secs, salés, ou fumés, à l'exception de la morue.
8. Fromage de pâte dure.
9. Bierre.

(B.)

Conformément aux dispositions de l'Article IX du Traité du 23 Janvier, 1860, la charge résultant de l'impôt sur les matières premières serait reportée sur les produits fabriqués dont la nomenclature suit :—

1. *Industries Textiles.*

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Chanvre, brut et teillé | 10 francs les 100 kilogrammes. |
| Lin, brut et teillé | 15 francs „ „ |
- Ces droits représentent environ 10 pour cent du prix de la matière. Ils seraient reportés sur les fils et les tissus de lin et de chanvre proportionnellement à la surcharge qui résulterait de la perception de cet impôt. (Il n'y aurait pas de "drawback" à la sortie des fils et des tissus.)
- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Coton en laine | 40 francs les 100 kilogrammes. |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|
- Ce droit représente 20 pour cent.
Report comme ci-dessus sur les fils et les tissus de la charge résultant de l'impôt. (Le "drawback" à la sortie des fils et tissus serait égal au droit supplémentaire.)
- Laine en masse.
Le droit n'est pas encore déterminé d'une manière absolue. En tout cas le droit supplémentaire à établir en sus des taux actuelles à l'entrée en France serait proportionnel à la charge résultant de l'impôt.
- | | |
|---|--------------|
| Soies en cocons, grégés, ou moulinées | 5 pour cent. |
|---|--------------|
- Pas de "drawback" à la sortie. Etablissement d'un droit de 2½ à 3 pour cent sur les soieries importées en France.

2. *Industries Secondaires. (Droits à déterminer.)*

- Fleurs artificielles.
- Objets de mode.
- Mercerie de toute sorte.
- Boutons autres que de passementerie.
- Instruments de musique.
- Cire à cacheter.
- Encre à écrire.

(C.)

Rectifications de Tarif conformément aux résultats de l'enquête Parlementaire faite en 1869 et 1870, par le Corps Législatif :—

- Fils de coton, du No. 60 à 100, 3 pour cent.
- „ du No. 101 à la fin de l'échelle actuelle, 5 pour cent.
- Tissus de coton taxés à 10 pour cent, tels que mousseline, tulles, brillantés, &c., 5 pour cent en sus des droits actuels.
- Fils de laine cardée, ramener au No. 5 le point de départ actuellement fixé au No. 10.
- Tissus de laine mélangés de coton, 5 à 8 pour cent d'augmentation.
- Fils de lin et de chanvre, même augmentation que pour les fils de coton.
- Tissus de lin et de chanvre, pour l'application des divers droits, compter le fil de trame comme le fil de chaîne dans l'espace compris dans un carré de 5 millimètres.
- Linge damassé, porter à 15 pour cent le droit qui a été réduit à 10 pour cent par le Traité avec l'Autriche. La Convention du 16 Novembre, 1860, avec l'Angleterre avait admis le droit de 16 pour cent.

(D.)

Droit de Tonnage.—Ce droit, qui existe dans tous les pays d'Europe, même en Angleterre, sauf en France, devait être rétabli sur les navires Français, aussi bien que sur les navires étrangers. Les conditions de la concurrence resteraient les mêmes qu'aujourd'hui au point de vue des relations maritimes.

(E.)

Les surtaxes de pavillon telles qu'elles figurent au projet de Loi présenté par le Ministre des Finances ne sont pas une protection pour le navire Français contre la navigation étrangère, c'est une protection contre les entrepôts. Ainsi le pavillon Anglais peut charger au Brésil des cafés aux mêmes conditions que les navires Français pour les importer en France. Le pavillon Anglais venant des ports Anglais avec des cafés chargés dans les entrepôts de Londres ou de Liverpool ne sera pas dans des conditions plus défavorables que les navires Français venant des mêmes entrepôts. En d'autres termes les navires étrangers et les navires Français seront traités sur le même pied quand ils font les mêmes opérations.

(Translation.)

Project.

(A.)

NO modification will be introduced into the existing Tariff:—

1. For cast-iron, iron, steel, and their derivatives, in whatever state of manufacture they may be.
2. For coals or coke.
3. For vessels and hulks of vessels in iron.
4. For glass or crystal wares (without prejudice to the duty on lead which enters into the fabrication of crystals).
5. For pottery wares.
6. For chemical products derived from salt and most others (except only those of which the raw material is taxed on importation, such as white lead, white of zinc, extracts of dyeing wood, &c.)
7. Freshwater and sea fish, if fresh, dry, salted, or smoked, with the exception of cod.
8. Hard cheese.
9. Beer.

(B.)

In conformity with the provisions of Article IX of the Treaty of January 23, 1860, a corresponding duty to that placed on raw materials will be imposed on manufactured articles:—

1. *Textile Industries.*

Hemp, raw and hackled		10 francs the 100 kilogrammes.
Flax, raw and hackled		15 francs " "

These duties represent about 10 per cent. of the price of the material. They will be levied upon threads and linen and hempen tissue proportionately to the surcharge which will result from the imposition of this tax. (There will be no drawback upon the export of flax and tissues.)

Cotton wool		40 francs the 100 kilogrammes.
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This duty represents 20 per cent.

The equivalent of the amount resulting from the tax to be levied as above upon threads and tissues. (The drawback on the export of threads and tissues will be equal to the supplementary duty.)

Wool in quantities.

The duty has not yet been absolutely fixed. In any case, the supplementary duty to be established over and above the actual rate upon imports into France will be equal to the charge resulting from the tax.

Silks in cocoons, raw, or milled.

No drawback upon export. Establishment of a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 per cent. upon silk goods imported into France.

2. *Secondary Industries. (Duties not fixed.)*

Artificial flowers.
Articles of fashion.
Mercery of every sort.
Buttons other than for haberdashery.
Musical instruments.
Sealing wax.
Writing ink.

(C.)

Tariff rectifications, conformably to the results of the Parliamentary Inquiry made in 1869 and 1870 by the Legislative Body :—

- Cotton threads, from No. 60 to 100, 3 per cent.
- „ from No. 101 to the end of the present scale, 5 per cent.
- Cotton tissues taxed at 10 per cent., such as muslins, tulles, brilliants, &c., 5 per cent. above the actual duties.
- Woollen thread, carded : the point of departure at present fixed at No. 10 to be brought back to No. 5.
- Woollen tissues mixed with cotton, 5 to 8 per cent. of augmentation.
- Flaxen and hempen threads, same augmentation as for cotton threads.
- Flaxen and hempen tissues : for the application of the various duties, the thread in warp to be counted like the thread in weft, within the space included in a square of 5 millimetres.
- Damasked linen : the duty, which had been reduced to 10 per cent by the Treaty with Austria, to be raised to 15 per cent. The Convention of the 16th November, 1860, with England had admitted the duty of 16 per cent.

(D.)

Tonnage Duty.—This duty, which exists in all the countries of Europe, even in England, except in France, will be re-established upon French as well as upon foreign vessels. The conditions of competition will remain the same as at present as regards shipping matters.

(E.)

The differential duties, such as they appear in the project of Law, presented by the Minister of Finance, are not a protection to French shipping against foreign shipping, but a protection against the entrepôts. Thus, the English flag is able to ship at Brazil coffees for importation into France upon the same conditions as French vessels. The English flag, coming from English ports with coffees shipped from the entrepôts of London or Liverpool will not be placed in a less favourable position than French vessels coming from the same entrepôts. In other words, foreign and French vessels will be treated on the same footing when they carry on the same undertakings.

No. 14.

The Duc de Broglie to Earl Granville.—(Received July 19.)

Londres, le 18 Juillet, 1871.

L'AMBASSADEUR de France présente ses compliments empressés à son Excellence M. le Comte Granville, et a l'honneur de lui envoyer ci-joint :—

1. Une rectification à la note relative au Traité de Commerce remise le 17 ;
2. Un relevé des dates d'expiration des divers Traités de Commerce conclus par la France depuis 1860.

(Translation.)

London, July 18, 1871.

THE French Ambassador presents his respectful compliments to his Excellency the Earl Granville, and has the honour to forward to him herewith :—

1. A rectification of the note relative to the Treaty of Commerce transmitted on the 17th.
2. A summary of the dates of expiration of the various Commercial Treaties concluded by France since 1860.

Inclosure 1 in No. 14.

Erratum in the Note left at the Foreign Office by the Duc de Broglie.

Sub littera (A).

Article 4. Cet Article doit être rétabli ainsi que suit :—

“De la verrerie et de la cristallerie (sauf reprise du droit sur le plomb qui entre dans la fabrication des cristaux).”

(Translation.)

Sub littera (A).

Article 4. This Article ought to run as follows:—

“Of glass and crystal ware (without prejudice to the duty on lead which enters into the fabrication of crystals).”

Inclosure 2 in No. 14.

Statement of the Dates of Expiration of Treaties of Commerce concluded by France since 1860.

1. Angleterre	..	..	..	4 Février, 1870
2. Belgique	..	..	..	1 Mai, 1871
3. Italie ..	..	..	..	17 Janvier, 1875
4. Suisse	..	..	..	1 Juillet, 1875
5. Zollverein	..	..	..	1 Juillet, 1875
6. Pays-Bas	..	..	..	1 Juillet, 1875
7. Suède et Norvège	..	..	..	14 Février, 1877
8. Autriche	..	..	..	1 Janvier, 1877
9. Portugal	..	..	..	11 Juillet, 1878
10. Etats Pontificaux	..	..	..	20 Juillet, 1877

(Translation.)

1. England	..	..	..	4th February, 1870.
2. Belgium	..	..	..	1st May, 1870.
3. Italy	..	..	..	17th January, 1875.
4. Switzerland	..	..	..	1st July, 1875.
5. Zollverein	..	..	..	1st July, 1875.
6. Netherlands	..	..	..	1st July, 1875.
7. Sweden and Norway	..	..	..	14th February, 1877.
8. Austria	..	..	..	1st January, 1877.
9. Portugal	..	..	..	11th July, 1878.
10. Pontifical States	..	..	..	20th July, 1877.

No. 15.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received July 22.)

(Extract.)

Paris, July 21, 1871.

M. THIERS having invited me to call upon him yesterday at Versailles, was so good as to explain to me at some length his views and intentions with regard to the Commercial Treaty between France and England.

There was, he said, an absolute necessity for introducing some modifications; but, in his opinion, the Treaty itself should be preserved. To do away with it altogether would, he thought, throw the commercial relations of the two countries back into chaos, and give rise to many embarrassing questions. It would, moreover, excite public opinion on both sides of the Channel, and interfere with the promotion of good-feeling between the French and English peoples.

In considering, therefore, the necessity which the disasters of France had imposed upon her, M. Thiers had endeavoured rather to render the maintenance of the Treaty possible, than to bring it to an end. The Treaty itself provided that the two Contracting Parties might, by common consent, introduce into it such modifications as experience might show to be desirable. He had endeavoured to act in the spirit of this Article. He had considered the interests of both countries, and had confined himself to proposing such changes only as the lapse of time and the progress of events had rendered essential.

There were two points of view from which the question must be regarded—“Protection” and “Revenue.”

As regarded “Protection” it was, he thought, impossible to deny that experience

had shown that the calculations on which some of the duties in the Treaty Tariff were based had been made, or admitted, carelessly by the French negotiators; and had exposed French manufacturers to a competition with which it was impossible they could contend. This had been especially the case with the articles which in France were produced principally at Roubaix, and in England, he believed, at Bradford. It had certainly been one of his objects to restore to French industry such an amount of protection as was essential to its existence; but the increase of duties which he proposed was extremely moderate, and would, indeed, he affirmed, in many instances do no more than bring them in practice to the standard already established by the Treaty. It would simply serve to guard against the frauds which had been perpetrated by various means, and especially by false declarations.

M. Thiers proceeded to state the details of the increase of duties which he proposed. These details have been already submitted to your Lordship by M. Ozenne; and I should despair of being able to repeat M. Thiers's statement so exactly as to give an idea of the grace and lucidity which made these dry and complicated matters, when treated by him, clear and interesting. Having gone through them in his own admirable manner, he said that he would not ask me to commit myself to an opinion, but that he was sure I must perceive that the increase was very moderate, and that the interests of England would not seriously suffer by the changes which he proposed.

M. Thiers went on to say that he had thought it right to let me see that, to a certain extent, protection had entered into his calculations, but, he added, that protection was in truth a very small part of the question. It was the overpowering necessity of providing the means of meeting the enormous charges which the war and its disastrous consequences had thrown upon France that was the real cause of his proposal to modify the Commercial Treaties. He was obliged to have recourse to every feasible means of balancing the revenue and the expenditure.

After making every possible reduction in the expenditure there was still an immense deficit to be provided for, and the means must be sought in all directions, and after having proposed augmentations of the internal imposts, he was obliged to have recourse to Customs duties, and to call upon the foreign Powers with whom France had Commercial Treaties to give him their co-operation.

He had addressed himself to England first, as being the country whose trade was most important, and whose example would have the greatest effect upon other nations. His intention was, of course, that all countries should be placed on a footing of perfect equality; he asked no concessions from England which should not be equally obtained from other Treaty Powers. He would positively assure me that his intention was, that no Power should be placed in a more advantageous position than England.

M. Thiers concluded by asking me whether I thought he might count upon the co-operation of Her Majesty's Government.

I said that I could answer for Her Majesty's Government taking his proposals into consideration immediately, and in the most friendly spirit; but that, of course, I could not give any further opinion until I should receive instructions from your Lordship, after the question had been considered in the Cabinet.

I observed to M. Thiers that France had numerous Treaties of Commerce, some of which, I thought, did not expire for seven or eight years; and I asked him whether he had been in communication with other Powers, and had reason to believe that no one of them would insist upon maintaining the privileges obtained by its Treaty to the extreme limit of time stipulated.

M. Thiers said that he had hitherto made only a general communication to the other Powers of his desire to modify the Tariff—a communication, in short, similar to those he had made to us before dispatching M. Ozenne to London. He had preferred coming first to an understanding with England. He had great confidence in our friendship; England was the nation which had the largest interests at stake, and she was, moreover, a great and entirely independent Power, which could not be suspected of having yielded to pressure. It was not to be supposed that Belgium or Switzerland would reject terms to which England had consented. It was to be remembered, too, that the other Treaties contained a clause similar to the IXth Article of the English Treaty, and that, consequently, France could establish at once Customs duties to counterbalance internal duties. At all events, M. Thiers said he authorized me to state to your Lordship, from him, that he considered himself bound to secure to England all the advantages which should be retained by any Power.

It is to be presumed, therefore, that M. Thiers would be willing to make a formal written stipulation to this effect, if Her Majesty's Government should consent to an arrangement modifying the Treaty.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, July 29, 1871.

THE Duc de Broglie called on me to ask whether Her Majesty's Government wished to keep M. Ozenne, who was anxious to return to the work of his Department, any longer in London. On my saying that I saw no objection to M. Ozenne's departure, his Excellency observed that he was himself against a step which might be interpreted as a rupture, and might tend to encourage us to delay negotiations.

M. Thiers, the Duke continued, was desirous of knowing whether we agreed to negotiate on the principles communicated to us by him, and the first question he would put to M. Ozenne on his return would be to that effect.

I repeated to M. de Broglie that we had no wish for unnecessary delay; that Sir Louis Mallet had been put into communication with M. Ozenne, in the hope of learning the definite proposals of the French Government; that the President of the Board of Trade had summoned Delegates from the different Chambers of Commerce interested in the proposed alterations to obtain information from them, and to ascertain their wishes on the subject.

I explained to his Excellency that one great difficulty as to any curtailment of the time reserved by the Treaty was that individual traders had, on the faith of a formal covenant between the two nations, entered into contracts to deliver articles at fixed periods and prices into France, the anticipated profits of which would be turned into great losses by an unexpected duty or modification of the stipulated duration of the Treaty.

The Delegates now complained that, without a definite proposal on the part of the French Government, they could neither form nor give an opinion, and I reminded his Excellency that we had from the first asked for a definite proposal in writing, but hitherto in vain. No doubt his Excellency had allowed M. Ozenne to give me a Memorandum of his first conversation with me, which Sir Louis Mallet had sought to amplify by further conversations with that gentleman; but the result was still so meagre that we could make but little progress until we were in possession of a definite proposal on the part of his Government.

The Duc de Broglie replied that he had given me all the information which his instructions afforded him, and he, therefore, begged of me to furnish him with questions about anything that had been omitted or did not appear to be clear in M. Ozenne's Memorandum, that he might at once communicate with Paris, and obtain immediate answers from his Government.

I promised to lay this request before the Cabinet, and, having done so since, instructions have been already given to frame such a list of questions.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 17.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received August 2.)

(Extract.)

Versailles, August 1, 1870.

M. THIERS told me last night that he was anxiously awaiting your Lordship's answer to his overtures for a modification of the Commercial Treaty. He had, he said, left to England the choice either of allowing the Treaty to expire altogether or of making in it some changes of a very moderate character and preserving all the rest. The IXth Article of the Treaty enabled either of the Contracting Parties to impose Customs duties to counter-balance internal duties imposed on similar articles produced at home. This principle, laid down by the Treaty itself, provided for many cases; and all that could be necessary in the application of it would be to settle the details, so that the import duties might be in exact proportion to the internal duties. All, in fact, that was asked of England was to consent to a very moderate augmentation of the duties on some textile fabrics, and, in return for this all the rest of the Treaty was to be allowed to remain in force.

I said that it appeared to me that Her Majesty's Government had acted with as much promptitude as was possible. They could not, of course, assent off-hand to proposals of this nature without carefully examining the details and ascertaining the effect that the adoption of them might have on British interests in general, and on contracts already entered into by British merchants. Her Majesty's Government had, however, immediately

placed Sir Louis Mallet in communication with M. Ozenne, and the President of the Board of Trade had summoned delegates from the Chambers of Commerce, in order to confer with them on the French proposals. The principal cause of delay appeared to arise from the fact that these proposals had not yet been stated in writing in a definite form. I said that M. Thiers had no doubt been made aware of this by M. Ozenne, who had, I believed, returned to France.

M. Thiers answered that the definite statement which was required should be supplied; and he expressed a hope that the consent of Her Majesty's Government would be given to the proposals before the prorogation of the English Parliament.

No. 18.

Earl Granville to the Duc de Broglie.

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Foreign Office, August 5, 1871.*

REFERRING to the conversation which I had the honour of holding with your Excellency on the 28th ultimo on the subject of the modifications which the French Government are desirous of making in the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty, and to your Excellency's request to be made acquainted with any points upon which Her Majesty's Government desired further information, I now beg leave to acquaint your Excellency that, before it will be possible for Her Majesty's Government to come to any decision with regard to the proposals for the revision of the Treaty which are contained in the Memorandum communicated by M. Ozenne, it will be necessary that they should be informed whether the French Government still adhere to the programme of the Memorandum in question, or whether they desire to make any modification in it before proposing it as a basis of negotiations.

2. Are the rectifications of the Tariff in the case of textiles, and which are represented to be in accordance with the results of the "enquête" by the French Chamber in 1869 and 1870, considered as essential features in any revision of the Tariff fixed by the Treaty of 1860?

3. What is the intention of the French Government as regards the taxation of raw materials which are both produced in France, and are also imported from abroad?

4. What is the intention of the French Government with respect to the drawbacks to be accorded to French manufactures made from raw materials which are subjected to new taxation?

Finally. What are the precise rates of the proposed import duties on raw materials?

As it is clear that the course to be adopted by Her Majesty's Government in regard to the proposed modifications must, to a very considerable extent, depend upon the answers returned to the foregoing questions. I should be glad if your Excellency would procure for Her Majesty's Government as full information as possible upon the points above adverted to.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 19.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, August 5, 1871.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 29th ultimo, I inclose, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a letter which I have addressed to the Duc de Broglie on the subject of the modifications which the French Government are desirous of making in the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty.*

I am, &c.,
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 20.

Memorandum communicated to Earl Granville by the Duc de Broglie, August 4, 1871.

*Questions posées par le Gouvernement de
Sa Majesté Britannique.*

Réponses de l'Ambassadeur de France.

1. Les rectifications de tarif applicables aux textiles, lesquelles sont présentées comme conséquence de l'enquête à laquelle se sont livrées les Chambres Françaises en 1869 et 1870, sont-elles considérées comme des points essentiels dans le cas où l'on procéderait à une révision des tarifs fixés par les Traités de 1860?

La décision à prendre par le Gouvernement Anglais dépendra, jusqu'à un certain point, de la décision donnée à cette question.

2. Quelle est l'intention du Gouvernement Français à l'égard de la tarification des matières premières qui sont tout à la fois produites dans le pays et importées de l'étranger?

3. Quelles sont les intentions du Gouvernement Français à l'égard des drawbacks qui seront accordés aux produits des manufactures nationales fabriqués avec des matières premières soumises aux droits nouveaux?

4. Finalement, quel est le chiffre des droits qu'on se propose d'établir à l'importation des matières premières?

1. Les rectifications de tarif indiquées, pour les textiles, dans la note remise au Comte Granville le 17 Juillet dernier, font partie des conditions essentielles de l'entente à intervenir entre les deux Gouvernements et de laquelle dépend la prolongation du Traité de 1860.

Alors même que l'enquête faite en 1869 et 1870 n'aurait pas révélé les besoins de certaines industries textiles, les charges nouvelles qui vont résulter pour l'ensemble de la production du pays d'impôts qui ne s'élèveront pas à moins de 600 millions de francs, auraient mis le Gouvernement Français dans l'obligation de réclamer un exhaussement de tarif pour les industries dont il s'agit. Ce relèvement des droits rentrerait dans les modifications prévues par l'Article 21 du Traité du 23 Janvier, 1860.

On se réserve d'ailleurs d'examiner les objections qui pourraient être présentées sur le taux des augmentations de droits demandées pour les textiles.

2. L'impôt à établir ne portera que sur les matières premières importées de l'étranger. Il n'est, comme on vient de le dire, que la compensation des charges ajoutées par l'établissement des impôts nouveaux, à celles dont la production nationale est déjà grevée.

3. L'intention du Gouvernement Français, comme l'indique la note remise au Comte Granville, est de ne pas accorder de drawback à la sortie des tissus de soie, de lin, ou de chanvre. En tout cas les drawbacks, quand ils seront établis, ne pourront dépasser la quotité des droits compensateurs qui seraient fixés.

Le Gouvernement Français se réserve toutefois de recourir, s'il le trouve préférable, au régime de l'admission temporaire, telle qu'elle est réglée par l'Article 5 de la Loi du 5 Juillet, 1836.

4. 20 pour cent de la valeur pour les matières premières nécessaires à la fabrication des textiles;

10 pour cent sur les matières tinctoriales, sur certains métaux secondaires (cuivre, plomb, &c.), et sur quelques produits chimiques à l'exception des dérivés du sel.

(Translation.)

*Questions put by the Government of Her
Britannic Majesty.**Answers of the French Ambassador.*

1. Are the rectifications of the Tariff in the case of textiles, which are represented to be in accordance with the results of the "enquête" by the French Chamber in 1869 and 1870, considered as essential features in any revision of the Tariff fixed by the Treaty of 1860?

The course to be adopted by the English Government will depend, up to a certain point, on the answer given to this question.

2. What is the intention of the French Government as regards the taxation of raw materials which are both produced in France and are also imported from abroad?

3. What is the intention of the French Government with respect to the drawbacks to be accorded to French manufactures made from raw materials which are subjected to new taxation?

4. Finally, what are the precise rates of the proposed import duties on raw materials?

1. The rectifications of the Tariff indicated, in the case of textiles, in the note transmitted to Earl Granville on the 17th of July last, form part of the conditions essential to the understanding to be arrived at between the two Governments, and on which depends the prolongation of the Treaty of 1860.

Even if the inquiry made in 1869 and 1870 had not disclosed the wants of certain textile industries, the new burdens which will result to the entire amount of our native produce from imposts, which will not reach less than 600 millions of francs, would have placed the French Government under the necessity of demanding an increase of tariff for the industries in question. This augmentation of duties would come under the modifications provided for by the Treaty of January 23, 1860.

The right, moreover, is reserved for examining the objections which might be raised to the scale of increased duties demanded for textiles.

2. The duty to be established will only affect raw materials imported from abroad. It is only, as has just been said, a compensation for burthens added by the establishment of new duties to those with which native produce is already weighted.

3. The intention of the French Government, as pointed out by the note to Lord Granville, is not to grant any drawback on the exportation of tissues of silk, flax, or hemp. In any case the drawbacks, when they are established, will not exceed the amount of the compensatory duties which will be fixed.

The French Government reserves to itself, however, the right of returning, if it finds it preferable, to the system of temporary admission, such as is fixed by Article 5 of the Law of July 5, 1836.

4. Twenty per cent. *ad valorem* for raw materials necessary to the fabrication of textiles; 10 per cent. on dyeing materials, on certain secondary metals (copper, lead, &c.), and on certain chemical products, with the exception of the derivatives of salt.

No. 21.

Earl Granville to the Duc de Broglie.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Foreign Office, August 5, 1871.

I HAVE laid before the Cabinet the papers which your Excellency sent to me last night,* having reference to the modifications which the French Government are desirous of

* No. 20.

introducing into the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty; and I now beg leave to acquaint your Excellency that while Her Majesty's Government thank your Excellency for these successive memoranda which you have been good enough to communicate to me, the latter do not constitute as complete and definite a proposal, as a draft version of the Treaty of 1860, altered as is proposed by the French Government, would have done.

I have already made known to your Excellency one great difficulty which presents itself in dealing with any modifications of the existing Treaty in the sense required by the French Government, viz., that of providing for the interests of individuals who have entered into contracts or made their arrangements for future deliveries of goods, unless the French Government would be prepared to compensate them on some just and reasonable principle.

Her Majesty's Government, for reasons with which I need not at present trouble your Excellency, are desirous to avoid negotiating as to details of tariffs, but would prefer to resume an unfettered liberty to deal with all articles of foreign commerce, as fiscal interests or policy may require. They would be glad, however, to assist the French Government in regard to the question of the duration of the Treaty, so far as any changes, interposed with a view to fiscal purposes are concerned, provided the difficulty to which I have above alluded as affecting contracts for future deliveries, could be overcome, in which case they would consent to some shortening of the period of notice specified in the existing Treaty, relying, of course, on the French Government consenting to prolong the most-favoured-nation clause.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 22.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received August 9.)

(Extract.)

Versailles, August 7, 1871.

M. DE REMUSAT expressed to me this afternoon a strong desire to obtain very speedily the consent of Her Majesty's Government to the proposals which had been made to them respecting the modification of the Commercial Treaty. He observed that answers would be given immediately to the questions put by the British authorities respecting the details of the proposed changes, and that he hoped that the proposals would be viewed in England in their true light, as based upon fiscal necessities, and not upon protection.

I assured him that Her Majesty's Government had every possible desire to be useful and agreeable to the Government of France, but I remarked that of course in a matter of so much importance it was necessary to ascertain carefully what would be the real operation of the proposed changes, and in what manner they would affect contracts already entered into.

No. 23.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received August 12.)

(Extract.)

Paris, August 11, 1871.

M. THIERS having written to ask me to come and see him in order that he might speak to me on the subject of the Commercial Treaty, I waited upon him last night at Versailles.

His language respecting England and Her Majesty's Government was very courteous and friendly in form, but the substance of the communication which he made to me appears to be—

That England must choose between agreeing to the proposed modification of the Tariff and the unconditional denunciation of the whole Treaty;

That although, if England agree to the modification, every security will be given against her being thereby placed in a less advantageous position than any other Power, still, if the Treaty be denounced, she must not expect that, after it has expired, she will either in principle or in practice be placed upon the footing of the most-favoured nation;

That during the interval between the denunciation and the expiration of the Treaty, the increased duties could and would be levied in virtue of the IXth Article;

Finally, that it is essential that the answer of Her Majesty's Government be given without delay.

M. Thiers began by telling me that the negotiation in London had taken a turn which he had been far from expecting, but that he did not regard the question as definitively settled. He would certainly (he said) be justified in putting an end to the communications, and denouncing the Treaty at once. But this was not what he wished. He had endeavoured throughout to show the utmost consideration to England, and he desired to do so still. He had from the first stated that the choice lay between the abandonment of the Treaty and the adoption of the small modifications of the Tariff which he had proposed.

He then entered at some length into the details of the proposed augmentation of duties, with a view to showing that, in arranging it, regard had been shown for British interests and that it was in fact extremely moderate. He maintained, that the result of the Parliamentary Inquiry of last year would have been that, if the Imperial Government had been maintained, England would have been called upon to consent to an increase of duties at least as large as that which was now suggested.

The Treaty had, M. Thiers went on to say, been always regarded by his present colleagues and himself, as disadvantageous, not to say, disastrous, to France. They had, nevertheless, abstained from promoting a violent reaction against it. They objected in principle to rushing into extreme opposition to the state of things which had remained in existence after the fall of the Empire. They had, therefore, confined their modification of the Treaty Tariff to a few moderate changes which their fiscal necessities, and the state of the French manufacturing interest, rendered indispensable. They had not touched coal or iron, which were articles of the greatest importance to England; they had in fact only asked for a very moderate increase of the duties on textile fabrics. They had hoped that by so doing they should have conciliated the friendly feelings of England, and obtained from her a ready acquiescence in their proposals.

M. Thiers did not admit that a consent to the increase he proposed could fairly be considered by Her Majesty's Government as a retrograde step and a departure from the principles of free trade. In his opinion the really retrograde policy would be to reject the small modification which was proposed, and thus throw over the principle of the Treaty and the numerous liberal commercial arrangements which would remain.

It remained therefore, he said, for Her Majesty's Government to decide whether they would agree to the changes he had proposed to them, or would give up altogether the benefits which England derived from the Treaty. For his own part he should prefer getting rid of the Treaty altogether, for he conceived that, commercially, it had been advantageous to England and injurious to France. Still he was willing to preserve it as a bond of union between the two countries. If, however, it was to be abolished, he must secure to France perfect freedom to regulate her Tariff as suited her own interests. It would be utterly unreasonable for England to expect that the most-favoured-nation Article could be retained, if the rest of the Treaty were abrogated. He should always act in a friendly spirit towards England in settling the Tariff; but he could not forget that England was a much more formidable competitor in commerce than any other nation. Concessions which might safely be made to other countries might very reasonably be withheld from her. For instance, it would be certainly for the interest of France that she should furnish herself with Colonial articles brought direct to her own ports rather than resort, as at present, to the depôts of such goods in Great Britain. This was a case peculiar to England. Nothing could be farther from his intention than to be influenced by any spirit of retaliation. On the contrary, he should use his best endeavours to promote commerce and friendly intercourse between the two countries. Nor, if the Treaty were denounced, should he be on that account less friendly to England in political matters. He should none the less adhere to the principle on which he was now acting. He conceived that, while each country preserved complete freedom of action, a cordial and intimate understanding between them was beneficial to themselves and to mankind.

It was, however, evident that, in making his financial and commercial arrangements, the interest and necessities of France must be paramount. If, therefore, the modifications of the Tariff, which he deemed essential, were not agreed to by Her Majesty's Government, he must denounce the Treaty, and with it the most-favoured-nation clause; and in the meantime must make use of the power conferred by the IXth Article which would, he conceived, fully justify him in raising any amount of Customs duties as an equivalent for internal taxes.

In conclusion, M. Thiers said that he was unwilling to press Her Majesty's Government in any unbecoming manner, but that it was very important that their answer should be given immediately, in order that the French Government might complete arrangements which were of urgent importance, and might indeed in case of need proceed to denounce the

Treaty. He begged me to report what he had said to your Lordship, and renewed the assurances of his desire to treat the matter in the most friendly spirit.

There was very much of what fell from M. Thiers in which it was of course impossible for me to acquiesce, but I have purposely avoided lengthening this despatch by recording my own part of the conversation. The language of M. Thiers indicates sufficiently the nature of the observations I made.

I promised M. Thiers to make as faithful a report as my memory would allow of the views he had expressed, though I did not conceal from him that it would in some respects be a painful task; and I suggested that he should also direct his own representatives in London to communicate his sentiments fully and accurately to your Lordship.

M. Thiers said that M. Ozenne would return to London on Monday next (the 14th instant), with full instructions.

No. 24.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, August 15, 1871.

M. DE GAVARD called on me to-day with M. Ozenne and requested the latter to explain to me M. Thiers' views respecting the answer which Her Majesty's Government had sent to his proposal for modifying the Commercial Treaty.

I declined discussing this proposal until I had laid it before my colleagues; and for this purpose I requested M. Gavard and M. Ozenne to put in writing that which they had said.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 25.

M. Gavard to Earl Granville.—(Received August 15.)

M. le Comte,

Le 15 Août, 1871.

VOICI une note qui résume exactement, je le crois, les explications que M. Ozenne a eu l'honneur de vous donner aujourd'hui.

Dans le cas où le Cabinet jugerait utile de donner suite à cet entretien, je suis autorisé ainsi que M. Ozenne à continuer l'examen des propositions du Gouvernement Français avec Sir Louis Mallet ou telle autre personne que votre Excellence voudra bien désigner.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) CH. GAVARD.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte,

August 15, 1871.

THE inclosed note sums up precisely, I think, the explanations which M. Ozenne had the honour to give you to-day.

Should the Cabinet think fit to give effect to this interview, I am authorized, with M. Ozenne, to continue the examination of the proposals of the French Government with Sir L. Mallet or any other person whom your Excellency may be pleased to name.

Accept, &c.
(Signed) CH. GAVARD.

Inclosure in No. 25.

Résumé of Conversation between Earl Granville and M. Ozenne.

Londres, le 15 Août, 1871.

LA communication faite le 5 Août courant par M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Britannique répond aux ouvertures faites par l'Ambassadeur de France pour la révision du Traité de Commerce conclu le 23 Janvier, 1860, entre la France et l'Angleterre.

Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique ne considère pas le dernier memorandum

comme constituant une proposition aussi complète et aussi précise que l'eût été une communication du Traité de 1860 modifié dans le sens des propositions du Gouvernement Français.

Entrant dans cette dernière pensée le Gouvernement Français a renvoyé à Londres M. Ozenne avec les instructions nécessaires pour compléter les explications réclamées par le Gouvernement Anglais.

Si le Chef du Pouvoir Exécutif du Gouvernement Français n'avait consulté que ses propres convictions économiques, il n'aurait pas hésité, comme le Gouvernement Anglais semble l'y convier, à dénoncer le Traité de 1860 et à recouvrer ainsi sa liberté d'action.

Mais ses vues se sont portées plus haut, il a craint que la dénonciation du Traité de Commerce n'amènât un refroidissement dans les relations des deux peuples par suite du froissement d'intérêts qui en serait la conséquence. Il a donc fait et il continuera à faire tous ses efforts pour empêcher un résultat aussi regrettable.

Le Traité dénoncé, le Gouvernement Français, tout en cherchant à ne pas placer le commerce Anglais dans une situation relativement désavantageuse, ne saurait concéder, par voie diplomatique, le traitement de la nation la plus favorisée; car ce qu'il aurait enlevé d'une main, il le rendrait de l'autre avec des avantages plus grands de durée et d'allègement de Tarif que ne le comportent le Traité du 23 Janvier, 1860, et les Conventions des 12 Octobre et 16 Novembre qui en dérivent.

La dénonciation du Traité Franco-Anglais amènerait inévitablement la dénonciation du Traité Franco-Belge expiré depuis le 1 Mai dernier. Or, l'Angleterre et la Belgique sont les deux pays avec lesquels la France a les relations commerciales les plus étendues.

Ces deux Traités dénoncés, un point d'appui important manquerait pour résister aux impatiences de ceux qui en France (et ils sont nombreux) préconisent les doctrines protectionnistes.

Le Gouvernement Français persiste à penser que dans les propositions par lui faites au Gouvernement Anglais, il y a les éléments d'une entente équitable entre les deux pays.

Pour satisfaire au désir exprimé par la communication du 5 Août dernier M. Ozenne est autorisé, dans le cas où le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique le jugerait utile, à se mettre en rapport avec Sir L. Mallet et à préparer de concert avec lui, et sur les bases déjà posées, un projet de Traité complet.

Ce mode de procéder permettrait au Gouvernement Anglais d'apprécier dans leur ensemble les avantages qu'on lui offre et les concessions qu'on lui demande, et il y a tout lieu de penser qu'il reconnaîtrait que l'équilibre que les auteurs du Traité de 1860 ont voulu établir entre les forces productives de la France et de l'Angleterre est respecté.

En effet, comme on l'a déjà dit, les charges nouvelles qui doivent peser sur le peuple Français seront annuellement de 600 millions; et qu'on les demande directement aux matières nécessaires à l'industrie ou qu'on les puise à d'autres sources, elles n'en pèseront pas moins sur l'ensemble de la production du pays tout entier.

(Translation.)

London, August 15, 1872.

THE communication made on the 5th instant, by Her Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, replies to the overtures made by the French Ambassador for the revision of the Treaty of Commerce, concluded on the 23rd January, 1860, between France and England.

The Government of Her Britannic Majesty does not consider the last memorandum as forming as complete and as precise a proposal as a communication of the Treaty of 1860, modified in the sense of the proposals of the French Government, would have been. In compliance with the above view the French Government has despatched M. Ozenne to London; with the necessary instructions to complete the explanations asked for by the English Government.

If the Chief of the Executive Power of the French Government had consulted only his own economic convictions, he would not have hesitated, as the English Government seem to invite him to it, to denounce the Treaty and so to recover his freedom of action.

But he took a higher view; he feared that the denunciation of the Treaty would bring on a coolness in the relations of the two nations in consequence of the conflict of interests which would result from it. He has therefore made and will continue to make every effort to avoid so lamentable a result.

Were the Treaty denounced, the French Government, with every endeavour not to place English trade in a relatively disadvantageous position, could not grant, diplomatically, the treatment of the most-favoured nation; for what it had taken with one hand it would

give with the other, with greater advantage in length and in lowness of Tariff than are allowed by the Treaty of January 23, 1860, and the Conventions of October 12 and November 16, resulting therefrom.

The denunciation of the Anglo-French Treaty would inevitably entail the denunciation of the Franco-Belgian Treaty, which expired on the 1st of May last.

Moreover, England and Belgium are the two countries with which France has the most extended commercial relations.

Were these two Treaties denounced, an important stand-point would be lost in resisting the eagerness of those who in France (and they are many) preach Protectionist doctrines.

The French Government continues to think that, in the proposals made by it to the English Government, there are the elements of an equitable understanding between the two countries.

To satisfy the wish expressed in the note of the 5th of August last, M. Ozenne is authorized, should the Government of Her Britannic Majesty think fit, to place himself in communication with Sir L. Mallet, and to prepare, in conjunction with him, and on the bases already laid down, a complete scheme for a Treaty.

This mode of procedure would allow the English Government to estimate in their totality the advantages offered to it and the concession asked of it, and there is every ground for thinking that it would acknowledge that the balance which the authors of the Treaty of 1860 wished to establish between the productive forces of France and of England is respected.

In fact, as has already been said, the new burdens which have to be laid on the French people will amount annually to 600 millions; and whether they are directly levied on materials necessary to industry, or whether they are derived from other sources, they will not the less weigh, for that reason, on the total production of the whole country.

No. 26.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received August 16.)

My Lord,

Paris, August 14, 1871.

M. DE REMUSAT called upon me here yesterday, and spoke to me of your Lordship's letter of the 5th instant to the Duc de Broglie respecting the Commercial Treaty.

He said that he was very much surprised by the view taken by Her Majesty's Government of the French proposals, and the more so as the objections to them stated in your Lordship's letter did not appear to be very important.

In the first place, he thought that the authorities in England had been slow in examining the proposals; and now he hardly understood the object of the observation in your Lordship's letter that the communications of the French Government did not constitute as complete and definite a statement as would have been furnished by a draft version of the Treaty of 1860, specifying the alterations which the French Government desired to make. Surely this was a mere matter of form, and any ordinary Clerk could, in a very short time, reduce the French proposals into the shape of amendments to the Treaty.

I said to M. de Rémusat that I could not admit that there had been any tardiness in England. The proposed modifications were of great importance and affected the interests of individuals as well as commercial interests in general. Some consideration, therefore, was necessary, but Her Majesty's Government had lost no time in putting the French agent, M. Ozenne, in communication with an officer of the Board of Trade, and in consulting Representatives of the Chambers of Commerce. Undoubtedly, some difficulties had arisen from the want of a distinct business-like statement in writing of the French proposals. I had more than five weeks ago asked the French Government to furnish the Government of Her Majesty with such a statement, and I had, I confessed, been at a loss to account for the apparent hesitation of the French negotiators.

M. de Rémusat proceeded to mention the objection founded on the necessity of providing for the interests of individuals who had entered into contracts, or made their arrangements for future deliveries of goods, on the faith of the continuance of the Treaty Tariff. He said that he did not see his way to giving compensation in such cases, but he conceived that the interests in question might be sufficiently cared for by according some reasonable delay, before the new Tariff should come into operation.

These were, M. de Rémusat went on to say, matters of detail which might be arranged; but he was certainly astonished at the apparent desire of Her Majesty's

Government rather to put an end to the whole Treaty, than admit the very moderate changes in the Tariff proposed by France. He himself held free trade principles, and he should see with very great regret the overthrow of the whole system of commercial intercourse between France and England, which had been established by the Treaty. To sweep that system away, would be to give great encouragement to the Protectionist party in France; and might lead to demands from that Party which the Government and the Assembly might be unable to resist. It would surely be wiser to modify a few details, than to throw everything into confusion, and give up the advantages of the remaining parts of the Treaty. It was (M. de Rémusat observed) impossible in human affairs to apply abstract principles absolutely; and certainly he thought that as, in framing the Treaty originally, so now in maintaining it, the practical promotion of the cause of free trade was more important than an uncompromising adherence to scientific maxims.

Your Lordship will observe that M. de Rémusat threw out the idea that some reasonable delay might be granted, in order to provide for the interests of persons who had made contracts on the faith of the Treaty. In the conversation which I had on the 10th instant with M. Thiers, he, on the other hand, summarily disposed of the interests of such persons, by saying that, of course every change in a Tariff must be disadvantageous to some individuals, but that changes essential for the general good must nevertheless be made.

I saw M. Thiers again at Versailles last night. He told me that he had dispatched M. Ozenne to London, with instructions to make your Lordship fully acquainted with the views of the French Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 27.

Earl Granville to M. Gavard.

M. le Chargé d'Affaires,

Foreign Office, August 21, 1871.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that I have communicated to my colleagues your letter of the 15th instant and the Memorandum which accompanied it, on the subject of the revision of the Treaty of Commerce between this country and France; and I beg you will acquaint the French Government with the great satisfaction which the friendly assurances therein contained as to the manner in which they wish to proceed in the matter have afforded to Her Majesty's Government.

M. de Rémusat, in a conversation with Lord Lyons, stated, with reference to the desire of Her Majesty's Government to obtain a definite statement as to the alterations which the French Government seek to make in the Treaty of 1860, that this "was a mere matter of form, and any ordinary clerk could, in a very short time, reduce the French proposals into the shape of amendments to the Treaty."

You are aware that Her Majesty's Government have considered that, without such a statement, they could not rightly understand the scope of the French proposals; and, for obvious reasons, it could only be properly prepared by a French authority. Her Majesty's Government do not wish that unnecessary delay should take place in the discussion of the question; and I trust, therefore, that you will feel yourself authorized in asking M. Ozenne to draft the Treaty, such as is now proposed by the French Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 28.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received August 23.)

(Extract.)

Versailles, August 22, 1871.

M. THIERS said to me last night that he saw with pleasure that the paragraph respecting the Commercial Treaty in the Royal Speech on the prorogation of Parliament admitted the idea of friendly negotiation on the subject.

No. 29.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received August 30.)

My Lord,

Versailles, August 29, 1871.

M. THIERS told me last night that M. Ozenne had returned from London, and that he had been requested there to prepare a draft showing the modifications proposed by the French Government in the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty.

M. Thiers expressed his own belief that the two Governments would be able to come to an understanding on the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 30.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received September 2.)

(Extract.)

Paris, September 1, 1871.

YOUR Lordship is aware that among the proposals for increasing the taxation made by the French Government is one for imposing a general tonnage duty on all ships, French and foreign, and a differential duty on foreign ships engaged in indirect trade with France. It is, in short, proposed to re-establish the "surtaxes de pavillon et d'entrepôt," and to abrogate the Law of the 19th May, 1866.

The Bill for the purpose will probably be very soon brought before the Assembly; and it is not improbable that, although it will meet with some opposition, it may be passed before the Assembly adjourns. The adjournment is expected to take place towards the middle of this month.

Some foreign nations may possibly have Navigation Treaties which would give them a claim to resist the extension of the differential duties to their ships, in virtue either of direct stipulations or of clauses entitling them to the treatment of the most-favoured nation. I venture to ask your Lordship's instructions on the question whether Great Britain has a right to resist the imposition of these duties on her shipping.

No. 31.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received September 6.)

(Extract.)

Paris, September 5, 1871.

ON the Bill on the Mercantile Navy coming up, on the order of the day of the National Assembly yesterday, M. Pouyer-Quertier, the Minister of Finance, requested that it might be postponed until after the House had come to a decision upon the duties on raw materials ("matières premières et matières brutes"). This was agreed to.

The object of the Bill on the "marine marchande" is, as your Lordship knows, to impose a tonnage duty on all vessels, French and foreign, and to impose differential duties on foreign vessels engaged in the indirect trade with France.

No. 32.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received September 9.)

My Lord,

Paris, September 8, 1871.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship, extracted from the "Journal Officiel" of this day, the Report of the Budget Committee to the Assembly on that part of the law for increasing taxation which relates to the mercantile marine.

The Committee reports strongly in favour of re-establishing the "surtaxes de pavillon" and the "surtaxes d'entrepôt," with a view mainly to protecting French-merchant ships against foreign competition. It reports also in favour of tonnage dues on French and foreign merchant-ships alike, and of an increase of the tax on granting the French flag to foreign-built ships.

It proposes to fix the amount of the "surtaxes" by law instead of leaving it to be

regulated by Decrees of the Chief of the Executive Power, as was proposed by the Government.

It states that the Government has yielded on this point.

The amount and details of the new taxes are stated in the *Projet de Loi* with which the Report concludes.

As I had the honour to report to your Lordship in my despatch of the 15th instant, the Assembly, at the request of the Minister of Finance, has deferred the consideration of this Bill on the mercantile navy until it shall have decided the question of the duties on raw materials.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 32.

Extract from the "Journal Officiel" of September 8, 1871.

Rapport fait au nom de la Commission du Budget, chargée d'examiner le Projet de Loi relatif à des Impôts Nouveaux et à des Augmentations d'Impôts (Articles 24 et 25 du Projet de Loi Marine Marchande), par M. Ancel, Membre de l'Assemblée Nationale.

LA nécessité de pourvoir à l'acquittement des charges si considérables que les malheurs du pays ont créées pour nos finances, a imposé au Gouvernement et à votre Commission du Budget le devoir d'étudier les impôts déjà éprouvés, ceux dont la perception est facile. C'est ainsi que l'Assemblée a voté des augmentations de droits sur diverses denrées de consommation, et c'est ainsi qu'elle demandera des recettes nouvelles et importantes à d'autres sources du revenu public.

Aujourd'hui nous venons vous proposer, d'accord avec le Gouvernement, d'imposer à la navigation marchande, en modérant leur quotité, les droits de tonnage et les surtaxes de pavillon qu'elle acquittait avant la Loi du 19 Mai, 1866. Le rétablissement de ces taxes est d'autant plus légitime qu'il apportera, nous l'espérons, à la marine marchande Française un encouragement et une force que sa situation réclame impérieusement.

En effet, la Loi du 19 Mai, 1866, qui détruisait toute protection pour cette grande industrie de la marine marchande, a justifié malheureusement les appréhensions qu'avaient exprimées dans tous les ports de mer et ailleurs les nombreux adversaires du régime nouveau.

Dans l'enquête si étendue, si sérieuse, ouverte l'année dernière, des opinions très-diverses se sont produites sur les moyens de venir en aide à la marine marchande, et de compenser l'inégalité des conditions dans lesquelles elle se trouve vis-à-vis de la plupart des marines étrangères, mais personne n'a nié cette inégalité, cette souffrance, ni la nécessité d'y remédier.

Les uns ont pensé qu'un remaniement complet de nos Règlements maritimes pourrait suffire; que l'on pourrait y ajouter un système de primes moyen dont il a été parlé dans le Congrès des Etats Unis. D'autres, et ce sont de beaucoup les plus nombreux, ont insisté pour le rétablissement des surtaxes de pavillon et d'entrepôt.

Un système de primes appliqué à la navigation tout entière d'un grand pays serait si nouveau, il aurait, avec l'ensemble de notre législation douanière, si peu d'analogie, qu'il faudrait une longue étude et de grandes précautions avant de créer un précédent qui pourrait tenter d'autres industries.

Quant au remaniement des Règlements, il est sans doute utile d'en modifier plusieurs, mais en réalité une telle révision n'apporterait au prix des armements qu'un faible allègement, alors même que l'on voudrait porter atteinte à l'inscription maritime, à cette institution qui vient de prouver encore quels hommes elle sait préparer, quels défenseurs elle donne au pays et aux lois, ailleurs même que sur les flottes.

Restent les surtaxes de pavillon et d'entrepôt qui avant la Loi de 1866 pouvaient compenser partiellement les causes d'infériorité que la nature même des choses crée pour notre marine. Nous disons partiellement, car il faut bien le répéter, ce n'est pas pour les transports directs, c'est-à-dire, pour ceux de pays à pays, que nous entendons assurer une préférence au pavillon Français. Non, les produits Anglais venant directement de l'Angleterre ou de ses colonies, ceux des Etats Unis d'Amérique, ou de tous autres pays, importés directement par les navires Anglais, Américains, par les navires nationaux enfin, sont mis à l'abri de toute surtaxe de pavillon par les Traités de Réciprocité.

Quand, en 1822, le Gouvernement de la Restauration a contracté avec les Etats Unis les Traités qu'on lui a reprochés, il a fait ce qui était inévitable. Les Etats Unis avaient la production du coton, ils ont exigé que leurs navires fussent reçus dans nos ports aux mêmes conditions que les navires Français, sous peine de frapper d'un droit de sortie les cotons destinés pour la France ; il fallait bien alors subir la réciprocité. Le même fait s'est reproduit plus tard, en 1826, avec l'Angleterre, qui possède la houille dont on ne peut se passer.

La nation qui a ainsi chez elle la matière encombrante, c'est-à-dire, le fret, doit rester maîtresse de la navigation.

En France nous n'avons pas un produit de gros volume, un produit recherché partout, comme le charbon, comme le coton peuvent l'être. Nous n'avons que les produits de notre sol, ceux de nos industries, qui ne peuvent pas former ce que l'on appelle un fret de sortie important. Les cotons nous sont apportés presque en totalité par les navires Américains, les produits de l'Angleterre et de ses colonies viennent par des navires Anglais. Souverains du vaste territoire des Indes, les Anglais y ont fait prévaloir leurs modes, leurs usages, et nos cargaisons ne peuvent pas entrer en concurrence avec les leurs.

Nos ressources, comme navigation, sont dans les importations de nos colonies, importations déjà réduites, car depuis la Loi du 3 Juillet, 1861, les colons peuvent envoyer leurs sucres ailleurs qu'en France et par tous pavillons. Elles sont encore dans le commerce que nous avons conservé avec l'Amérique du Sud. Là aussi des Traités de Réciprocité ont été contractés avec le Brésil, le Chili, le Pérou, avec Monte Video, Buenos Ayres ; mais comme ces pays n'ont pas de marine ou en ont une très-inférieure à la nôtre, les transports peuvent nous rester. Nous avons là les avantages maritimes qui naissent de la réciprocité.

Eh bien, c'est précisément à ce dernier refuge de notre navigation que la Loi de 1866 s'est attaquée. Elle a voulu que les pavillons Anglais, Américains, Allemands, tous les pavillons, pussent venir prendre au Brésil, à La Plata, à Saint Domingue, et jusque dans nos colonies, les produits de ces pays pour les apporter en France au même taux, avec le même privilège que s'ils étaient le pavillon Français ou le pavillon national de ces pays ; c'est ce que l'on appelle la navigation indirecte, le tiers pavillon.

Ainsi, au lieu de posséder seuls ces derniers débris de notre commerce maritime, nous les partageons avec l'Amérique, avec l'Angleterre, qui ont des marines bien plus puissantes et mieux organisées que la nôtre, et nous les partageons aussi avec les marines du Nord, avec celles de l'Allemagne et de l'Italie, qui naviguent à meilleur marché que nous. Voilà ce qu'a fait la Loi de 1866, loi qu'aucune des industries Françaises ne réclamait et que le Gouvernement d'alors a imposée. Cette loi n'était applicable, au point de vue général des surtaxes, que trois ans après sa promulgation, c'est-à-dire, au mois de Juin 1869 : mais, d'une part, des Traités Conventionnels supprimaient déjà les taxes de pavillon sur plusieurs articles importants ; de l'autre, l'appréhension des effets de la loi a jeté le découragement ; les constructions des navires se sont arrêtées, la décroissance des armements Français a été rapide, et à mesure que les surtaxes se sont éteintes l'invasion du pavillon étranger dans les transports maritimes a grandi.

Ainsi, avant 1860, nous recevions par navires Français la plus grande partie des produits des Mers des Indes et de la Mer du Sud. Grâce aux Traités nouveaux, nos navires se sont vu préférer successivement les navires étrangers. En 1869, sur un poids total de 221,000,000 kilogrammes, représentant les principales marchandises que l'Inde et l'Océanie nous fournissent, 50,000,000 kilogrammes seulement, c'est-à-dire, le quart environ, sont venus sous notre pavillon. Le reste, 171,000,000 kilogrammes, a été importé sous pavillon étranger, soit directement, soit par la voie des entrepôts. Dans les Mers du Sud, sur un poids total de 116,000,000 kilogrammes, la part de notre marine n'a été que de 43,500,000 kilogrammes, tandis que celle de la marine étrangère s'élevait à 72,500,000 kilogrammes. Des résultats analogues se sont produits, dans les derniers mois de 1869, au Brésil, à La Plata, et dans les pays voisins, aussitôt que la surtaxe de pavillon s'est trouvée supprimée à titre général par la Loi de 1866. Nous n'avions reçu de ces contrées, en 1866, sous pavillon étranger, que 10,600,000 kilogrammes de café, bois, peaux, &c. En 1869, quoique le nouveau régime n'ait daté que du 11 Juin, les importations sous pavillon étranger ont atteint 31,000,000 kilogrammes ; elles ont ainsi immédiatement triplé.

Une autre et irrécusable preuve du déclin de notre marine se trouve dans le chiffre de son effectif. En 1869, le tonnage de nos navires à voiles était inférieur à celui de 1859 (932,000 tonneaux, au lieu de 961,000 tonneaux) ; dans la période décennale précédente, de 1850 à 1859, ce tonnage s'était accru de près de 50 pour cent (674,000 tonneaux en 1850, 961,000 tonneaux en 1859) ; de 1859 à 1869, l'effectif de notre marine à vapeur a

été porté, il est vrai, de 65,000 tonneaux à 143,000 tonneaux ; mais l'augmentation appartient toute entière à la marine subventionnée, qu'il est juste d'écarter, puisqu'elle a des emplois spéciaux, et que pour elle, d'ailleurs, la subvention constitue un avantage bien supérieur à celui qui peut résulter des surtaxes.

Si nous voulons comparer l'effectif des marines d'Angleterre et d'Amérique, avec lesquelles il nous faut partout lutter, nous trouvons qu'en 1867, en regard des 15,602 navires, tant à voiles qu'à vapeur, que possédait la France, et qui formaient un tonnage de 1,048,679 tonneaux, l'Angleterre avait 40,905 navires dont le tonnage total était de 7,232,672 tonneaux.

A la même époque, la marine Américaine s'élevait, malgré les réductions que lui avait infligées la guerre de sécession, à 3,957,515 tonneaux ; la marine Italienne atteignait 815,516 tonneaux ; celle des Pays-Bas, 538,676 tonneaux. A ces concurrences si redoutables viennent s'ajouter celles des ports du Nord, qui fermés pendant quatre mois, envoient leurs navires sur nos côtes, où le bas prix de leurs armements leur permet d'enlever à notre grand cabotage une partie de ses transports.

C'est, Messieurs, pour ressaisir les transports qui échappent à notre grande navigation, et pour arrêter la décroissance visible de nos armements, qui sont la seule école pratique où l'Etat trouve des marins, des matelots pour armer lui-même ses flottes ; c'est dans ce but que le Gouvernement a proposé à l'Assemblée l'Article 25 du Projet de Loi relatif aux impôts nouveaux, qui est ainsi conçu : "Des arrêtés du Chef du Pouvoir Exécutif détermineront les marchandises auxquelles des surtaxes d'entrepôt ou de pavillon devront être appliquées, ainsi que la quotité de ces surtaxes. Les dispositions contraires de la Loi du 19 Mai, 1866, sont rapportées."

Nous avons pensé qu'il n'était pas possible que ces surtaxes fussent fixées autrement que par la Loi. Le Gouvernement s'est rendu à cet avis, et c'est d'accord avec lui que nous vous proposons séparément les dispositions suivantes :—

Les surtaxes de pavillons sont divisées dans le projet en trois catégories, répondant : (1) à la navigation dans les mers d'Europe et dans la Méditerranée ; (2) à la navigation dans l'Atlantique ; (3) à la navigation au delà des Caps Horn et de Bonne Espérance.

Pour la première catégorie, la surtaxe sera de 75 centimes par kilogramme (7 francs 50 centimes par tonneau de fret environ).

Ceux d'entre vous, messieurs, qui habitent dans les ports, le long des côtes qui bordent les trois mers sur lesquelles la France est si heureusement assise, ont pu suivre cette navigation si intéressante qui se nomme le petit et le grand cabotage, ils savent ce qu'elle souffre par la concurrence dominante des chemins de fer ; et au point de vue des relations avec les pays de l'Europe et du bassin de la Méditerranée, elle rencontre la concurrence si redoutée des Norvégiens, des Suédois, des Allemands dans la Manche, et sur l'Océan celle des Italiens et des Grecs dans la Méditerranée. C'est cependant cette navigation qui, dans la Flandre, en Normandie, en Bretagne, dans la Provence, entraîne vers la mer les populations du littoral, au grand profit du pays, et forme une pépinière admirable de marins robustes et dévoués, dans laquelle l'Etat vient puiser le recrutement de ses flottes. Cette faible protection de 75 centimes par 100 kilogrammes sera pour eux un encouragement.

Pour la seconde catégorie de la navigation, celle qui s'étend dans l'Atlantique, la surtaxe serait de 1 franc 50 centimes par 100 kilogrammes (soit 15 francs par tonneau de fret, qui était fixé à 20 francs avant la Loi de 1866). Enfin, pour la troisième catégorie, 2 francs par 100 kilogrammes (soit 20 francs par tonneau de fret, établi à 30 francs avant 1866).

Nous croyons que ces surtaxes, ainsi réduites, seraient pour les armements maritimes Français un encouragement proportionné aux distances, sans qu'il y ait à craindre que les prix des transports s'élève jamais à un taux excessif.

Sans doute des transformations considérables se préparent ; il semble que le navire en fer sera celui de l'avenir, et l'une de ces merveilleuses conquêtes auxquelles la science nous a habitués peut rendre possibles, même par la vapeur, une partie des transports de commerce. Mais les clartés et les perfectionnements de la science appartiennent à tous, et elles ne changeront pas, au point de vue de la marine, les forces relatives des pays qui tous sauront se les approprier.

D'ailleurs, ces transformations nécessiteront des dépenses considérables, et en France les capitaux ne se portent pas volontiers vers la marine.

Pour les surtaxes d'entrepôt, le projet fixe à titre général le chiffre de 3 francs par 100 kilogrammes. L'expérience démontre qu'au-dessous de ce taux ces surtaxes deviennent insuffisantes, les entrepôts de Londres et d'Anvers étant pour ainsi dire voisins de nos grands centres de consommation, et la différence des droits se trouvant en partie annulée par la différence des frais de transport. Quand il s'agit de marchandises d'une grande valeur et d'un faible poids, l'expérience a démontré aussi qu'il faut tenir compte

du premier de ces éléments pour établir les surtaxes, qui pourraient, si on n'avait égard qu'au poids, se trouver annulées par les simples variations des cours.

Aussi proposons-nous de maintenir pour cette classe de marchandises les surtaxes spéciales qui existent aujourd'hui.

Francisation des Navires.

Le rétablissement des taxes maritimes devait conduire à l'examen du droit d'entrée aujourd'hui appliqué aux navires étrangers dont on demande la francisation. Ce droit est purement nominal, 2 francs par tonneau, soit $\frac{1}{3}$ à $\frac{1}{2}$ pour cent de la valeur, selon que les navires sont en bois ou en fer.

Ainsi, nos constructeurs sont sans aucune protection contre la concurrence des constructeurs étrangers. C'est aussi de la Loi du 19 Mai, 1866, que date ce régime. Il se combinait avec la faculté accordée à nos constructeurs par la même loi de faire venir de l'étranger, en franchise de droits, toutes les matières brutes ou fabriquées qu'ils employaient. En fait, il n'y avait pas là un équilibre de conditions : l'importation des navires étrangers s'est développée, tandis que le travail allait se ralentissant et manquait bientôt à nos constructeurs. Déjà, l'année dernière, les plaintes les plus vives s'élevaient dans tous les ports ; aujourd'hui, de Dunkerque à Bayonne nos chantiers sont déserts.

Les dispositions législatives qui ont permis la francisation des navires étrangers sont de date récente. La Loi du 21 Septembre, 1793, réservait aux seuls bâtiments construits en France le droit de porter le pavillon Français. Ce fut un Décret du 17 Octobre, 1855, motivé sur l'insuffisance de notre matériel naval pendant la guerre de Crimée, qui dérogea pour la première fois à la règle, en établissant une taxe de 10 pour cent sur la valeur des navires achetés à l'étranger. En même temps les constructeurs étaient autorisés à recevoir en franchise de droits les matériaux dont ils se servaient. Des réclamations en sens divers s'étant produites, le Décret, dont les effets avaient été limités à trois années, ne fut pas renouvelé ; mais en 1860 et 1861, l'ancienne prohibition qui excluait les navires étrangers fut définitivement levée par les Traités. Suivant leurs stipulations, les bâtiments en bois et ceux en fer étaient imposés à environ 10 pour cent de leur valeur. Ces barrières furent supprimées par la Loi de 1866, qui admet l'entrée moyennant le droit illusoire de 2 francs par tonneau. Ce sont les chiffres des Tarifs Conventionnels de 1860 et 1861 que le Gouvernement a proposé de faire passer dans le Tarif des Douanes pour l'introduction des navires en bois et en fer. Il nous a paru que ces Tarifs compensaient en effet pour les constructeurs Français l'ensemble des charges qui pèsent sur eux, et nous vous proposons de les fixer ainsi :—

Bâtiments grésés et armés à voile, en bois, 40 francs par tonneau de jauge ; en bois et fer, 50 francs par tonneau de jauge ; en fer, 60 francs par tonneau de jauge.

Bâtiments grésés et armés, à vapeur, droits ci-dessus, augmentés du droit afférent à la machine.

Coques de bâtiments de mer, en bois, 30 francs par tonneau de jauge ; en bois et fer, 40 francs par tonneau de jauge ; en fer, 50 francs par tonneau de jauge.

Nous souhaitons vivement que cette protection puisse ranimer l'industrie des constructions navales, qui a toujours tenu une si grande place dans les industries de la France, et à laquelle nos constructeurs, nos ingénieurs, ont su attacher un degré de perfectionnement qui n'a été dépassé dans aucun pays ; puis, on l'a dit avec raison dans le Congrès des États Unis : "Une nation qui se résout à acheter ses vaisseaux au lieu de les construire elle-même, ne tarde pas à cesser de naviguer."

Les propositions relatives au rétablissement de surtaxes de pavillon et à la francisation des navires, n'ont pas été admises à l'unanimité dans la Commission. Une faible minorité les a combattues et a demandé que son opinion fût exprimée dans le rapport.

Nos honorables collègues ont dit que, selon eux, le rétablissement des surtaxes de pavillon et de surtaxes d'entrepôt imposerait des charges au commerce, sans venir en aide à la marine marchande, et que, dans tous les cas, une question aussi complexe qui touche à tant d'intérêts ne devait pas être résolue incidemment ainsi que le Gouvernement l'a demandé, à propos de la Loi du Budget, et qu'elle devait être renvoyé à l'examen d'une Commission Spéciale, qui ne prononcerait qu'après enquête.

Il a été répondu qu'après l'enquête si complète, si prolongée, qui avait eu lieu l'année dernière jusque dans les mois de Juillet et d'Août, l'utilité d'une enquête nouvelle ne se comprendrait pas ; toutes les questions ayant été exposées, toutes les opinions ayant pu se produire, et se trouvant consignées dans les procès-verbaux de l'enquête qui ont été imprimés, publiés, et qui sont à la disposition des députés. Une nouvelle information aurait d'autant moins sa raison d'être que les terribles événements survenus depuis en

France n'ont pu qu'aggraver la situation périlleuse de la marine marchande, tandis que les marines rivales ont pu continuer tranquillement leurs opérations et profiter même des obstacles que l'interruption des affaires créait dans plusieurs de nos ports, aux armements Français.

La question est donc connue, et, comme l'explique ce rapport, le Gouvernement a été conduit à l'introduire parce que les taxes qui peuvent gréver la navigation sont d'une perception facile et éprouvée.

Enfin, Messieurs, une dernière disposition vous est soumise, c'est le droit de tonnage. Ce droit, que la Loi du 18 Octobre, 1793, avait fixé à 15, 20, et 30 centimes par tonneau pour les bâtiments Français, suivant la navigation à laquelle ils étaient employés, et uniformément à 2 francs 50 centimes pour les navires étrangers, a souvent varié en raison des Traités contractés avec les divers pays.

La Loi de 1866 a supprimé ce droit ; il a été maintenu exceptionnellement au Havre, où son produit est employé avec le concours de la Chambre de Commerce aux travaux d'agrandissement du port. Il semble que le produit du droit de tonnage devrait, en effet, être appliqué toujours à l'entretien et à l'amélioration des ports ; telle était la pensée qui l'avait fait créer, et, dans cet ordre d'idées, il est équitable que les navires nationaux eux-mêmes n'en soient pas exempts, puisqu'ils profitent du service rendu par l'Etat, qui est chargé de cet entretien. Au reste, ce droit ne peut être productif qu'à la condition que tous les navires, sans exception, le payeront ; car les Traités de Navigation, concédant, par mesure de réciprocité, le traitement national à presque tous les bâtiments étrangers, la franchise accordée aux navires Français leur profiterait, et le droit serait nul. Dans cette situation, il nous a paru que la taxe devait être modérée afin qu'elle ne fût jamais un obstacle pour la navigation.

Le cabotage en demeurera complètement affranchi.

Le Gouvernement avait proposé le droit uniforme de 1 franc par tonneau pour les autres navigations. Nous l'avons maintenu à ce taux pour les navigations lointaines, pour le long-cours, et nous le réduisons à moitié, soit 50 centimes par tonneau, pour les bâtiments de tous genres naviguant dans les mers d'Europe et dans la Méditerranée. Les règles et les usages appliqués autrefois, soit aux paquebots à vapeur, soit aux navires dont les voyages sont multipliés, seront rétablies afin de charger le moins possible les services de ces navires, pour lesquels toutefois l'exemption ne peut pas être admise. Le mouvement d'entrée dans nos ports, des navires de tout pavillon, s'est élevé, en 1869, à 6,584,293 tonneaux, qui se divisent ainsi :—

							Tonneaux.
Navigation des mers d'Europe et de la Méditerranée	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,130,788
Autre navigation	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,453,505
Total égal	..	..	..	..	..	..	6,584,293

Au taux de 50 centimes et de 1 franc, le droit de tonnage produirait 4,108,895 francs.

Les surtaxes de pavillon et d'entrepôt ajouteraient facilement 6,000,000 ; ce serait ainsi un revenu total approximatif de 10,000,000, sans parler des droits de francisation des navires étrangers que le projet procurerait au Trésor.

Telles sont, Messieurs, les mesures que nous vous proposons d'adopter au point de vue de la navigation marchande. Ces mesures assureront à l'Etat un revenu réel et légitime. Dans la pensée du Gouvernement comme dans la nôtre, elles ne créeront point pour la marine Française une protection exclusive de la concurrence étrangère. Elles rendront à nos constructions navales une part de travail et d'activité, qui profitera dans tous nos ports à de nombreux ouvriers, et nous éviterons ce péril d'être prochainement tributaires des étrangers pour le renouvellement et pour l'entretien de nos navires. Enfin cette grande industrie de la marine marchande, qui porte aux extrémités du monde le renom et la civilisation de la France, continuera d'être aussi l'école pratique de sa marine militaire ; elle assurera ainsi une partie de la force politique et de la grandeur du pays, de celle que nos récents désastres eux-mêmes n'ont pas diminuée. Aucun intérêt commercial Français et sérieux ne sera atteint, nous en avons la conviction. Vous aurez seulement arrêté la décadence fatale dont une législation imprudente a frappé deux des industries vitales du pays.

Projet de Loi.

Article 1. Les marchandises importés par navires étrangers seront passibles de surtaxes de pavillon fixés par 100 kilogrammes comme ci-après :—

Des pays d'Europe et du bassin de la Méditerranée, 75 centimes.

Des pays hors d'Europe, en deçà des Caps Horn et de Bonne Espérance, 1 franc 50 centimes.

Des pays au delà des Caps, 2 francs.

Art. 2. Les marchandises des pays hors d'Europe seront passibles à leur importation des entrepôts d'Europe d'une surtaxe de 3 francs par 100 kilogrammes.

Cette disposition n'est pas applicable aux marchandises que les lois actuellement en vigueur assujettissent à des surcharges plus élevées.

Art. 3. Les dispositions des Articles 1 et 2 sont applicables aux relations de l'Algérie avec la France et avec l'étranger.

Art. 4. Les droits à l'importation des bâtiments de mer sont fixés comme suit :—

Bâtiments grésés et armés à voiles en bois, 40 francs par tonneau de jauge ; en bois et fer, 50 francs par tonneau de jauge ; en fer, 60 francs par tonneau de jauge.

Bâtiments à vapeur, droits ci-dessus, augmentés du droit afférent à la machine.

Coques de bâtiments de mer en bois, 30 francs par tonneau de jauge ; en bois et fer, 40 francs par tonneau de jauge ; en fer, 50 francs par tonneau de jauge.

Ces droits ne seront pas applicables aux navires étrangers dont l'achat antérieur à la promulgation de la présente loi sera justifié par des actes authentiques.

Art. 5. Les navires de tout pavillon, venant de l'étranger ou des colonies et possessions Françaises, chargés en totalité ou en partie, acquitteront, pour frais de quai, une taxe fixée par tonneau de jauge, savoir :—

Pour les provenances des pays d'Europe ou du bassin de la Méditerranée, 50 centimes ;

Pour les arrivages de tous autres pays, 1 franc.

En cas d'escales successives dans plusieurs ports pour le même voyage, le droit ne sera payé qu'à la douane de prime-abord.

Art. 6. Les Articles 1, 3, et 5 de la Loi du 19 Mai, 1866, sont et demeurent rapportés.

(Translation.)

Report made in the name of the Budget Committee, charged with the Examination of the Project of Law relative to new Impôts and Augmentations of Impôts (Articles 24 and 25 of the Project of Law on the Mercantile Marine), by M. Ancel, Member of the National Assembly.

THE necessity of providing for the discharge of the very considerable burdens which the country's misfortunes have created for our finances, has imposed upon the Government and upon your Budget Committee the duty of studying the imposts already in force, which are easy of realization. Thus it happens that the Assembly has voted the augmentation of duties upon various articles of consumption, and that it will ask for new and important returns from other sources of the public Revenue.

In the present instance, we propose to you, with the consent of the Government, to levy upon the merchant navy, with a reduction in their amount, the tonnage duties and differential dues on shipping to which it was subject previously to the Law of the 19th of May, 1866. The re-establishment of these taxes is so much the more legitimate, inasmuch as it will, as we hope, extend to the French merchant navy an encouragement and a force which its situation imperatively requires.

In fact, the Law of the 19th of May, 1866, which destroyed all protection for this great industry of the merchant navy, has unhappily justified the apprehensions which had been expressed in every seaport and elsewhere by the adversaries of the new régime.

During the very extended and serious inquiry which was set on foot last year, very-varied opinions were pronounced as to the means of rendering assistance to the merchant navy, and of rectifying the inequality of the conditions under which it found itself placed in comparison with the majority of foreign navies, but no one has denied this inequality, this disadvantage, nor the necessity for finding a remedy.

Some have thought that a complete rearrangement of our maritime regulations might suffice, with the addition of a system of premiums, of which mention has been made in the Congress of the United States.

Others, and these by far the most numerous, have insisted upon the establishment of the differential duties on shipping and taxes on goods in bond.

A system of premiums applied to the entire navigation of a great country would be so new—it would have so little in common with the general tone of our Customs Legislation, that lengthened investigation and great precautions would be necessary before creating a precedent which might affect other industries.

As regards the rearrangement of the Regulations, it is without doubt desirable to modify several of them, but in reality such a revision would effect only a slight alleviation of the cost of shipments, even if it were wished to strike a blow at the maritime inscription, that institution which has been just proving what sort of men it is capable of turning out, what defenders it gives to the country and to the laws, elsewhere, moreover, than on board the fleets.

There remain the differential duties and the taxes on bonded goods, which, prior to the law of 1866, were able to afford partial compensation for the causes of inferiority which the very nature of things creates for our navy. We say partial, for it must be always borne in mind that it is not for the direct transports—that is to say, from one country to another, that we aim at assuring a preference to the French flag. No, English products, coming directly from England or her colonies, those of the United States of America, or of any other countries, imported direct by English, American—in a word, by native vessels, are shielded from any differential duty by Reciprocity Treaties.

When, in 1822, the Government of the Restoration contracted with the United States the Treaties for which it has been blamed; it did that which was inevitable.

The United States had the production of cotton, and they required that their vessels should be received in our ports upon the same conditions as French vessels, on pain of levying an export duty upon the cottons destined for France; it was therefore necessary to submit to reciprocity. The same fact reproduced itself later, in 1825, in the case of England, who possesses coal, which we cannot do without.

Thus the nation which possesses the lading material, that is to say, the freight necessarily remains mistress of the navigation.

In France we have no product of great bulk in general demand, such as coal or cotton. We have but the products of our soil, of our industries, which cannot form what is called an important export freight. Cottons are brought to us almost entirely in American vessels, the products of England and of its colonies arrive in English vessels. Rulers of the vast territory of India, the English have caused their fashions and customs to prevail there, and our cargoes are unable to enter into competition with their own.

Our resources such as navigation, consist of the importations from our colonies; importations already diminished, as since the Law of the 3rd July, 1861, the colonists are able to send their sugars elsewhere than to France and under all flags. They consist also in the commerce which we have retained with South America. There, also, reciprocity Treaties have been contracted with Brazil, Chili, Peru, with Monte Video and Buenos Ayres; but as these countries either have no navy, or have one much inferior to our own, the transport may remain in our hands. There we possess the maritime advantages which arise from reciprocity.

Now, it is precisely this last refuge of our navigation that the law of 1866 has attacked. It provided that the English, American, German, or any other flags should be enabled to come and gather from Brazil, the River Plata, St. Domingo, and even from our colonies, the productions of these countries and to carry them to France at the same duties, with the same privilege as if they had been the French flag or the native flag of those countries; this is what is termed indirect navigation or intermediate flag ("tiers pavillon").

Thus, instead of retaining exclusive possession of these last shreds of our maritime commerce, we share them with America and England, who possess navies much stronger and better organized than our own, and we also share them with the navies of the north, with those of Germany and Italy which carry at a cheaper rate than ours. This, then, is what the Law of 1866 has done, a Law against which none of the French industries protested and which the Government of the time put into force. This Law was not applicable from the general point of view of the differential duties, until three years after its promulgation, that is to say, until the month of June 1869; but, on the one hand, Conventional Treaties already suppressed the differential dues on several important articles; on the other, the apprehension of the effects of the law caused discouragement: ship-building has been stopped, the decrease of French cargoes has been rapid, and, in proportion as the differential duties have been abolished, the intrusion of foreign flags in the maritime carrying trade has increased.

Moreover, before 1860, we used to receive in French ships the greater part of the products of the Indian and Southern Seas. Thanks to the new Treaties, our vessels have seen themselves successively supplanted by foreign shipping. In 1869, out of a total weight of 221,000,000 kilos., representing the principal merchandizes furnished by India and Oceania, only 50,000,000 kilos., that is to say, about one-fourth, arrived under our flag. The remaining 171,000,000 kilos. have been imported under a foreign flag, either directly or through the bonded warehouses. In the Southern Seas, out of a total weight of 116,000,000 kilos., the share of our shipping has been but 43,500,000 kilos.,

while that of the foreign shipping has risen to 72,500,000 kilos. Similar results were produced, during the last months of 1869, in Brazil, in the River Plata, and in neighbouring countries ever since the differential shipping duty was once for all suppressed by the Law of 1866. We only received from these countries in 1868, under a foreign flag, 10,600,000 kilos. of coffee, wood, skins, &c. In 1869, although the new *régime* only dated from the 11th of June, the importations under a foreign flag had reached 31,000,000 kilos.: that is to say, they had immediately tripled.

Another and an irrefragable proof of the decline of our shipping is to be found in its effective force. In 1869 the tonnage of our sailing vessels was inferior to that of 1859 (932,000 tons instead of 961,000 tons); during the preceding decennial period, from 1850 to 1859, this tonnage had increased by nearly 50 per cent. (674,000 tons in 1850, 961,000 tons in 1859). From 1859 to 1869 the effective of our steam navy, had, it is true, reached from 65,000 tons to 143,000 tons; but the increase appertains entirely to the subventioned shipping which should properly be left out of calculation, inasmuch as it is employed on special services, and, moreover, as the subvention constitutes for it a far superior advantage to that which would result from differential duties.

If we compare the effective of the shipping of England and America, with which we have everywhere to contend, we find that, in 1867, against 15,602 vessels, both sailing and steamers, possessed by France, and which gave a tonnage of 1,048,679 tons, England had 40,905 vessels, the total tonnage of which amounted to 7,232,672 tons.

At the same period, the American shipping had risen, notwithstanding the reductions which the war of secession had inflicted upon it, to 3,957,515 tons; the Italian shipping reached 815,516 tons; that of the Netherlands, 538,676 tons. To these formidable competitors have been recently added those of the northern ports, which, closed during four months, send their vessels to our coasts, where the low cost of their equipments enables them to carry off from our coasting trade a portion of its freights.

It is, Gentlemen, in order to recover the freights which escape our great-carrying trade and to arrest the visible decrease in our equipments, which form the sole practical school to which the State looks for seamen—for men-of-war's men—wherewith to arm its fleets; it is with this object that the Government has proposed to the Assembly Article 25 of the Project of Law relative to the new imposts, which runs thus:—

“The decrees of the Chief of the Executive Power will determine the merchandize to which the warehousing or shipping duties are to apply, as also the amount of these duties. The dispositions to the contrary of the Law of the 19th May, 1866, are repealed.”

We have considered that it would not be possible that these differential duties should be determined otherwise than by law. The Government has come to the same conclusion, and it is with their concurrence that we propose to you the following respective arrangements:—

The differential duties are divided in the project into three categories, answering firstly, to the shipping trade in the European Seas and in the Mediterranean; secondly, to the shipping trade in the Atlantic; thirdly, to the shipping trade beyond Cape Horn and the Cape of Good Hope.

For the first category, the duty will be at the rate of 75 c. per kilo. (about 7 fr. 50 c. per ton of freight).

Those among you, Gentlemen, who reside at the ports along the coasts skirting the three seas on which France is so happily situated, will have been able to follow the course of that very interesting shipping trade known as the small and great coasting trade; they know how it suffers through the dominating competition of the railways; and, with regard to its relations with the countries of Europe and of the basin of the Mediterranean, it undergoes the formidable competition of the Norwegians, Swedes, and Germans in the Channel, and upon the Ocean; that of the Italians and of the Greeks in the Mediterranean. It is nevertheless this trade, which, in Flanders, in Normandy, in Brittany, in Provence, draws towards the Sea the populations of the coast, to the great profit of the country, and forms an admirable nursery for robust and devoted sailors, whence the State draws its supply of recruits for its fleets.

This slight protection of 75 c. per 100 kilos. will prove an encouragement for them.

As regards the second category of the shipping trade, *i.e.*, that which extends to the Atlantic, the differential duty would amount to 1 fr. 50 c. per 100 kilos. (or 15 fr. per ton of freight, which was fixed at 20 fr. previously to the Law of 1866). Lastly, for the third category, 2 fr. per 100 kilos. (or 20 fr. per ton of freight, settled at 30 fr. before 1866).

We believe that these differential duties, thus reduced, would hold out an encouragement to the maritime equipments of France in proportion to the distances, without there being any ground for fearing that the cost of transport would ever rise to an excessive rate.

Without doubt, considerable changes are in preparation; the iron ships would seem to be that of the future, and one of these marvellous achievements to which science has accustomed us, may render possible, even by steam, a part of the traffic of commerce.

The discoveries and improvements, however, of science appertain to all, and they will not alter, with respect to shipping, the relative powers of the countries who all know how to make use of them.

On the other hand, these transformations will necessitate considerable expenses, and in France capital does not easily flow in the direction of shipping.

For the warehousing duties, the Project fixes, once for all the proportion of 3 fr. per 100 kilos. Experience shows that below this amount these duties become unavailing, the bonding warehouses of London and of Antwerp being, so to speak, neighbours of our great centres of consumption, and the difference of the duties finding itself partly annulled by the difference in the cost of transport. When it is a question of merchandize of great value and of small weight, experience has shown that it is necessary to take into consideration the first of these elements in establishing differential duties which might, if only weight were regarded, find themselves annulled by the mere variation of the market.

We therefore propose to maintain for this class of merchandize the special differential duties already in force.

Registration of Vessels.

The re-imposition of taxes on shipping necessarily led to the examination of the present import duty on foreign vessels of which the registration is demanded. This duty is purely nominal, 2 fr. a ton; one-third to one-half per cent., according as the vessels are of wood or iron.

Thus, our builders have no protection against the competition of foreign builders. This *regime* dates also from the Law of May 19, 1866. It was combined with the facility accorded to our builders by the same Law for the importation from abroad, free of duty, of all the materials either in a raw or manufactured state which they used. In fact, there was in that no balance of conditions. The importation of foreign ships has developed itself, whilst building became less brisk and our builders were soon without work. Already, last year, the loudest complaints were made at all the ports; at the present time our workshops from Dunkirk to Bayonne are deserted.

The legislative arrangements which allowed the registration of foreign vessels are of recent date. The Law of September 21, 1793, reserved the right of carrying the French flag to ships built in France only. It was a Decree of October 17, 1855, issued in consequence of the insufficiency of our naval material during the Crimean War, which caused for the first time a departure from the rule, by establishing a tax of 10 per cent on the value of ships purchased abroad. At the same time the builders gained the right of receiving free of duty the materials which they used. Remonstrances of various kinds having been made, the Decree, the action of which had been limited to three years, was not renewed; but in 1860 and 1861 the ancient prohibition excluding foreign ships was definitely removed by the Treaties. According to the stipulations in them, wooden and iron ships were taxed at about 10 per cent of their value. These restrictions were abolished by the law of 1866, which permits their entry in consideration of the illusory duty of 2 fr. a ton. It is the amount of the Conventional Tariffs of 1860 and 1861 which the Government has proposed to introduce into the Customs Tariff for the introduction of vessels of wood and of iron. It has appeared to us that these Tariffs in fact afforded to the French builders a compensation for the aggregate charges which weighed upon them, and we propose to you to fix them as follows:—

Rigged and fitted sailing ships of wood, 40 fr. per ton; of wood and iron, 50 fr. per ton; of iron, 60 fr. per ton.

Steam-ships rigged and fitted, the duties above-mentioned with the addition of the duty imposed on the machinery.

Hulls of seagoing ships of wood 30 fr. a ton; of wood and iron, 40 fr. a ton; of iron, 50 fr. a ton.

We earnestly trust that this protection may restore the industry of ship-building, which has always held such an important place in French industries, and in which our constructors and our engineers have attained a degree of perfection which has been surpassed by no country, and it has been said with reason in the United States' Congress, "a nation which arrives at the determination to purchase its vessels, instead of constructing them, will soon cease to navigate."

The propositions relative to the re-establishment of the differential duties on shipping, and the registration of vessels, have not been unanimously agreed to by the Commission.

A small minority disputed them, and demanded that its opinion should be embodied in the report.

Our honourable colleagues said that, in their opinion, the re-establishment of the differential duties on shipping, and of duties on goods in bond, would impose charges on commerce, without coming to the assistance of the merchant navy, and that, in any case, a question so complex, and touching so many interests, could not be settled without consideration, as the Government demanded, in connection with the Budget Law; but that it should be referred to the examination of a Special Committee, which would only decide upon it after investigation.

It was objected that, after such a thorough and prolonged inquiry as had taken place last year, as late as the months of July and August, the utility of a fresh inquiry was not apparent; all the points having been explained, and all opinions having been stated and entered in the minutes of the investigation, which have been printed and published, and which are at the disposal of the deputies.

There would be less reason for a fresh inquiry, as the terrible events which have taken place since in France, have only aggravated the perilous situation of the merchant navy, while rival navies have been able tranquilly to continue their operations, and even to profit by the obstacles which the interruption of affairs occasioned in several of our ports to the fitting out of French vessels.

The question is therefore known, and, as this report explains, the Government has been led to introduce it as the taxes leviable on navigation are proved to be easy of collection.

In short, Gentlemen, a final arrangement is submitted to you: that is, the tonnage duty. This duty, which the Law of October 18, 1793, had fixed at 15, 20, and 30 c. a ton for French vessels, according to the nature of their employment, and uniformly at 2 fr. 50 c. for foreign vessels, have frequently varied by reason of Treaties concluded with different countries.

The Law of 1866 abolished this duty; it was maintained exceptionally at Havre, where the revenue is employed, with the concurrence of the Chamber of Commerce, in the enlargement of the port. It seems that the revenue of the tonnage duty should, in fact, be applied always to the maintenance and to the improvement of the ports. Such was the idea which had originated it, and, in accordance with this view, it is right that native vessels themselves should not be exempted, since they profit by the service rendered by the State, which is charged with the maintenance in question. Moreover, this duty can be productive only conditionally on its payment by all vessels, without exception; for Navigation Treaties granting, by reciprocity, native treatment to almost all foreign vessels, they would enjoy the immunity accorded to French vessels, and the duty would amount to nothing. Under these circumstances it has appeared to us that the tax shall be lessened, so that it might never prove an obstacle to navigation.

The coasting trade will remain completely untouched by it.

The Government had proposed the uniform duty of 1 fr. a ton for the other classes of navigation. We have maintained it at that figure for distant voyages, for long sea, and we reduce it to one half, that is, 50 c. a ton for all vessels, of all descriptions, navigating in European waters, and in the Mediterranean. The regulations and usages formerly applied, whether to steam-ships, or to ships which go from place to place, will be re-established, so as to tax as little as possible the employment of such vessels; for which, however, exemption cannot be admitted. The amount of entries in our ports, of ships of all flags, rose, in 1869 to 6,584,293 tons, which are thus divided:—

	Tons.
Navigation of European waters and the Mediterranean	5,130,788
Navigation in other seas	1,453,505
Total	6,584,293

At the rate of 50 c. and of 1 fr., the tonnage duty would produce 4,108,895 fr.

The differential duties on shipping and on warehousing would add easily 6,000,000 fr.; it would thus make an approximate total revenue of 10,000,000 fr. without counting the duty for registration of foreign vessels which the project would bring to the Treasury.

Such are, Gentlemen, the measures, the adoption of which as regards the merchant navy, we propose to you. These measures will assure to the State a real and legitimate revenue. In the opinion of the Government, as in our own, they will create for the French merchant navy no protection which will exclude foreign competition. They will restore to our shipbuilding interests such a degree of work and activity, which will be to the advantage of numbers of workpeople in all our ports, and we shall avoid the danger of

becoming before long dependent on foreigners for the repair and maintenance of our vessels.

In short, this great industry of the merchant navy which carries to the ends of the earth the renown and the civilization of France, will continue also to be the practical school of its war navy; it will thus insure a portion of our political influence and the greatness of the country, of that which our recent disasters themselves have not diminished. No serious French commercial interest will be injured, we are convinced. You will have arrested only the fatal decline which an imprudent legislation has allowed to injure two of the vital industries of the country.

Project of Law.

Article 1. Merchandize imported in foreign vessels will be subject to differential duties fixed as follows per 100 kilos.

From European countries and the basin of the Mediterranean, 75 c.

From countries out of Europe on this side of the Capes Horn and of Good Hope, 1 fr. 50 c.

From countries beyond the Capes, 2 fr.

Art 2. Merchandize of countries out of Europe will be subject at their importation from the bonded warehouses of Europe to a surtax of 3 fr. per 100 kilos.

This arrangement is not applicable to goods which existing laws subject to higher surcharges.

Art. 3. The arrangements of Articles 1 and 2 are applicable to the communications of Algeria with France and with foreign countries.

Art. 4. The duties on the importation of seagoing ships are fixed as follows:—

Rigged sailing-ships of wood, 40 fr. a ton; of wood and iron 50 fr. a ton; of iron, 60 fr. a ton.

Steam-ships, duties as above, increased by the duty attaching to the engine.

Hulls of wooden seagoing ships, 30 fr. a ton; of wood and iron, 40 fr. a ton; of iron, 50 fr. a ton.

These duties shall not be leviable on foreign vessels the purchase of which anterior to the promulgation of the present Law can be proved by authentic documents.

Art. 5. Vessels of all flags, coming from foreign countries or from French Colonies and possessions, wholly or partly laden, will pay as a quay charge a fixed tax per ton, namely:—

For arrivals from the countries of Europe or from the basin of the Mediterranean, 50 c.

All arrivals from other countries, 1 fr.

In the case of successive calls at several ports during the same voyage, the duty shall be paid only at the Custom-house of the port first touched at.

Art. 6. Arts. 1, 3 and 5, of the Law of May 19, 1866, are and remain abrogated.

No. 33.

The Duc de Broglie to Earl Granville.—(Received September 14.)

Londres, le 13 Septembre, 1871.

LE Duc de Broglie présente à son Excellence M. le Comte Granville les assurances de sa haute considération, et il a l'honneur de lui transmettre ci-jointe le texte d'un projet de Traité de Commerce, accompagné de deux Tableaux (A et B).

Cette communication répond au désir qui a été exprimé au nom du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique dans la note de son Excellence le Comte Granville en date du 21-Août.

(Translation.)

London, September 13, 1871.

THE Duc de Broglie presents the assurances of his highest consideration to his Excellency the Earl Granville, and has the honour to transmit to him herewith the text of a project of a Commercial Treaty, accompanied by two Tables (A and B).

This scheme accords with the desire expressed in the name of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, in the note of his Excellency the Earl Granville, dated August 21st.

Inclosure 1 in No. 33.

Draft of Treaty of Commerce between France and Great Britain.

ARTICLE I.

LES marchandises d'origine ou de manufacture Britanniques énumérées dans le Tableau (A) annexé au présent Traité resteront, à leur importation en France, soumises aux droits établis; à la suite du Traité du 23 Janvier, 1860, par les Conventions intervenues entre les Hautes Puissances Contractantes les 12 Octobre et 16 Novembre de la même année.

ARTICLE II.

Les suppléments de droits inscrits dans le Tableau (B) annexé au présent Traité seront en outre des droits compensateurs fixés conformément aux dispositions de l'Article suivant, accordés aux fils et tissus énumérés dans le dit Tableau (B).

ARTICLE III.

Outre les droits fixés par les Conventions des 12 Octobre et 16 Novembre, 1860, ainsi que par la disposition inscrite dans l'Article précédent, les marchandises reprises au Tableau (C) annexé au présent Traité paieront, à titre de compensation des impôts établis en France sur les matières premières et les matières tinctoriales, un supplément de droits dont la quotité a été déterminée, d'un commun accord, entre les Hautes Puissances Contractantes et inscrite dans le dit Tableau (B).

Dans le cas où la situation financière de la France permettrait de réduire les taxes imposées sur les matières tinctoriales qui entrent dans la fabrication des produits énumérés dans le Tableau (C), une réduction correspondante sera faite dans le taux des droits dits compensateurs.

ARTICLE IV.

Les stipulations du Traité du 23 Janvier, 1860, et des Conventions annexés des 12 Octobre et 16 Novembre de la même année, demeureront en vigueur pour celles qui ne dérogent pas aux dispositions du présent Traité.

ARTICLE V.

Le présent Traité ne sera valable qu'autant que le Président de la République Française aura été autorisé par l'Assemblée Nationale à exécuter les engagements contractés dans les Articles qui précèdent.

ARTICLE VI.

Le présent Traité restera en vigueur jusqu'au 1 Janvier, 1877.

(Translation.)

ARTICLE I.

GOODS of British origin or manufacture enumerated in the Table (A) annexed to the present Treaty, will, on their importation into France, remain subject to the duties established in accordance with the Treaty of the 23rd January, 1860, by the Conventions entered into between the High Contracting Powers of the 12th October and 16th November of the same year.

ARTICLE II.

The supplementary duties inscribed in the Table (B) annexed to the present Treaty will, besides the compensatory duties fixed in conformity with the provisions of the following Article, be imposed on threads and tissues enumerated in the said Table (B).

ARTICLE III.

Besides the duties fixed by the Conventions of the 12th October and the 16th November, 1860, as also by the provision inscribed in the preceding Article, goods included in the Table (C) annexed to the present Tariff will pay, as compensation for

taxes established in France on raw and dyeing materials, a supplementary duty, the amount of which has been fixed upon by common consent between the High Contracting Powers, and inscribed in the said Table (B).

Should the financial situation of France permit a reduction to be made in the taxes imposed on the dyeing materials which enter into the fabrication of the products enumerated in the Table (C), a corresponding reduction will be made in the rate of duties called compensatory.

ARTICLE IV.

The stipulations of the Treaty of the 23rd January, 1860, and of the Conventions annexed of the 12th of October and the 16th November of the same year, will remain in force as regards those which are not opposed to the provisions of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE V.

The present Treaty will not be valid until the President of the French Republic has been authorized by the National Assembly to execute the engagements contracted in the preceding Articles.

ARTICLE VI.

The present Treaty will remain in force until the 1st of January, 1877.

Inclosure 2 in No. 33.

TABLEAU A.—Maintien du régime actuel pour les produits ci-après désignés.

Dénomination des Articles.	Taux des Droits d'Entrée.	
	Bases.	Droits.
		Fr. c.
COMBUSTIBLES ET MINERAUX.		
HOUILLE :—		
Crue ou carbonisée	Les 100 kilo.	0 12
METAUX.		
FER :—		
Minerai de fer	..	Exempts
Mâchefer, limailles et scories de forges	..	id.
Fonte brute en masse	Les 100 kilo.	2 0
Débris de vieux ouvrages en fonte	id.	2 0
Fonte épurée, dite "mazée"	id.	2 75
Ferrailles et débris de vieux ouvrages en fer	id.	2 75
Fer brut en massiaux ou prismes retenant encore des scories	id.	4 50
Fers en barres carrées, rondes, ou plates, rails de toutes formes, fers d'angles et à T, et fils de fer, sauf les exceptions ci-après	id.	6 0
Fers feuillards en bandes d'un millimètre d'épaisseur ou moins	id.	7 50
Tôles laminées ou martelées de plus d'un millimètre d'épaisseur, en feuilles pesant 200 kilogrammes ou moins, et dont la largeur n'excède pas 1 mètre 20 centimètres, ni la longueur 4 mètres 50 centimètres	id.	7 50
Tôles en feuilles pesant plus de 200 kilogrammes, ou bien ayant plus de 1 mètre 20 centimètres de largeur, ou plus de 4 mètres 50 centimètres de longueur	id.	7 50
Tôles minces et fers noirs en feuilles d'un millimètre d'épaisseur ou moins	id.	10 0
(Les feuilles de tôle ou fers noirs, planes, découpées d'une façon quelconque, paieront un dixième en plus des feuilles rectangulaires.)	id.	13 0
Fer étamé (fer blanc)	id.	10 0
Fil de fer de cinq-dixièmes de millimètres de diamètre et au-dessous, qu'il soit étamé, cuivré, ou zingué	id.	13 0
ACIER :—		
Aciers en barres de toute espèce	id.	18 0
Aciers en tôles de plus de 2 millimètres d'épaisseur	id.	25 0
Aciers en tôles de 2 millimètres d'épaisseur ou moins	id.	25 0
Fils d'acier même blanchi pour cordes d'instruments	..	Exempt
Manganèse (minerai)	..	
OUVRAGES EN FONTE MOULES, NON TOURNES NI POLIS.		
FONTE :—		
1re Classe. Coussinets de chemin de fer, plaques ou autres pièces coulées à découvert	id.	3 0
2e Classe. Tuyaux cylindriques, droits, poutrelles et colonnes pleines, cornues pour la fabrication du gaz	id.	3 75
3e Classe. Poteries et tous autres ouvrages non désignés dans les deux classes précédentes	id.	4 50
Ouvrages en fonte, polis ou tournés	id.	6 0
Ouvrages en fonte, étamés, émaillés, ou vernissés	id.	10 0
FERRONERIE, comprenant—		
FER :—		
Pièces de charpente	Les 100 kilo.	8 0
Courbes et solives pour navires		
Ferrures de charrettes et wagons		
Gonds, pentures, gros verrous, équerres et autres gros ferrements de portes ou croisées non tournés ni polis		
Grilles en fer plein, lits, sièges et meubles de jardin avec ou sans ornements accessoires en fonte, cuivre, acier	id.	8 0
(Les essieux, et ressorts, et bandages de roues ne sont pas compris dans cette nomenclature, et figurent parmi les pièces détachées de machines.)		

Dénomination des Articles.	Taux des Droits d'Entrée.	
	Bases.	Droits. Fr. c.
SERRURERIE, comprenant—		
Serrures et cadenas en fer de toute sorte, fiches et charnières en tôle, loquets, targettes, et tous autres objets en fer ou tôles, tournés, polis, ou limés pour ferrure de meubles, portes, et croisées ..	Les 100 kilos.	12 0
Clous forgés à la mécanique ..	id.	8 0
Clous forgés à la main ..	id.	12 0
Vis à bois, boulons et écrous ..	id.	8 0
Ancres ..	id.	8 0
Câbles et chaînes en fer ..	id.	8 0
Outils en fer pur, emmanchés ou non ..	id.	10 0
Tubes en fer étirés, soudés par simple rapprochement, de moins de 9 millimètres, raccords de toute espèce ..	id.	20 0
Tubes en fer étirés, soudés sur mandrin et à recouvrements ..	id.	20 0
Hameçons de mer, étames ou non ..	id.	50 0
Articles de ménage et autres ouvrages non-dénommés :—En fer ou en tôle, émaillés, étamés ou vernissés ..	id.	16 0
ACIER :—		
Outils en acier pur (limes, scies circulaires ou droites, faux, faucilles et autres non dénommés) ..	id.	32 0
Aiguilles à coudre de moins de 9 centimètres ..	id.	200 0
Aiguilles à coudre de 9 centimètres ou plus ..	id.	100 0
Hameçons de rivière en acier, bléuis ou non ..		
Plumes métalliques, en métal autre que l'or et l'argent ..	id.	20 0
Petits objets en acier, tels que perles, coulants, broches, et dés à coudre ..	id.	32 0
Articles de ménage et autres ouvrages en acier pur non dénommés ..	Valeur	15 pour cent
Coutellerie de toute espèce ..	id.	10 „ „
Instruments de chirurgie, d'optique, et de précision ..	id.	10 „ „
ARMES DE COMMERCE :—		
Armes blanches ..	Les 100 kilos.	40 0
Armes à feu ..	id.	240 0
METEAUX DIVERS.		
Outils en fer rechargés d'acier, emmanchés ou non ..	Les 100 kilos.	15 0
Objets en fonte et fer non polis, le poids du fer étant inférieur à la moitié du poids total ..	id.	4 50
Objets en fonte et fer non polis, le poids du fer étant égal ou supérieur à la moitié du poids total ..	id.	8 0
Objets en fonte et fer polis, émaillés, ou vernissés, même avec ornements accessoires en fer, cuivre, laiton ou acier ..	id.	12 0
Coiles métalliques en fer ou en acier ..	id.	10 0
Chaudronnerie ..	id.	20 0
Ouvrages en plaqué, sans distinction de titre ..	id.	100 0
Ouvrages en métaux, dorés ou argentés, soit au mercure soit par les procédés électro-chimiques ..	id.	100 0
Orfèvrerie et bijouterie en or, argent, platine, ou autres métaux ..	id.	500 0
MACHINES ET MECANIKES.		
APPAREILS COMPLETS :—		
Machines à vapeur fixes, avec ou sans chaudières, avec ou sans volants ..	id.	6 0
Machines pour la navigation avec ou sans chaudières ..	id.	12 0
Machines locomotives ou locomobiles ..	id.	10 0
Tenders complets de machines locomotives ..	id.	8 0
Machines pour la filature ..	id.	6 0
„ pour le tissage ..		
„ pour fabriquer le papier ..		
„ à imprimer ..		
„ pour l'agriculture ..		
„ à bouter les plaques et rubans de cardes ..	id.	10 0
Metiers à tulle ..	id.	10 0
Cardes non garnies ..	id.	10 0
Chaudières à vapeur en tôle de fer, cylindriques ou sphériques, avec ou sans bouilleurs ou réchauffeurs ..	id.	8 0
Chaudières à vapeur tubulaires, en tôle de fer, à tubes en fer étirés, ou en tôle clouée, à foyers intérieurs, et toutes autres chaudières de forme non-cylindrique ou sphérique simple ..	id.	13 0
Chaudières à vapeur en tôle ou en fonte et tôle ..	id.	25 0
Gazomètres, chaudières découvertes, poêles et calorifères, en tôle ou en fonte et tôle ..	id.	8 0

Dénomination des Articles.	Taux des Droits d'Entrée.	
	Bases.	Droits.
		Fr. c.
Machines outils, et machines non-dénommées, contenant 75 pour cent de fonte et plus	Les 100 kilos.	6 0
Machines outils contenant 50 à 75 pour cent de leur poids en fonte ..	id.	10 0
Machines outils contenant moins de 50 pour cent de leur poids en fonte ..	id.	15 0
PIECES DETACHEES DE MACHINES.		
Plaques et rubans de cardes sur cuir, caoutchouc, ou sur tissus purs ou mélangés	id.	50 0
Dents de rots en fer	id.	30 0
Rots, ferrures ou peignes à tisser, à dents de fer	id.	30 0
Pièces en fonte, polies, limées, et ajustées	id.	6 0
Pièces en fer forgé, polies, limées et ajustées ou non, quel que soit leur poids	id.	10 0
Ressorts en acier pour carrosserie, wagons et locomotives	id.	15 0
Pièces en acier, polies, limées, ajustées ou non, pesant plus d'un kilogramme	id.	25 0
Pièces en acier, polies, limées, ajustées ou non, pesant un kilogramme ou moins	id.	35 0
Or battu en feuilles	Le kilo.	100 0
Carrosserie	La valeur	10 pour cent.
Bâtiments de mer construits dans le Royaume Uni, non encore immatriculés ou naviguant sous pavillon Britannique, en fer	{ Par tonneau de jauge Française }	Fr. c. 60 0
Coques de bâtiments de mer, en fer	id.	10 0
N.B. Les machines et moteurs installés à bord de ces bâtiments seront taxés séparément d'après le chiffre des droits spécifiés sous la rubrique "Machines et Mécaniques."		
PRODUITS CHIMIQUES.		
Iode		Exempts.
Brome		
Acide sulphurique		
„ nitrique		
„ tartrique		
„ benzoïque		
„ borique		
„ citrique		
„ arsénieux		
Oxide de fer		
„ d'urane		
Safre et autres composés du cobalt		
Sulfures d'arsenic		
Chlorure de potassium		
Iodure de potassium		
Salin de betteraves		
Carbonate de potasse		
Nitrate de potasse		
Sulfate de potasse		
Tartrate de potasse		
Cendres végétales, vives et lessivées		
Lies de vin		
Borax brut		
Nitrate de soude		
Soude de varech		
Phosphates naturels		
Citrates de chaux		
Sulfate de magnésie		
Carbonate de magnésie		
Chlorure de magnésium		
Phosphore blanc		
Prussiate jaune de potasse	Les 100 kilos.	Fr. c. 40 0
„ rouge de potasse	id.	20 0
Cuanna en poudre	id.	30 0
Acide hydrochlorique, acide muriatique	id.	5 0
Soude caustique	id.	0 60
Carbonate de soude (sels de soude) à tous degrés	id.	5 0
Soude artificielle brute	id.	3 0
Carbonate de soude cristallisée (cristaux de soude)	id.	1 50

Dénomination des Articles.	Taux des Droits d'Entrée.		
	Bases.	Droits.	
Sulfate et sulfite de soude	Les 100 kilos.	Fr. c. 1 20	
Sulfate cristallisé (sel de Glauber)	id.	0 70	
Bicarbonate de soude et autres sels de soude non dénommés	id.	3 50	
Chlorure de chaux	id.	2 80	
Chlorate de potasse	id.	25 75	
Outremer	id.	15 0	
Phosphore rouge	Valeur	10 pour cent.	
Aluminium			
Aluminate de soude			
Chromates de potasse			
Couleurs non dénommées sèches et en pâtes ou liquides			
Vernis à l'essence	id.	5 pour cent.	
„ à l'esprit de vin			
Produits chimiques non dénommés	id.	5 pour cent.	
VERBERRIE.			
Miroirs ayant moins d'un mètre carré	id.	10 pour cent.	
Glaces :—	{ Par mètre carré de superficie	Fr. c. 1 50	
Brutes		id.	4 0
Etamées ou polies	Les 100 kilos.	1 30	
Bouteilles de toutes formes	id.	3 50	
Verres :—			
A vitre			
De couleur, polis ou gravés	id.	Exempt. id.	
De montre et d'optique			
Vitrifications			
Emaux	id.	Exempt. id.	
Objets en verre non dénommés			
Grosil et verre cassé			
Cristal de roche brut ou ouvré	id.	Exempt. id.	
Nota.—Le cristal monté sera taxé comme la bijouterie et l'horlogerie.			
POTERIES.			
POTERIE GROSSIERE :—	id.	Exempt.	
Carreaux, briques et huiles			
Cornues à gaz, tuyaux de drainage et autres, creusets de toute sorte, y compris ceux en graphite et plombagine			
Pipes en terre			
Vernissées ou non de toutes formes			
Vernissées avec décorations et reliefs unicolores ou multicolores, platerie et creux	Les 100 kilos.	Fr. c. 5 0	
POTERIE DE GRES :—	id.	Exempt.	
Ustensiles et appareils pour la fabrication des produits chimiques			
Commune de toute sorte, platerie et creux, comprenant la forme bouteille, les carafes, objets de ménage, ustensiles de cuisine	Les 100 kilos.	4 0	
FAIENCE :—	Valeur	15 pour cent.	
Stannifère, pâte colorée, glaçure blanche			
Glaçure colorée, majoliques vernissées multicolores			
Fine			
Grès fin	id.	10 pour cent.	
Porcelainés de toute sorte, blanche ou coloré ou décoré, parian, et biscuit blanc			
ARTICLES DIVERS.			
Caoutchouc ouvré :—	id.	Fr. c. 20 0	
Pur et mélangé			
(N.B. Les ouvrages en gutta percha suivront le même régime.)	id.	4 0	
Cirage de toute sorte			
Poissons d'eau douce :—	id.	Exempt.	
Frais			
Préparés			
Poisson de mer frais, sec, salé ou fumé, à l'exclusion de la morue			
Epices préparés (sauces)			
Fromages de pâte dure	id.	10 0	
Pière			
Ardoises :—	id.	2 francs par hectolitre, plus le droit de consommation.	
Pour toitures			
En carreaux ou en tables	Les 1000 kilos.	4 0	
	Les 100 kilos.	10 0	

(Translation.)

TABLE (A).—The present scale is maintained for the productions hereafter specified.

Description of Articles.		Rates of Import Duties.	
		Fr.	c.
COMBUSTIBLES AND MINERALS.			
COAL—			
Raw or carbonised		0	12 per 100 kilog.
METALS.			
IRON—			
Ore of			Free.
Filings, slag, and dross from the forge			
Pig and fragments of old cast iron		2	00 per 100 kilog.
Purified cast, called "mazée," and old broken wrought iron		2	75 "
Crude, in lumps or prisms, not freed from the dross		4	50 "
Bars, square, round, or flat; rails of all shapes and dimensions; angle and T iron; and wire, with the exceptions hereinafter mentioned		6	00 "
Hoops, of the thickness of 1 millim. or less			
Sheet, rolled or hammered, exceeding 1 millim. in thickness		7	50 "
In plates weighing 200 kilogs. or less, and of which the breadth does not exceed 1 m. 20 centim., nor the length of 4 m. 50 centim.			
In plates exceeding 200 kilogs. in weight, or 1 m. 20 centim. in breadth, or 4 m. 50 centim. in length		7	50 "
Sheet, thin, and black iron, in plates of 1 millim. or less in thickness		10	00 "
(N.B.—Thin sheet and black iron in flat plates, cut out or trimmed in any way, to pay one-tenth more than rectangular plates.)			
Sheets, tinned, coppered, covered with zinc or lead		13	00 "
Wire, not exceeding $\frac{5}{16}$ millim. in diameter, whether tinned, coppered or covered with zinc		10	00 "
STEEL—			
In bars of all kinds		13	00 "
Sheet, exceeding 2 millim. in thickness		18	00 "
Sheet, not exceeding 2 millim. in thickness, and wire, including bright wire for instruments		25	00 "
Manganese (ore)			Free.
CAST IRON MANUFACTURES NOT TURNED OR POLISHED.			
CAST IRON—			
1st Class. Chairs for railways, plates and other castings from the open mould.		3	00 per 100 kilog.
2nd Class. Cylindrical pipes (straight), rafters, solid columns, and gas retorts		3	75 "
3rd Class. Pots and all other manufactures not included in the preceding classes		4	50 "
Polished or turned		6	00 "
Tinned, enamelled, or varnished		10	00 "
IRONWARES, including—			
WROUGHT IRON—			
Frameworks			
Knees and girders for ships			
Ironwork for carts and waggons			
Hinges; clamps; large bolts; braces, and other fastenings of doors and windows, not polished or turned		8	00 "
Gratings (solid); beds; seats and furniture for gardens, with or without ornaments or adjuncts in cast iron, steel, or copper			
(N.B.—Axles, springs, and tires for wheels are not included in the above category, but are classed among detached pieces of machinery.)			
SMALL IRONWARES ("SERRURERIE"), including—			
Locks and padlocks of all sorts, bolts and hinges, in sheet iron, latches and flat bolts, and all other articles in wrought or sheet iron for fastenings of doors or windows, and furniture polished, filed, or turned		12	00 "
Nails, forged by machinery		8	00 "
Ditto, ditto by hand		12	00 "
Wood screws, screw-bolts, and nuts		8	00 "
Anchors			
Chains and chain cables		8	00 "
Tools, in pure iron, with or without handles		10	00 "
Tubes of wrought iron, simply welded, of less than 9 millim., and fittings of tubes		20	00 "
Tubes in wrought iron, welded on a mandril, or lap-welded		20	00 "
Fish-hooks (for sea fishing), tinned or not		50	00 "
Household articles and other wares unenumerated—			
In wrought or sheet iron, varnished or tinned		16	00 "

Description of Articles.	Rates of Import Duties.
	Fr. c.
STEEL WARES—	
Tools in pure steel; files; saws, circular or straight; scythes, sickles, and other unenumerated	32 00 per 100 kilog.
Needles for sewing, less than 5 centim. in length	200 00 "
Ditto of 5 and more centim. in length	100 00 "
Fish-hooks (for river fishing), blued or not	100 00 "
Metallic pens (other than gold or silver)	100 00 "
Small articles of ornament, such as beads, purse garniture, brooches, and thimbles	20 00 "
Household articles and other wares unenumerated	32 00 "
CUTLERY—	
Of every description	15 per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .
Instruments, surgical, optical, and philosophical	10 " "
ARMS, not being implements of war—	
Side-arms	40 00 per 100 kilog.
Fire-arms	240 00 "
SUNDRY METALS.	
Tools of iron tipped with steel, with or without handles	15 00 "
Articles made partly of cast and partly of wrought iron, not polished, if the weight of wrought iron is less than half the total weight	4 50 "
Ditto, if half or more than half the total weight	8 00 "
Ditto, polished enamelled or japanned, and with ornamental adjuncts in iron, copper, brass, or steel	12 00 "
Wire gauze of iron or steel	10 00 "
Copper wares	20 00 "
Plated manufactures of every description	100 00 "
Manufactures of metal gilt or silvered by the mercurial or electro-plate processes	100 00 "
Plate and jewellery of gold, of silver, platina, or other metals	500 00 "
MACHINES AND MACHINERY.	
WITH APPARATUS COMPLETE—	
Steam-engines, stationary, with or without boilers or fly-wheels	6 00 "
Ditto, marine, with or without boilers	12 00 "
" locomotives and portable engines	10 00 "
Tenders for locomotive engines, complete	8 00 "
Spinning machines	
For weaving	
For paper-making	6 00 "
For printing	
For agricultural machines, and machines for making sheets and fillets of cards	
Lace-making machines	10 00 "
Carding machines, not furnished	10 00 "
Steam-boilers, of sheet iron, of cylindrical or spherical shape, with or without boiler-pipes or heating-pipes	8 00 "
Ditto, tubular, of sheet iron, with tubes of wrought iron, copper, or brass, or of sheet iron rivetted, with interior furnaces, and all other boilers not of cylindrical or spherical shape	13 00 "
Ditto, ditto, of sheet steel of every shape	25 00 "
Gasometers, open boilers, furnaces and stoves, in sheet iron, or in cast and sheet iron	8 00 "
Machines for making machines ("machines outils") and machines not enumerated—	
Containing 75 per cent. or more of their weight in cast iron	6 00 "
Containing 50 per cent. and less than 75 per cent. of cast iron	10 00 "
Containing less than 50 per cent. of cast iron	15 00 "
DETACHED PARTS OF MACHINES.	
Sheets and fillets of cards on leather, india-rubber, or other materials	50 00 "
Dents of reeds, in iron	30 00 "
Reeds, complete, in iron	6 00 "
Pieces in cast iron, polished, filed, and adjusted	
Pieces in wrought iron, polished, filed, and adjusted or not, without distinction of weight	10 00 "
Steel spring for carriages, waggons, or locomotives	15 00 "
Pieces in steel, polished, filed, adjusted or not: weighing more than 1 kilog.	25 00 "
Ditto, 1 kilog. and less	35 00 "
Gold leaf	100 00 per kilog.
Carriages	10 per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .

Description of Articles.	Rates of Import Duties.
	Per ton of French measure- ment—
Ships and boats, built in the United Kingdom, not registered or sailing under	Fr. c.
British flag, in iron	60 00
Hulls of ships, in iron	10 00
N.B.—The machines and machinery on board such ships shall be charged separately, according to the rates fixed by the Tariff for "Machines and Machinery."	
CHEMICAL PRODUCTS AND DYE STUFFS.	
Iodine	
Bromine	
Acids—	
Sulphuric	
Nitric	
Tartaric	
Benzoic	
Boracic	
Citric	
Arsenic	
Oxides—	
Of iron	
„ uranium	
Zaffre and other combinations of cobalt	
Sulphuret of arsenic	
Chloride of potassium	Free.
Iodide of potassium	
Salts of beetroot	
Carbonates of potash	
Nitrate of potash	
Sulphate of potash	
Tartrates of potash	
Vegetable ashes, quick and lixiviated	
Lees of wine	
Borax, raw	
Nitrate of soda	
Kelp	
Phosphates, natural	
Citrates of lime	
Sulphate of magnesia	
Carbonate of magnesia	
Chloride of magnesium	
Phosphorus, white	40 00 per 100 kilog.
Yellow prussiate of potash	20 00 „
Red prussiate of potash	30 00 „
Turmeric, in powder	5 00 „
Hydrochloric acid (muriatic acid)	0 60 „
Caustic soda	5 00 „
Carbonate of soda (salt of soda) of all degrees	3 00 „
Artificial soda (raw)	1 50 „
Carbonate of soda, crystallized (crystals of soda)	1 50 „
Sulphate of soda and sulphite of soda	1 20 „
Sulphate of soda crystallized (Glauber's salts)	0 70 „
Bicarbonate of soda, and other salts of soda, not specified	3 50 „
Chloride of lime	2 80 „
Chlorate of potash	25 75 „
Artificial ultramarine	15 00 „
Red phosphorus	
Aluminium	
Aluminate of soda	
Chromates of potash	
Colours not specified, dry, in paste and liquid	10 per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .
Varnish—	
Essential oil	
Spirit of wine	
Chemicals not specified	5 per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .
GLASS AND CRYSTAL WARE.	
Mirrors of less than 1 mètre square	10 per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .
Plate glass and mirrors—	
Unpolished	1 50 per mètre square superficial
Silvered or polished	4 00 „
Bottles of all shapes	1 30 per 100 kilog.
Window-glass, plain	3 50 „

Description of Articles.	Rates of Import Duties.
Glass, coloured, polished, or engraved, and for watches and optical purposes	Fr. c.
Vitrifications	"
Enamelled glass	"
Articles of glass not enumerated	"
Broken glass and cullet	Free.
Rock crystal, rough or worked	Free.
N.B.—Rock crystal mounted will pay as jewellery and watches.	
EARTHENWARE AND POTTERY.	
COMMON WARE—	
Tiles of all kinds, bricks, and fire-bricks	Free.
Gas retorts, drainage pipes, and others	Free.
Crucibles of all sorts, including those of plumbago or black lead	Free.
Clay pipes	Free.
Glazed or not, of all shapes	Free.
Id., with decorations in relief, of one or more colours, flat or hollow	5 00 per 100 kilog.
STONEWARE—	
Utensils and apparatus for the manufacture of chemical products	Free.
Common of all sorts, flat and hollow, including bottles, flasks, household articles, and kitchen utensils	4 00 per 100 kilog.
EARTHENWARE—	
With tin glaze-coloured paste, white glaze	Free.
With coloured glaze, majolica, with varnish of more than one colour	15. per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .
Fine earthenware	15. per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .
Fine stoneware	15. per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .
Porcelain, white, coloured, or decorated, of all kinds, Parian and biscuit (white)	10. " "
VARIOUS ARTICLES.	
India-rubber manufactures—	
Pure or mixed	20 00 per 100 kilog.
N.B.—Articles of gutta-percha pay the same duties as india-rubber.	
Blacking of all kinds	4 00 "
Fish, fresh water—	
Fresh	Free.
Prepared	10 00 per 100 kilog.
Fish, sea—	
Fresh, dry, salted, or smoked (except cod)	10 00 "
Sauces and pickles	25 00 "
Cheese, hard	10 00 "
Beer	2 fr. per hectolitre, in addition to the internal tax.
Slates—	
For roofing	4 00 per 1,000.
In squares or slabs	10 00 per 100.

Inclosure 3 in No. 33.

TABLEAU (B).—Rectifications des Droits fixés par les Conventions de 1860.

INDUSTRIE DU LIN ET DU CHANVRE.

Fils de lin ou de chanvre mesurant au kilogramme, écus :—

De 24,000 à 36,000 mètres	augmentation 3 pour cent	48 fr. les 100 kilos.
36,000 à 72,000	id.	80 " "
72,000 et plus	id.	133 " "

A reporter l'augmentation proportionnellement sur les fils blanchis ou teints et retors écus, blanchis ou teints.

Pour les tissus. Modification dans l'assiette du droit qui sera établi, comme pour les tissus de coton, d'après le nombre de fils qu'ils présentent en trame et en chaîne.

INDUSTRIE DU COTON.

Fils de cotons simples, mesurant au $\frac{1}{2}$ kilogramme, écus :—

De 61,000 à 70,000 mètres	augmentation 3 pour cent	Fr. c.
71,000 à 80,000	id.	0 80 le kilo.
81,000 à 90,000	id.	0 93 "
91,000 à 100,000	id.	1 20 "
101,000 à 110,000	augmentation 5 pour cent	1 33 "
111,000 à 120,000	id.	1 80 "
121,000 à 130,000	id.	2 10 "
131,000 à 140,000	id.	2 40 "
141,000 à 150,000	id.	2 66 "
151,000 à 160,000	id.	3 33 "
171,000 et au-dessus	id.	4 50 "

Augmentation proportionnelle sur les fils simples, blanchis et teints, retors en deux bouts, écrus, blanchis, et teints sur les chaînes ourdies, écrus, blanchies et teintes.

Broderies à la main ou à la mécanique ..	augmentation 5 pour cent ..	15 pour cent à la valeur.
Gazes et mousselines brodées ou brochées pour ameublement, tentures ou habillement ..	" "	15 pour cent.

INDUSTRIE DE LA LAINE.

Fils de laine cardées, blanchies ou non, mesurant au kilogramme :—

De 5,001 à 10,000 mètres ..	augmentation 5 francs ..	15 fr. les 100 kilôs.
10,001 à 15,000 ..	id. ..	20 "
15,001 à 20,000 ..	id. ..	25 "
20,001 à 25,000 ..	id. ..	30 "
25,001 à 30,000 ..	augmentation 10 francs ..	35 "
30,001 à 35,000 ..	id. 5 francs ..	40 "

Au-dessus de 35,000, mêmes droits que les fils de laine peignée.

TISSUS DE LAINE MELANGES.

De soie ..	augmentation 5 pour cent ..	15 pour cent.
De coton ..	" 8 pour cent ..	18 "

(Translation.)

TABLE (B).—Rectifications of the Duties fixed by the Conventions of 1860.

FLAX AND HEMP FABRICS.

Unbleached yarns of flax or hemp, measuring to the kilogramme :—

From 24,000 to 36,000 metres ..	increase 3 per cent. ..	48 fr. 100 kilog.
" 36,000 to 72,000 ..	ditto ..	80 "
" 72,000 and beyond ..	ditto ..	133 "

The duties on bleached or dyed yarns and unbleached, bleached, or dyed twists to be proportionately raised.

As regards tissues, a modification in the imposition of the duty to be established, as with cotton tissues, according to the number of threads in warp and weft.

COTTON FABRICS.

Unbleached single cotton yarns, measuring to the $\frac{1}{2}$ kilogramme :—

From 61,000 to 70,000 metres ..	increase 3 per cent. ..	Fr. c. 0 80 the kilog.
" 71,000 to 80,000 ..	ditto ..	0 93 "
" 81,000 to 90,000 ..	ditto ..	1 20 "
" 91,000 to 100,000 ..	ditto ..	1 33 "
" 101,000 to 110,000 ..	increase 5 per cent. ..	1 80 "
" 111,000 to 120,000 ..	ditto ..	2 10 "
" 121,000 to 130,000 ..	ditto ..	2 40 "
" 131,000 to 140,000 ..	ditto ..	2 66 "
" 141,000 to 170,000 ..	ditto ..	3 33 "
" 171,000 and beyond ..	ditto ..	4 50 "

Proportionate increase on single yarns, bleached and dyed, twists in two strands, unbleached, bleached and dyed on warped yarns, unbleached, bleached, and dyed.

Embroidery by hand or machine .. increase 5 per cent. .. 15 per cent. *ad valorem*.

Gauzes and muslins, embroidered or figured, for furniture, hangings, or dresses ..

ditto .. " "

WOOLLEN FABRICS.

Carded woollen yarns, bleached or not, measuring to the kilogramme :—

From 5,001 to 10,000 metres ..	increase 5 francs ..	15 fr. 100 kilog.
" 10,001 to 15,000 ..	ditto ..	20 "
" 15,001 to 20,000 ..	ditto ..	25 "
" 20,001 to 25,000 ..	ditto ..	30 "
" 25,001 to 30,000 ..	increase 10 francs ..	35 "
" 30,001 to 35,000 ..	increase 5 francs ..	40 "

About 35,000 the same duties as for combed wool.

MIXED WOOLLEN TISSUES.

Of silk ..	increase 5 per cent. ..	15 per cent.
Of cotton ..	" 8 " ..	18 "

No. 34.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 18, 871.

HER Majesty's Government have had under consideration your Excellency's despatch of the 1st instant, relative to the proposal to reimpose differential charges upon foreign shipping in the indirect trade with France, which were abolished in 1866; and I have now to observe to you that as the Navigation Treaty of 1826 between Great Britain and France only assimilates the British and French flags in the direct trade between the two countries, and as the abolition of the differential charges which it is now proposed to reimpose was effected by the independent action of France, and not in virtue of Treaty engagements so far as this country is concerned, Her Majesty's Government can only found any remonstrance which they may think it right to make against the measure in question on the grounds of its unfriendly and inequitable character towards British interests.

Navigation Treaties concluded by France with several foreign countries assimilate the shipping of the latter in respect of charges to French ships in the indirect as well as in the direct trade. The intended measure will therefore inflict special and exceptional injury on the shipping of those countries, including Great Britain, which are not protected by Treaties of an equally extensive nature, and will doubtless give rise to feelings of irritation on the part of shipowners, in this country as well as elsewhere, who are affected by it.

But there is another feature in this case which calls for notice. After the repeal of the English Navigation Laws, repeated attempts were made by the Governments of Great Britain and France to conclude a Treaty of Navigation, which should include the indirect as well as the direct trade, the one insuperable obstacle having always been the existence in the United Kingdom of certain local exemptions in favour of particular classes of British vessels, the abolition of which the Government of France made an indispensable condition of such a Treaty, but which the English Government steadily declined to abolish.

On the occasion of the French Decree of 1866, by which all differential charges on foreign shipping in the indirect trade were prospectively abolished, on condition of reciprocity, Her Majesty's Government, after communication with the French Government on the subject, proceeded (in order to fulfil the conditions of reciprocity required by the Decree, and thus secure the full extension of its provisions to British shipping) to provide for the extinction of the local exemptions in question by the Act 30 and 31 Vict., cap. 15.

Under these circumstances it can scarcely be regarded as an equitable proceeding on the part of the French Government to withdraw within five years from British shipping the advantages which were secured by the Decree of 1866; and Her Majesty's Government consider that such a course affords a very legitimate ground of complaint and remonstrance.

It is also to be observed that a considerable sum of money has been voted by Parliament and paid by the Treasury of this country during recent years, under the "Harbours and Passing Tolls, &c., Act, 1861," for the express purpose of buying up at several British ports the right to levy differential dues on foreign shipping.

Your Excellency will be so good as to take the first opportunity of speaking on this subject to M. Thiers and M. de Rémusat in the terms of this despatch.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 35.

Memorandum communicated by MM. Gavard and Ozenne to the Board of Trade.

Importations de l'Angleterre en France. Appréciation des effets que peuvent produire les Modifications à apporter au Traité du 23 Janvier, 1860.

LES importations de l'Angleterre en France se sont élevées pendant l'année 1869 au chiffre de 651 millions de francs.

Dans ce chiffre total, les produits compris au Traité du 23 Janvier, 1860, figurent pour 511 millions de francs, dont 435 millions de francs sont restés dans le pays même et 76 millions ont été répartis par les acheteurs primitifs dans les pays qui avoisinent la France.

Il convient maintenant de rechercher quelle sera, pour l'ensemble de ce mouvement commercial, l'influence des modifications qui résulteront de la révision du Traité de 1860.

sur les bases proposées par le Gouvernement Français. Cette révision comporte trois situations distinctes :—

1. Maintien du régime actuel pour tous les produits repris au Tableau (A).
2. Augmentation de droits pour quelques uns de nos produits textiles énumérés dans le Tableau (B).
3. Enfin, droits compensateurs des taxes établies sur les matières premières ou sur les matières tinctoriales entrant dans la composition ou dans la fabrication des produits indiqués dans le Tableau (C).

Le premier groupe (Tableau A) donne, pour les importations en France, les chiffres suivants :—

Industrie du fer et ses dérivés—	Francs.	Francs.
Fers, fontes, aciers	21,706,000	
Batiments de mer	7,449,000	
Machines et mécaniques	9,225,000	
Outils et ouvrages en métaux	5,630,000	
Aiguilles à coudre	614,000	
Plumes et becs de plumes métalliques	497,000	
		45,121,000
Houille et coke		31,892,000
Industrie des produits chimiques—		
Soudes de toute sorte	1,644,000	
Acides de toute sorte	1,471,000	
Iode brut et raffiné	523,000	
Nitrate de potasse et de soude	516,000	
Phosphore	351,000	
Prussiate de potasse, jaune et rouge	420,000	
		4,925,000
Verrerie		554,000
Poterie		755,000
Poissons		5,687,000
Caoutchouc ouvré pur ou mélangé		4,896,000
Cirage de toute sorte		8,000
Epices préparées ("sauces")		68,000
Fromage de pâte dure		145,000
Ardoises		56,000
Total		94,107,000

Ainsi le premier groupe présente dans l'ensemble une valeur de 94 millions de francs. Tous les produits qui en font partie restent au Tarif qui leur a été attribué par les Conventions des 12 Octobre et 16 Novembre, 1860, bien que la production de ces mêmes articles soit chargée indirectement de tous les impôts nouveaux qui vont peser sur le pays. Comparativement à l'ensemble du chiffre total des produits repris au Traité de 1860, c'est 20 pour cent.

Le deuxième groupe (Tableau B) comprend les quelques produits ci-dessous énumérés qui appartiennent aux industries textiles :—

Fils de lin et de chanvre—	Francs.	Francs.
L'augmentation demandée ne porte que sur la moitié des fils qui sont importés en France ; on ne doit donc porter ici que la moitié de l'importation totale, qui est de 6,086,000 francs, soit		3,043,000
Tissus de lin et de chanvre—		
Il ne s'agit ici que d'une simple correction de Tarif, qui a pour objet, comme cela existe pour les tissus de coton, de compter les fils de trame et les fils de chaîne. Il n'en résulte aucune augmentation de droits, donc		Pour mémoire.
Fils de coton—		
Comme pour les fils de lin et de chanvre, il ne s'agit que de la moitié des classes du Tarif, et précisément des numéros que l'Angleterre importe le moins. Le total étant de 6,165,000 francs, c'est la moitié à porter ci-contre, soit		3,082,000
Tissus de coton—		
Augmentation de 5 pour cent pour les espèces ci-après déterminées :		
Broderies à la main ou à la mécanique	175,000	
Mousselines	389,000	
Gaze		
		564,000
Fils de laine—		
Il ne s'agit dans le nouveau classement proposé que des fils de laine cardée dont l'Angleterre ne nous envoie pas un kilogramme		Mémoire.
Tissus de laine mélangés		39,830,000
Total		46,519,000

Le gros chiffre est celui des tissus de laine mélangés d'autres matières, notamment de coton. Dans quelle mesure une augmentation de 5 à 8 pour cent ralentira-t-elle les importations, il est difficile de le préjuger. On doit toutefois faire remarquer qu'au moment de la conclusion du Traité du 23 Janvier, les négociateurs Anglais avaient admis pour les quatre premières années un droit de 15 pour cent. Sous l'empire de ce droit on importait des quantités notables de tissus mélangés ; en voici le chiffre pour l'année 1862, 26,633,000.

En tous cas, les articles à l'égard desquels des augmentations de droits sont demandées ne s'élèvent qu'à 46 millions, qui, comparés au chiffre de 651 millions qui donne l'ensemble des importations totales de l'Angleterre en France, ne représentent pas plus de 7 pour cent de ce même ensemble, et 9 pour cent pour les produits repris au Traité.

Le troisième groupe comprend tous les produits qui ne sont repris ni au Tableau (A) ni au Tableau (B).

Ce groupe est évidemment et de beaucoup le plus considérable, et forme un chiffre de 300 millions. Mais il s'agit ici de produits qui appartiennent beaucoup plus au commerce qu'à la production Anglaise, et dont la nature est telle que ces produits viendront toujours sur le marché Français.

Ainsi la soie, 101 millions ; la laine, 67 millions ; le coton en laine, 40 millions ; le jute en brin teillé ou étoupes, 7 millions ; c'est-à-dire, quatre articles qui à eux seuls forment un total de 215 millions de francs, soit plus des deux-tiers du chiffre des produits repris au Tableau (C), ou le tiers des importations totales.

D'un autre côté il ne faut pas oublier que les droits compensateurs qui sont demandés ne sont que la représentation des charges qui vont peser directement sur nos industries, et que, par conséquent, il n'y aura à ce point de vue rien de changé dans les conditions relatives de production des deux peuples, et que si l'un d'eux doit souffrir c'est évidemment celui qui supporte non seulement l'impôt qui frappe les matières premières, mais encore, sous la forme indirecte, tous les autres impôts demandés au pays.

Enfin, entre ce qu'on appelle le commerce général, c'est-à-dire, la totalité des produits importés d'Angleterre, et ce qu'on désigne sous le nom de commerce spécial ; c'est-à-dire, la partie de l'importation totale qui reste dans la consommation du pays importateur, il y a un écart de 100 millions qui ne sont pas atteints par les droits, puisqu'il s'agit de marchandises destinées à être revendues à l'étranger. C'est donc un sixième, ou 16 pour cent, du commerce total qui ne sera nullement affecté par les changements de Tarif qui doivent être accomplis en France.

(Translation.)

Importations from England into France. Estimate of the effects which may be produced by the Modifications to be adopted in the Treaty of January 23, 1860.

THE importations from England into France have risen during the year 1869 to the amount of 651 millions of francs.

In this whole amount the articles comprised in the Treaty of January 23, 1860, figure for 511 millions, of which 435 millions of francs remained in the country itself, and 76 millions were distributed by the original purchasers in the countries bordering on France.

It is advisable now to ascertain what will be the influence, as regards this entire commercial movement, of the modifications which will result from the revision of the Treaty of 1860, on the bases proposed by the French Government. This revision admits of three distinct positions :—

1. The maintenance of the existing *régime* for all the articles enumerated in Table (A).
2. Increase of duties on some of our textiles enumerated in Table (B).
3. Finally, compensatory duties for taxes imposed on raw materials as dye-stuffs entering into the composition or manufacture of the articles mentioned in Table (C).

The first group (Table A) gives the following figures as regards importations into France :—

Trade in iron and its derivatives—					Francs.	Franc.
Iron, cast iron, steel	..	..	..	..	21,706,000	
Ships	..	..	..	..	7,449,000	
Machinery of all kinds	..	..	..	..	9,225,000	
Tools and metal articles	..	..	..	..	5,630,000	
Sewing needles	..	..	..	..	614,000	
Metallic pens and pen-nibs	..	..	..	..	497,000	
						45,121,000

	Francs.	Francs.
Coal and Coke	..	31,892,000
Chemicals—		
Sodas of all kinds	1,644,000	
Acids of all kinds	1,471,000	
Iodine, raw and refined	523,000	
Nitrates of potash and soda	516,000	
Phosphorus	351,000	
Prussiate of potash, yellow and red	420,000	
		4,925,000
Glass	..	554,000
Earthenware	..	755,000
Fish	..	5,687,000
Articles in gutta percha	..	4,896,000
All kinds of blacking	..	8,000
Prepared spices (sauces)	..	68,000
Hard cheeses	..	145,000
Slates	..	56,000
		94,107,000
Total	..	..

The first group, therefore, represents altogether a value of 94 millions of francs. All the articles it contains remain under the Tariff which was assigned to them by the Conventions of October 12 and November 16, 1860, although the manufacture of these same articles is charged indirectly with all the new imposts which will weigh upon the country. Compared with the total sum of the articles enumerated in the Treaty of 1860, it is 20 per cent.

The second group (Table B) comprises the few articles enumerated below which belong to the textile industries:—

	Francs.	Francs.
Threads of flax and hemp—		
The increase required will only apply to half the threads imported into France; only the half, therefore, of the whole amount imported, equal to 6,086,000 francs, should be stated here	..	3,043,000
Linen and hempen tissues—		
Here it is only a question of a simple correction of the Tariff, with the object of counting the threads in the warp and the woof, as is already done with cotton tissues. It entails no increase of duty	..	Memorandum.
Cotton yarns—		
As in the case of flax and hempen yarns, there is only a question of half the classes of the Tariff, and precisely the numbers which England imports least. The total being 6,165,000 francs, the half is stated here	..	3,082,000
Cotton tissues—		
Increase of 5 per cent. on the following kinds:		
Embroidery by hand or machinery	175,000	
Muslins	389,000	
Gauze	..	
		564,000
Woollen yarns—		
In the new classification proposed, there is only a question of carded woollen yarns, of which England does not send us a kilogramme	..	Memorandum.
Mixed woollen tissues	..	39,830
		46,519,000
Total	..	..

The largest figure is that of woollen tissues mixed with other materials, principally cotton. It is difficult to judge how much the imports may be diminished by an increase of from 5 to 8 per cent. It must, nevertheless, be observed that at the time the Treaty of January 23 was concluded, the English negotiators had admitted a duty of 15 per cent. for the first four years. During the imposition of this duty considerable quantities of mixed tissues were imported; the amount for the year 1862 was 26,633,000 fr.

In any case the articles upon which an increase of duty is desired only amount to 46 millions, which, compared with the figure of 651 millions, the sum total of all importations from England into France, does not represent more than 7 per cent. of this total, and 9 per cent. of the articles mentioned in the Treaty.

The third group comprises all the articles not mentioned in Table (A) or Table (B).

This group is evidently and by far the most considerable, and amounts to 300 millions. But here it refers to articles which belong more to English trade than to English manufacture, and are of such a nature as always to find their way to the French market.

Thus:—silk, 101 millions; wool, 67 millions; cotton wool, 40 millions; jute, in fibre, hackled, or tow, 7 millions; that is, four articles which of themselves alone form

a total of 215 millions of francs, or more than two-thirds of the value of the articles mentioned in Table (C), or one-third of the total imports.

On the other hand it must not be forgotten that the compensatory duties required only represent the charges which will fall directly on our industries, and that consequently there will be no change in the relative conditions of the two peoples as regards productions; and if one of them must suffer it is evidently the one which bears not only the tax that strikes raw materials, but, indirectly, all the other taxes required of the country besides.

In fine, between what is called general trade (that is, the sum total of articles imported from England) and what is designated by the name of special trade (that is, the part of the total importation which is consumed in the importing country), there is a difference of 100 millions, which are not touched by the duties, as they refer to goods destined to be resold abroad. One-sixth, therefore, or 16 per cent. of the total trade, will be in no way affected by the changes in the Tariff which are to be effected in France.

Inclosure in No. 35.

Angleterre (y compris les Possessions de Malte et de Gibraltar).

IMPORTATIONS en France pendant l'Année 1869.

Designation des Marchandises comprises dans les Conventions Supplémentaires des 12 Octobre et 16 Novembre, 1860.	Commerce Général.	Commerce Spécial.
	Valeurs en Francs.	Valeurs en Francs.
Soie et bourre de soie	101,288,112	96,266,544
Tissus, passementerie et rubans de laine	71,266,584	52,724,546
Laines et déchets de laine	67,414,298	66,998,314
Coton en laine	40,058,823	39,415,303
Houille crue	31,736,074	28,216,770
Tissus, passementerie et rubans de coton	31,176,886	13,550,092
Fer, fonte et acier	21,705,578	5,089,436
Cuivre, non compris le minerai	20,849,290	20,106,744
Batiments de mer	12,106,075	12,103,925
Tissus, passementerie et rubans de soie	10,222,692	6,718,577
Machines et mécaniques	9,225,405	8,593,785
Fils de poil de chèvre	7,837,965	7,826,247
Jute en brin ou teillé	7,663,299	7,663,299
Tissus, passementerie et rubans de lin ou de chanvre	7,161,277	4,923,673
Fils de coton	7,027,897	6,165,822
Fils de laine	5,915,672	6,611,341
Peaux préparées	6,644,752	6,243,037
Fils de lin ou de chanvre	6,317,067	6,086,343
Étain brut	6,211,960	6,208,687
Outils et ouvrages en métaux	5,629,979	4,889,575
Ouvrages en caoutchouc ou en gutta percha	4,896,600	4,450,300
Poissons	3,290,726	3,126,019
Minerai de cuivre	2,522,299	2,522,298
Huitres fraîches	2,397,270	2,397,270
Zinc de première fusion	2,362,846	2,362,846
Vêtements et pièces de lingerie cousues	1,799,179	950,031
Soudes de toute sorte	1,643,806	1,618,572
Ouvrages en peau ou en cuir	1,561,582	488,504
Plomb, brut	1,542,976	1,542,748
Acides de toute sorte	1,471,324	1,360,198
Couleurs de toute sorte	1,335,369	1,212,760
Poteries, verres, et cristaux	1,331,015	1,243,802
Ouvrages en bois	647,494	629,983
Aiguilles à coudre	613,878	586,386
Orfèverie et bijouterie	610,467	250,927
Mercerie et boutons	525,596	391,601
Iode brut et raffiné	523,410	474,414
Nitrates de potasse et de soude	515,177	425,156
Bière	504,125	461,728
Plumes et becs de plume métalliques	497,360	338,980
Nickel	482,611	530,086
Prussiate de potasse cristallisé	419,499	352,712
Homards	371,633	371,633
Tissus de bourre de soie purs ou mélangés	364,739	266,684
Cylindres en cuivre pour impressions, gravés ou non	364,117	364,117
Phosphore	351,260	215,638
Total	511,366,043	435,337,453
Autres articles	139,953,241	115,978,015
Total	651,319,284	551,315,468

TABLEAU (B).—AUGMENTATION DE DROITS.

Explication du mode suivi pour déterminer les Droits Nouveaux.

Nomenclature des Produits.	Tarif Actuel.		Augmentation.		Droit total.
	Unités.	Droits.	Taux.	Droit.	
Industrie du lin et de chanvre :—					
Fils de lin ou de chanvre, mesurant au kilogramme :					
Ecrus*—	Kilogrammes.	Francs.	Pour cent.	Francs.	Francs.
24,000 et pas plus de 36,000 mètres	100	36	3	12	48
36,000 et pas plus de 72,000 mètres	100	60	3	20	80
72,000 mètres et plus	100	100	3	33	133
Blanchis ou teints†—					
24,000 et pas plus de 36,000 mètres	100	48	3	12	60
36,000 et pas plus de 72,000 mètres	100	80	3	20	100
72,000 mètres et plus	100	135	3	33	168
Retors écrus	Mêmes droits que sur les fils simples écrus, augmentée de 40 pour cent.				
„ blanchis ou teints	Idem idem teints ou blanchis, augmentée de 40 pour cent.				
Tissus de lin et de chanvre unis ou ouvrés, présentant en chaîne et en trame dans l'espace de 5 milli-mètres carrés—	Kilogrammes.	Francs.			Francs.
17 fils ou moins‡	100	30	Rien n'est changé au taux des droits, qui sont simplement reproduits ci-contre.		30
19, 21, et 23 fils	100	55			55
25, 27, et 29 fils	100	90			90
32, 34, et 36 fils	100	115			115
38, 40, et 42 fils	100	170			170
44, 46, et 48 fils	100	200			200
50 fils et au-dessus	100	400			400
Chaînes ourdies écrues	Le droit sur le fil simple, augmenté de 50 pour cent.				
„ blanchies	Le droit sur les chaînes ourdies écrues, augmenté de 15 pour cent.				
„ teintes	Le droit sur les chaînes ourdies écrues, augmenté de 25 c. par kilog.				
Tissus de coton—					
Broderie à la main ou à la mécanique	A la valeur	Pour cent. 10	A la valeur	Pour cent. 5	Pour cent. 15
Gazes et mousselines brodées ou brochées pour ameublement, tentures, ou habillement	„	10	„	5	15
Industrie de laine :—					
Fils de laine cardée, blanchis ou non, mesurant au kilogramme—		Francs.			
5,001 et pas plus de 10,000 mètres	..	10	..	5	15
10,001 et pas plus de 15,000 mètres	..	10	..	5	20
15,001 et pas plus de 20,000 mètres	..	15	..	5	25
20,001 et pas plus de 25,000 mètres	..	20	..	5	30
25,001 et pas plus de 30,000 mètres	..	25	..	10	35
De 30,001 à 35,000 mètres	..	35	..	5	40
Au-dessus de 35,000 mètres	Mêmes droits que les fils de laine peignée.				
Tissus de laine mélangés—		Pour cent.		Pour cent.	Pour cent.
De soie	A la valeur	10	A la valeur	5	15
De coton	„	10	„	8	18
Tissus de lin ou de chanvre, blanchis, teints, ou imprimés	Même classification que pour les tissus écrus et maintien des droits actuels.				

* Le droit actuel sur les fils de lin et de chanvre écrus représente 9 pour cent, de la valeur du produit. L'augmentation étant de 3 pour cent, pour déterminer le chiffre du droit à réclamer il suffit de prendre le tiers du droit actuel et de l'ajouter à ce même droit.

† Quel que soit le droit sur le fil éçu, la protection pour le blanchissement et la teinture doit rester la même. C'est donc seulement le droit supplémentaire sur l'éçu qui doit être ajouté au droit du fil blanchi ou teint.

‡ Il ne s'agit là que d'une simple correction du Tarif, qui consiste à compter, comme cela existe pour les tissus de coton, les fils de trame aussi bien que les fils de chaîne et de cumuler les uns et les autres pour déterminer à quelle classe du Tarif la toile doit appartenir.

Nomenclature des Produits.	Tarif Actuel.		Augmentation.		Droit total.
	Unités.	Droits.	Taux.	Droit.	
Industrie de coton :—					
Fils de coton simple mésurant au $\frac{1}{2}$ kilogramme :					
Ecrus*—		Fr. c.	Pour cent.	Fr. c.	Fr. c.
De 61,000 à 70,000 mètres ..	Le kilogramme	0 60	3	0 20	0 80
De 71,000 à 80,000 mètres ..	"	0 70	3	0 23	0 93
De 81,000 à 90,000 mètres ..	"	0 90	3	0 30	1 20
De 91,000 à 100,000 mètres ..	"	1 0	3	0 33	1 33
De 101,000 à 110,000 mètres ..	"	1 20	5	0 60	1 80
De 111,000 à 120,000 mètres ..	"	1 40	5	0 70	2 10
De 121,000 à 130,000 mètres ..	"	1 60	5	0 80	2 40
De 131,000 à 140,000 mètres ..	"	2 0	5	0 66	2 66
De 141,000 à 170,000 mètres ..	"	2 50	5	0 83	3 33
De 171,000 mètres, et au-dessus ..	"	3 0	5	1 50	4 50
Blanchis	Le droit sur le fil simple écreu, augmenté de 15 pour cent.				
Teints	Idem. idem augmenté de 25 c. par kilogramme.				
Retors en deux bouts, écreu ..	Le droit afférent au nombre du fil simple employé au retordage, augmenté de 50 pour cent.				
" blanchis ..	Le droit sur le fil écreu retors en deux bouts, augmenté de 15 pour cent.				
" teints ..	Idem idem augmenté de 25 c. par kilog.				

(Translation.)

England (including the Possessions of Malta and Gibraltar).

IMPORTATIONS into France during the Year 1869.

Description of the Articles included in the Supplementary Conventions of October 12 and November 16, 1860.	General Trade.	Special Trade.
	Value in Francs.	Value in Francs.
Silk and waste silk	101,288,112	96,266,544
Tissues, haberdashery, and ribbons of wool	71,266,584	52,724,546
Wools and waste wool	67,414,298	66,998,814
Cotton-wool	40,058,823	39,415,303
Raw coal	31,736,074	28,216,770
Tissues, haberdashery, and ribbons of cotton	31,176,886	13,550,092
Iron, cast-iron and steel	21,705,578	5,089,436
Copper, not including the ore	20,849,290	20,106,744
Ships and boats	12,106,075	12,103,925
Tissues, haberdashery, and ribbons of silk	10,222,692	6,718,577
Machines and machinery	9,225,405	8,593,785
Yarns of goat's hair	7,837,965	7,826,247
Jute in the fibre or hackled	7,663,299	7,663,299
Tissues, haberdashery, and ribbons of flax or hemp	7,161,277	4,923,673*
Cotton yarns	7,027,897	6,165,822
Woollen yarns	5,915,672	6,611,341
Prepared skins	6,644,752	6,243,037
Yarns of flax or hemp	6,317,067	6,086,343
Crude tin	6,211,960	6,208,687
Tools and metal articles	5,629,979	4,889,575
Articles in caoutchouc or gutta-percha	4,896,600	4,450,300
Fish	3,290,726	3,126,019
Copper ore	2,522,299	2,522,298
Fresh oysters	2,397,270	2,397,270
Zinc, of first melting	2,362,846	2,362,846
Clothing and sewn linen goods	1,799,179	950,031
Soda of all kinds	1,643,806	1,618,572
Articles in skin or leather	1,561,582	488,504
Lead in pigs	1,542,976	1,542,748
Acids of all kinds	1,471,324	1,360,198
Colours of all kinds	1,335,369	1,212,760
Pottery, glasses, and crystals	1,331,015	1,243,802
Articles in wood	647,494	629,983
Sewing needles	613,878	586,386
Plate and jewellery	610,467	250,927
Mercery and buttons	525,596	391,601

* Le droit actuel sur les fils de lin et de chanvre écrus représente 9 pour cent. de la valeur du produit. L'augmentation étant de 3 pour cent., pour déterminer le chiffre du droit à réclamer il suffit de prendre le tiers du droit actuel et de l'ajouter à ce même droit.

Description of the Articles included in the Supplementary Conventions of October 12 and November 16, 1860.						General Trade. Value in Francs.	Special Trade. Value in Francs.
Raw and refined iodine	..	..	..	..	..	523,410	474,414
Nitrates of potash and soda	..	..	..	..	..	515,177	425,156
Beer	..	..	..	..	..	504,125	461,728
Metallic pens and nibs	..	..	..	..	..	497,360	338,980
Nickel	..	..	..	..	..	482,611	530,086
Crystallized prussiate of potas	..	..	..	..	..	419,499	352,712
Lobsters	..	..	..	..	..	371,633	371,633
Pure or mixed tissues of waste silk	..	..	..	..	..	364,739	266,684
Cylinders of copper for printing, whether engraved or not	..	..	..	..	..	364,117	364,117
Phosphorus	..	..	..	..	..	351,260	215,638
Total	..	..	..	..	..	511,366,043	435,337,453
Other articles	..	..	..	..	..	139,953,241	115,978,015
Total	..	..	..	..	..	651,319,284	551,315,468

TABLE (B).—AUGMENTATION OF DUTIES.

Explanation of the method pursued for determining the new Duties.

Description of the Products.	Present Tariff.		Augmentation.		Total Duty.
	Units.	Duties.	Rate.	Duty.	
Manufacture of linen and hemp:—					
Thread of linen or hemp, measuring, per kilogramme:					
Raw*—	Kilogrammes.	Francs.	Per cent.	Francs.	Francs.
24,000 and not more than 36,000 mètres	100	36	3	12	48
36,000 and not more than 72,000 mètres	100	60	3	20	80
72,000 mètres and upwards ..	100	100	3	33	133
Bleached or coloured†—					
24,000 and not more than 36,000 mètres	100	48	3	12	60
36,000 and not more than 72,000 mètres	100	80	3	20	100
72,000 mètres and upwards ..	100	135	3	33	168
Raw twisted	Same duties as plain raw threads, increased 40 per cent.				
„ bleached or dyed ..	Ditto as dyed or bleached threads, increased 40 per cent.				
Linen and hempen tissues, smooth or worked, showing in the warp and woof, within the space of 5 millimètres square—	Kilogrammes.	Francs.			Francs.
17 threads or under‡	100	30	No change in the rates of duties, which are simply reproduced as follows—		30
19, 21, and 23 threads	100	55			55
25, 27, and 29 threads	100	90			90
32, 34, and 36 threads	100	115			115
38, 40, and 42 threads	100	170			170
44, 46, and 48 threads	100	200			200
50 threads and upwards	100	400			400
Warped threads, raw	The duty on plain thread, increased 50 per cent.				
„ bleached	The duty on plain warped threads, increased 15 per cent.				
„ dyed	The duty on plain warped threads, increased 25 c. per kilogramme.				
Cotton tissues—					
Embroidered by hand or machinery.	ad valorem	Per cent. 10	ad valorem	Per cent. 5	Per cent. 15
Gauzes and muslins embroidered or figured for furniture, tapestry, or clothing	„	10	„	5	15

* The present duty upon linen and hempen raw threads represents 9 per cent. of the value of the product. The augmentation being at the rate of 3 per cent., in order to determine the amount of duty to be levied, it is only necessary to take the third of the present duty, and to add it to such duty.

† Whatever may be the duty upon raw thread, the protection for dyeing and bleaching must remain the same. It is, therefore, only the additional duty upon the raw thread which must be added to the duty upon the bleached or dyed thread.

‡ This is only a question of a simple correction of the Tariff, which consists in counting, like as is the case with cotton tissues, the warp threads as well as the woof, and taking them both together, in determining to what class of the Tariff the cloth should belong.

Description of the Products.	Present Tariff.		Augmentation.		Total Duty.
	Units.	Duties.	Rate.	Duty.	
Woollen manufacture :—					
Carded woollen threads, whether bleached or not, measuring per kilogramme—					
5,001 and not more than 10,000 mètres ..	..	Francs. 10	..	5	15
10,001 and not more than 15,000 mètres ..	..	10	..	5	20
15,001 and not more than 20,000 mètres ..	..	15	..	5	25
20,001 and not more than 25,000 mètres ..	..	20	..	5	30
25,001 and not more than 30,000 mètres ..	..	25	..	10	35
From 30,001 to 35,000 mètres ..	..	35	..	5	40
Above 35,000 mètres ..	..	Same duties as combed woollen threads.			
Mixed woollen tissues—		Per cent		Per cent.	Per cent.
Silk ..	<i>Ad valorem</i>	10	<i>Ad valorem</i>	5	15
Cotton ..	"	10	"	8	18
Linen or hempen tissues, bleached, dyed, or printed ..		Same classification as for raw tissues, and present duties maintained.			
Cotton manufactures :—					
Plain cotton thread, measuring per $\frac{1}{2}$ kilogramme :					
Raw*—					
From 61,000 to 70,000 mètres	Per kilogramme	Fr. c. 0 60	Per cent. 3	Fr. c. 0 20	Fr. c. 0 80
From 71,000 to 80,000 mètres	"	0 70	3	0 23	0 93
From 81,000 to 90,000 mètres	"	0 90	3	0 30	1 20
From 91,000 to 100,000 mètres	"	1 0	3	0 33	1 33
From 101,000 to 110,000 mètres	"	1 20	5	0 60	1 80
From 111,000 to 120,000 mètres	"	1 40	5	0 70	2 10
From 121,000 to 130,000 mètres	"	1 60	5	0 80	2 40
From 131,000 to 140,000 mètres	"	2 0	5	0 66	2 66
From 141,000 to 170,000 mètres	"	2 50	5	0 83	3 33
Of 171,000 mètres and over ..	"	3 0	5	1 50	4 50
Bleached ..	The duty on plain raw thread, increased 15 per cent.				
Dyed ..	Ditto ditto increased 25 c. per kilogramme.				
Twisted double, raw ..	The duty applicable to the corresponding plain raw thread used for twisting, increased 50 per cent.				
" bleached ..	The duty on the raw double twisted thread, increased 15 per cent.				
" coloured ..	Ditto ditto increased 25 c. per kilogramme.				

No. 36.

Memorandum by M. Ozeanne relative to the Revision of the Treaty of Commerce of January 23, 1860.

LE Traité de Commerce conclu le 23 Janvier, 1860, entre la France et l'Angleterre étant expiré, chacune des Hautes Parties Contractantes a le droit de le dénoncer et par suite d'en faire cesser les effets après une dernière période de douze mois.

Dans la situation où elle se trouve par suite des événements qui viennent de s'accomplir, la France est obligée de faire face, par l'établissement de nouveaux impôts, aux nécessités financières qui s'imposent au pays. D'un autre côté, si elle avait obéi à la resson des intérêts, très-nombreux et très-ardents chez elle, qui réclament une protection plus énergique que celle qui résulte des Tarifs annexées aux Conventions des 12 Octobre et 16 Novembre, 1860, la France n'aurait pas hésité à se dégager des liens qui gênent sa liberté d'action.

Mais elle a cédé à des inspirations plus élevées ; elle a considéré que dans l'état actuel de l'Europe, alors que les notions du juste et de l'injuste sont troublées à ce point qu'un homme célèbre a pu dire, "La force prime le droit ;" il y avait un intérêt de premier ordre à ce que la France et l'Angleterre restassent unies. Or, la dénonciation du Traité de Commerce, surtout en présence de la législation générale de la France, n'aurait pas manqué d'apporter une trouble considérable dans les relations commerciales des deux peuples, en même temps qu'un refroidissement dans les relations politiques des deux Gouvernements, l'un étant nécessairement la conséquence de l'autre.

C'est donc dans une vue de conciliation que le Gouvernement Français a proposé au Gouvernement Anglais de s'entendre pour réviser le Traité du 23 Janvier, 1860. Le

* The present duty upon linen and hempen raw threads represents 9 per cent. of the value of the product. The augmentation being at the rate of 3 per cent., in order to determine the amount of duty to be levied, it is only necessary to take the third of the present duty and to add it to such duty.

Projet de Convention qu'il a communiqué au Cabinet de Londres témoigne de la modération de ses demandes, surtout si l'on consulte les résultats de l'enquête faite par le Corps Législatif dans la session 1869-70. Si, d'un autre côté, le Cabinet de Versailles réclame sur les produits fabriqués la compensation des impôts qu'il est obligée de mettre sur les matières premières, ce n'est que l'exécution loyale d'une disposition d'ailleurs très-équitable, insérée dans le Traité de 1860.

Cependant, les divers organes de la presse en Angleterre s'inscrivent contre toute modification au Traité de Commerce, et déclarent que mieux vaut le dénoncer que de porter atteinte au principe de la liberté commerciale. Que ce langage soit celui de théoriciens purs, qu'ils veuillent renouveler ces mots tristement célèbres, "Périssent les Colonies plutôt qu'un principe!" on pourrait jusqu'à un certain point le comprendre. Mais que l'opposition qui se manifeste vienne d'hommes pratiques qui connaissent le prix du maintien de bonnes relations entre deux grands peuples, il est difficile de l'admettre à moins qu'ils ne se fassent illusion sur les conséquences douanières, pour le commerce de la France avec l'Angleterre, de la conduite qu'ils conseillent à leur Gouvernement de tenir vis-à-vis de la France.

A côté des Tarifs qui résultent des Traités de Commerce conclus avec les principales Puissances de l'Europe et qui forment le droit conventionnel de la France, le Tarif général antérieur au Traité de 1860 existe avec toutes les restrictions qu'il comporte. C'est une loi de l'Etat qui a toujours force et vigueur, et par conséquent applicable à tous les pays qui ne sont liés à la France par aucune Convention Commerciale. Or, le Tarif général est couvert de prohibitions et défend d'une manière absolue l'importation en France de la plupart des produits manufacturés que l'Angleterre lui fournit. Ainsi, il prohibe l'entrée notamment des ouvrages en métaux, des fils et tissus de coton, des fils et tissus de laine, de la tabletterie, de la faïence fine, de la verrerie, des ouvrages en peau, &c.; il frappe de taxes très-élevées les fers, le cuivre, le plomb, l'étain, les produits chimiques—marchandises qui alimentent le commerce d'exportation l'Angleterre.

Sans doute le Tarif général de la France est un Tarif suranné qui, en fait, n'a pas aujourd'hui d'application réelle. Mais avant qu'il soit remplacé par un Tarif mieux approprié aux besoins actuels de l'industrie et du commerce, il faudra beaucoup de temps, car ce n'est pas une œuvre facile de peser tous les intérêts, et de les concilier en donnant à chacun d'eux la part qui devrait lui revenir dans le système économique qui serait adopté par les représentants légaux du pays. Cette tâche est plus difficile encore lorsque toute liberté d'action étant recouvrée, il n'y a plus de digue à opposer aux convoitises des intérêts mis en jeu.

D'un autre côté, si la dénonciation du Traité avec l'Angleterre doit amener une mesure analogue vis-à-vis de la Belgique, dont le Traité de Commerce avec la France est également arrivée à terme, la situation n'est pas la même à l'égard des autres pays dont les Traités ont des échéances plus ou moins éloignées. Or, privée du point d'appui que lui donnerait un accord avec l'Angleterre, la France n'aurait aucune chance sérieuse d'obtenir de ces pays les concessions de Tarif qu'elle réclame aujourd'hui et dont l'intérêt serait d'ailleurs moins grand pour elle, la concurrence et les importations de ces pays étant loin d'égaliser celles de l'Angleterre et de la Belgique. En effet, sur une somme totale de 272,000,000 francs, représentant la valeur des produits fabriqués importés en France en 1869, et restés dans la consommation du pays, la part de l'Angleterre et de la Belgique est de 166,000,000 francs, c'est-à-dire, de près des deux-tiers de l'ensemble, et l'Angleterre seule y entre pour 130,000,000, soit près de la moitié du tout. Si du commerce spécial on passe au commerce général, on trouve à peu près la même proportion. Voici les chiffres: produits fabriqués importés en France en 1869, 760,000,000 valeur totale, parmi laquelle l'Angleterre figure pour 179,000,000 et la Belgique pour 104,000,000, soit pour les deux pays 283,000,000, ou près de la moitié de l'ensemble.

Quoiqu'il en soit, et si, comme on vient de la démontrer, la part des pays qui resteraient investis du droit conventionnel est moins forte, pour l'importation des produits fabriqués, que celles de l'Angleterre et de la Belgique, ils n'en auraient pas moins un avantage considérable sur leurs rivaux,—avantage qui, dans un temps donné, pouvait changer, au grand détriment de l'Angleterre, les proportions relatives qui viennent d'être indiquées. Là encore, l'intérêt prédominant est pour une entente entre la France et l'Angleterre pour le règlement de leurs intérêts commerciaux.

Le but de la présente note est uniquement d'établir aussi nettement que possible la situation qui résulterait de la non-acceptation des propositions du Gouvernement Français, qui, il l'a prouvé, attache un grand prix au maintien de bonnes relations entre deux pays dont l'union est une garantie de paix et de stabilité pour l'Europe.

Londres, le 26 Septembre, 1871.

(Translation.)

THE Treaty of Commerce concluded on the 23rd of January, 1860, between France and England having expired, each of the High Contracting Parties has the right of denouncing it, and consequently of making its effects to cease after the lapse of twelve months.

In the situation in which France finds herself, in consequence of the events which have taken place, she is freed to meet, by the imposition of fresh taxes, the financial necessities which weigh on the country. On another hand, if France had yielded to the pressure of the very numerous and powerful interests which demand a more energetic protection than that accorded by the tariffs annexed to the Conventions of the 12th of October and 16th of November, 1860, she would not have hesitated to free herself from the bonds which fetter her liberty of action.

But she gave place to loftier inspirations; she considered that in the actual state of Europe, where the views of justice and injustice are clouded to such a point as to cause a celebrated man to remark, "Force overrules right," it was above all important that France and England should remain united. Moreover, the denunciation of the Treaty of Commerce, especially in view of the general legislation of France, could not fail to produce a considerable disturbance in the commercial relations of the two peoples, as well as the cooling of the political relations of the two Governments, the one following necessarily on the other.

It is, therefore, with a conciliatory view that the French Government has proposed to the English Government to come to an understanding for the revision of the Treaty of January 23, 1860. The Project of Convention which was communicated by it to the London Cabinet bears testimony to the moderation of its demands, especially if the results of the inquiry instituted by the Legislative Body during the session of 1869-70 are consulted. If, on the other hand, the Versailles Cabinet demands upon manufactured goods a compensation for the taxes which it is forced to impose on raw materials, it is but a loyal execution of an otherwise very equitable arrangement inserted in the Treaty of 1860.

However, the various organs of the press in England declare against all modification of the Treaty of Commerce, and maintain that it is better to denounce it than to strike a blow at the principle of commercial liberty. Were this language that of pure theorists, did they wish to renew those words mournfully famous, "Perish the colonies rather than a principle!" it would be to a certain point intelligible. But it is difficult to allow that the opposition which manifests itself comes from practical men, who understand the value of the maintenance of good relations between two great people, unless they are under a delusion as regards the consequences in respect to customs, on the trade between France and England, of the line which they advise their Government to follow towards France.

By the side of the tariffs which are the consequence of the Treaties of Commerce concluded with the principal Powers of Europe and which form the conventional duty of France, the general Tariff anterior to the Treaty of 1860 exists with all the restrictions which belong to it. It is a law of the State which still has force and vigour, and is consequently applicable to all countries which are not bound to France by a Commercial Convention. Moreover, the general Tariff is full of prohibitions and absolutely forbids the importation into France of most of the manufactured products which England supplies to her. Thus, notably, it prohibits the introduction of articles in metal, cotton twist, and tissues, woollen twist, and tissues, hardware goods, fine porcelain, glass, articles in leather, &c.; it imposes very high taxes on iron, copper, lead, tin, chemical products—goods which supply the export trade of England.

No doubt the general Tariff of France is an antiquated one, which practically now-a-days has no actual application. But much time will be required before it can be replaced by a Tariff more suited to the actual wants of industry and commerce, for it is no easy task to measure all the interests, and to conciliate them by giving to each the part which should belong to it in the economic system which may be adopted by the legal representatives of the country. This task will be more difficult still when, entire liberty of action having been recovered, there will be no longer any barrier to oppose to the encroachments of the interests engaged.

On another hand, if the denunciation of the Treaty with England entails an analogous measure as regards Belgium, whose Treaty of Commerce with France has equally arrived at termination, the situation is not the same as regards other countries the expiration of the Treaties with which is still distant. Moreover, deprived of the support which an understanding with England would have given her, France would have no real chance of obtaining from those countries the tariff concessions which she now demands, and the

advantages of which, moreover, would be less as regards herself, the competition and the imports of those countries being far from equalling those of England and Belgium. In short, of a total amount of 272,000,000 fr., representing the value of manufactured goods imported into France in 1869 and consumed in the country, the share of England and Belgium amounts to 166,000,000 fr., that is, to nearly two-thirds of the whole, and England alone figures for 130,000,000 fr., that is, nearly half of the whole amount. If from special trade one passes to general trade, one finds about the same proportion. Here are the figures: manufactured products imported into France in 1869, 760,000,000 fr. total value, in which England figures for 179,000,000 and Belgium for 104,000,000 fr., that is, for the two countries, 283,000,000 fr., or nearly one-half of the whole amount.

However it be, and if, as it has first been shown, the proportion belonging to the countries which would remain invested with the conventional duty, is smaller, as regards the importations of manufactured goods, than that of England and Belgium, they would none the less have a considerable advantage over their rivals—an advantage which, in a given time, might alter, to the great detriment of England, the relative proportions which have just been indicated. There, again, the balance of interest is in favour of an understanding between France and England for the settlement of their commercial interests.

The aim of the present note is simply to define as clearly as possible the situation which would result from the non-acceptance of the proposals of the French Government, which, as it has given proofs, attaches a great value to the maintenance of good relations between two countries whose union is a guarantee of peace and stability for Europe.

London, September 26, 1871.

No. 37.

Memorandum by M. Ozenne, entitled "Marine Marchande."

D'APRES une proposition due à l'initiative parlementaire et qui a revêtu la forme d'un Projet de Loi, les marchandises importées en France par navires étrangers seraient passibles de surtaxe de pavillon fixées par 100 kilogrammes, ainsi qu'il suit :—

1. Des pays d'Europe et du bassin de la Méditerranée, 75 centimes.
2. Des pays hors d'Europe en deça des Caps Horn et de Bonne Espérance, 1 franc 50 centimes.
3. Des pays situés au-delà de ces deux Caps, 2 francs.
4. Des entrepôts d'Europe, pour les marchandises originaires des pays hors d'Europe, 3 francs.

Ces surtaxes de pavillon sont très-modérés; pour s'en convaincre il suffit de se reporter à la législation qui a précédé la réforme économique inaugurée par le Traité du 23 Janvier, 1860.

Avant 1816 il n'y avait que quelques marchandises de grand encombrement, et notamment les denrées coloniales, qui, pour leur importation par navires étrangers, étaient soumises à des surtaxes de navigation. C'est la Loi du 28 Avril, 1816, qui par son Article 7 généralisa le système des surtaxes de pavillon d'après les bases ci-après :—

1. Pour toutes les marchandises dont la taxe était inférieure à 300 francs par 100 kilogrammes, 10 pour cent du droit établi à l'importation par navire Français, quel que soit le pays de provenance.
2. Pour toutes les marchandises dont la taxe était supérieure à 300 francs par 100 kilogrammes, 5 pour cent du droit fixé pour l'importation par navire Français.

Mais, bien que prises à titre général, les dispositions de la Loi du 28 Avril, 1816, n'avaient pas empêché les législateurs de déterminer surtout pour les marchandises de grand encombrement et d'une origine extra-Européenne des surtaxes de pavillon beaucoup plus considérables que celles qui seraient résultées de la Loi précitée.

Pour mieux faire comprendre l'économie de la législation antérieure à 1860, on citera ici quelques exemples s'appliquant, soit d'après la législation générale, soit d'après la législation spéciale, à des produits de grand encombrement :—

1. Régime établi par la Loi du 28 Avril, 1816.

Surtaxes de 10 pour cent du droit de l'importation par navires Français—

Laine—

Par navires Français	..	..	..	..	20 pour cent de la valeur.
Par navires étrangers	..	..	..	..	} 22 pour cent de la valeur; ou 10 pour cent du droit.
					Par 100 kilos.

Poils de porc et de sanglier—

Par navires Français	..	..	..	..	Fr. c.
Par navires étrangers	..	..	..	..	20 0
					22 0

Soies teintes—						Fr. c.
Par navires Français	..	..	..	..	..	800 0
Par navires étrangers	..	..	..	..	..	330 0
Fromages—						
Par navires Français	..	..	..	..	..	15 0
Par navires étrangers	..	..	..	..	..	16 50
Chanvre—						
Par navires Français	..	..	..	..	..	8 0
Par navires étrangers	..	..	..	..	..	8 80
Lin peigné—						
Par navires Français	..	..	..	..	..	15 0
Par navires étrangers	..	..	..	..	..	16 50

2. Régime Spécial. Surtaxes variant selon la nature des Marchandises.

Grandes peaux brutes fraîches.—						Par 100 kilos.
Par navires Français—						Fr. c.
Des pays hors d'Europe	..	..	..	..	..	5 0
Des entrepôts	..	..	..	..	..	10 0
Par navires étrangers, quel que soit le pays de provenance.	..	..	..	..	..	15 0

Ici la surtaxe sur le pavillon étranger était de 10 francs par 100 kilogrammes relativement à la provenance du pays hors d'Europe et de 5 francs relativement à la provenance des entrepôts (toujours en prenant pour point de comparaison la situation faite aux navires Français).

Sucre brut :—						Les 100 kilos.
Par navires Français—						Fr. c.
De l'Inde	..	..	..	..	..	60 0
Des autres pays hors d'Europe	..	..	..	..	..	65 0
Des entrepôts	..	..	..	..	..	75 0
Par navires étrangers	..	..	..	..	..	85 0
Cafés :—						
Par navires Français—						
De l'Inde	..	..	..	..	..	78 0
Des autres pays hors d'Europe	..	..	..	..	..	95 0
Des entrepôts	..	..	..	..	..	100 0
Par navires étrangers	..	..	..	..	..	105 0

On voit par ces exemples, qui pourraient être multipliés, que le système en vigueur avant 1860 avait un double objet : 1. Exciter le pavillon Français à faire la navigation la plus lointaine, puisque par l'échelle des surtaxes ci-dessus indiquées la taxe à percevoir était d'autant plus faible que la distance parcourue était plus longue. 2. Empêcher l'intervention du pavillon étranger surtout dans la navigation lointaine, puisque pour ce pavillon la surtaxe était d'autant plus élevée que la distance à parcourir était plus longue. Exemple : si un navire étranger arrivait dans un port Français avec un chargement de café pris dans l'Inde, le droit à payer par lui était de 105 francs, tandis que le navire Français faisant la même opération ne devait qu'une taxe de 78 francs, soit un écart ou surtaxe de 27 francs par 100 kilogrammes, laquelle s'abaissait à 10 francs pour les importations des autres pays hors d'Europe (95 francs pour le navire Français, 105 francs pour le navire étranger), et même à 5 francs pour les importations des entrepôts d'Europe (100 francs par navires Français, 105 francs par navires étrangers).

3. Régime proposé par l'Assemblée Nationale.

Comme on l'a vu au commencement de cette note, la surtaxe de pavillon est fixée et reste la même, quelle que soit la marchandise importée. Elle ne varie que d'après la provenance.

Supposons un navire étranger important du café en France :—

S'il vient des pays en deça des caps, il paiera 1 franc 50 centimes par 100 kilogrammes.

S'il vient d'au delà des caps, il paiera 2 francs par 100 kilogrammes.

Enfin s'il arrive des entrepôts, il paiera 3 francs par 100 kilogrammes.

Il faut remarquer que cette surtaxe de 3 francs est celle qui avait été établie, même après 1860, sur les marchandises venant des entrepôts d'Europe, savoir, laine, coton, peaux brutes, &c.

Le système des surtaxes de pavillon étant donné, elles ne pouvaient guère être plus faibles que celles proposées par l'Assemblée Nationale.

Londres, le 26 Septembre, 1871.

(Translation.)

BY a proposal due to Parliamentary initiative, which has assumed the shape of a Bill, goods imported into France in foreign vessels would be liable to differential duties on every 100 kilos., fixed as follows:—

1. From European countries and the Mediterranean basin, 75 c.;
2. From countries out of Europe, on this side of Cape Horn and the Cape of Good Hope, 1 fr. 50 c.;
3. From countries situated beyond the two Capes, 2 fr.;
4. From the entrepôts of Europe, for goods brought from countries out of Europe, 3 fr.;

These differential duties are very moderate; to prove this it is only necessary to refer to the Legislation which preceded the economic reform inaugurated by the Treaty of January 23, 1860.

Previous to 1816 only some heavy merchandize, and more particularly colonial products, on being imported in foreign vessels, were subjected to differential duties. But, the Law of April 28, 1816, by Article VII, generalized the system of differential duties on the following bases:—

1. For all goods on which the tax was lower than 300 fr. per 100 kilos., 10 per cent. of the duty established on importation in French vessels, whatever might be the country of origin.

2. For all goods on which the tax was higher than 300 fr. per 100 kilos., 5 per cent. of the duty fixed for importation in French vessels.

But, although adopted, even if taken in a general sense, the provisions of the Law of April 28, 1816, did not prevent legislators from fixing far heavier differential duties than those which would result from the Law referred to, more especially upon heavy merchandize, and of extra-European origin.

In order the better to explain the financial policy affected by the Legislation previous to 1860, some examples, applying either by general or special Legislation to heavy merchandize, are here annexed:—

1. Régime established by the Law of April 28, 1816.

Additional duties of 10 per cent of the duty on importation in French vessels:

Wool—						
In French vessels	..	..	..	..	20 per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .	
In foreign vessels	..	..	..	..	{ 22 per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> ; or 10 per cent. of the duty.	
						Per 100 kilos.
Bristles, boar and pig—						
						Fr. c.
In French vessels	..	..	..	..	..	20 0
In foreign vessels	..	..	..	..	..	22 0
Dyed silks—						
In French vessels	..	..	..	..	..	300 0
In foreign vessels	..	..	..	..	..	330 0
Cheese—						
In French vessels	..	..	..	..	..	15 0
In foreign vessels	..	..	..	..	..	16 50
Hemp—						
In French vessels	..	..	..	..	..	8 0
In foreign vessels	..	..	..	..	..	8 80
Carded flax—						
In French vessels	..	..	..	..	..	15 0
In foreign vessels	..	..	..	..	..	16 50

2. Special régime. Differential duties varying according to the nature of the goods.

Large fresh raw hides—						
In French vessels—						
						Per 100 kilos.
						Fr. c.
From countries out of Europe	..	..	..	..	..	5 0
From entrepôts	..	..	..	..	..	10 0
In foreign vessels, whatever the country or origin	..	..	..	..	..	15 0

Under this head the additional duty on the foreign flag was at the rate of 10 fr. per 100 kilos. as regards (arrivals) from other countries out of Europe, and 5 fr. as regards arrivals from entrepôts (taking always as the point of comparison the position given to French vessels).

Raw sugar—						Per 100 kilos.	
In French vessels—						Fr.	c.
	From India	..	..	..	..	60	0
	From other countries out of Europe	..	..	..	..	65	0
	From entrepôts	..	..	..	..	75	0
	In foreign vessels	..	..	..	..	85	0
Coffees—							
In French vessels—							
	From India	..	..	..	..	78	0
	From other countries out of Europe	..	..	..	..	95	0
	From entrepôts	..	..	..	..	100	0
	In foreign vessels	..	..	..	..	105	0

It will be seen by these examples, which might be multiplied, that the system in force before 1860, had a double object : 1. To encourage the French flag to engage in the more distant trade, since, by the scale of additional charges shown above, the amounts to be levied were lighter in proportion as the distance to be traversed was longer. 2. To prevent the competition of the foreign flag, especially in the distant trade, as in such a case the greater the distance the higher the differential duty.

Example—If a foreign vessel arrived at a French port with a cargo of coffee from India, the duty to be paid would be at the rate of 105 fr., whereas a French vessel, under similar circumstances, would only be liable to a duty at the rate of 78 fr., or a differential duty of 27 fr. per 100 kilos., which would be reduced to 10 fr. on importations from other countries out of Europe (95 fr. for the French vessel, 105 fr. for the foreign vessel), and even to 5 fr. on importations from European entrepôts (100 fr. if in French vessels, 105 fr. in foreign vessels).

3. Régime proposed by the National Assembly.

As is shown at the beginning of this note, the additional duty on foreign shipping is fixed, and remains the same, whatever the goods imported. It only varies with the country of origin.

Let us suppose a foreign vessel importing coffee into France. If it comes from countries on this side of the Capes, it will pay 1 fr. 50 c. per 100 kilos. If it comes from beyond the Capes, it will pay 2 fr. per 100 kilos. If it arrives from entrepôts, it will pay 3 fr. per 100 kilos. It must be observed that this differential duty of 3 fr. is the one which was imposed even after 1860 on goods coming from European entrepôts, viz., wool, cotton, raw hides, &c.

The system of differential duties having been established, they could scarcely be lighter than those suggested by the National Assembly.

London, September 26, 1871.

No. 38.

M. Gavard to Earl Granville.—(Received October 21.)

M. le Ministre,

Londres, le 21 Octobre, 1871.

DANS le courant de l'entretien que vous avez bien voulu m'accorder Mercredi en même temps qu'à M. le Préfet de la Seine, vous nous avez parlé de l'opposition que rencontrerait en Angleterre l'établissement d'un droit de 20 pour cent à l'importation en France des matières premières telles que les laines.

J'ai pris sur moi de répondre immédiatement à votre Excellence qu'il me paraissait possible d'écarter du débat auquel va donner lieu l'examen de nos propositions commerciales, la question des droits à établir sur les articles Anglais pour compenser les impôts dont le projet soumis à l'Assemblée Nationale tend à grever les matières premières.

La base de nos demandes demeurant en suspens, tant que la Législature Française ne se sera pas prononcée sur l'impôt des matières premières, et ce point ne pouvant être réglé qu'après la reprise de la session, j'ai pensé qu'il y aurait tout avantage à dégager la négociation de la discussion des droits compensateurs et j'ai exposé ma manière de voir à M. de Rémusat.

Je m'empresse d'informer votre Excellence que le Gouvernement Français a accueilli cette suggestion. On se bornerait en conséquence dans le présent arrangement à stipuler que des droits compensateurs seraient ultérieurement établis, conformément aux dispositions des Traités de 1860, et proportionnellement aux taxes sur les matières premières qui seraient votées par l'Assemblée Nationale. Cette stipulation remplacerait dès lors, dans le projet que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous communiquer, l'Article III, et nous n'aurions plus à nous occuper, quant à présent, du Tableau C.

Votre Excellence appréciera, je n'en doute pas, la portée de cette modification et les avantages qu'on peut en tirer au point de vue du succès de la négociation.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) GAVARD.

(Translation.)

M. le Ministre,

London, October 21, 1871.

IN the course of the interview which you were pleased to grant me on Wednesday, at the same time as to the Prefect of the Seine, you spoke of the opposition which the establishment of a duty of 20 per cent. on importation into France of raw materials such as wool would encounter in England.

I took upon myself to answer your Excellency at once that it appeared to me possible to remove from the discussion to which the examination of our commercial proposals would give rise, the question of duties to be established on English articles to compensate for the taxes with which the Bill submitted to the National Assembly tends to burden raw materials.

The basis of our demands remaining in suspense so long as the French Legislature does not decide respecting the duties on raw materials, and as this point can only be settled after the reopening of the Session, I thought that there would be every advantage in freeing the negotiation from the discussion of compensatory duties, and I have expressed my views to M. de Rémusat.

I hasten to inform your Excellency that the French Government have accepted this suggestion. They will limit themselves consequently in the present arrangement to stipulating that the compensatory duties shall be ultimately settled, in conformity with the provisions of the Treaties of 1860, and in proportion to the taxes on raw materials which will be voted by the National Assembly. This stipulation will henceforth take the place of Article III in the project which I have had the honour to communicate to you, and for the present, we need not give our attention to Table C.

Your Excellency will, I have no doubt, appreciate the extent of this modification and the advantages which may be reaped with a view to the success of the negotiation.

Accept, &c.
(Signed) GAVARD.

No. 39.

M. Ozenne to Mr. Gladstone.

M. le Ministre,

Londres, le 29 Octobre, 1871.

L'ACCUEIL si bienveillant que vous avez bien voulu me faire hier a été, pour moi, un encouragement à préparer la note que j'ai l'honneur de vous remettre ci-annexée.

Je la sou mets à votre jugement si éclairé, et je conserve la pensée, qu'en tout cas j'ai été mu par ce sentiment si vif chez moi, qu'il importe de maintenir les relations amicales qui existent si heureusement entre la France et l'Angleterre.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) F. OZENNE.

(Translation.)

M. le Ministre,

London, October 29, 1871.

THE very kind reception which you were so good as to grant to me yesterday, has been an encouragement to me to draw up the note which I have the honour to transmit to you herewith.

I submit it to your most enlightened judgment, and I retain the thought that, at any rate, I have been inspired with the feeling which is so strong within me, of what moment it is to maintain the friendly relations which so happily exist between France and England.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. OZENNE.

Inclosure in No. 39.

Memorandum relative to the Revision of the Treaty of Commerce concluded January 23, 1860, between France and Great Britain.

LE Traité de Commerce conclu le 23 Janvier, 1860, entre la France et l'Angleterre s'était borné à poser, pour la France, les conditions suivantes :—

1. Levée de toutes les prohibitions existant dans le Tarif Français.
2. Etablissement de droits ne pouvant, dans aucun cas, dépasser 30 pour cent jusqu'au 31 Octobre, 1864, et 25 pour cent depuis cette époque jusqu'à l'expiration du Traité.

Les négociateurs avaient réservé à des Conventions ultérieures le soin de déterminer les Tarifs à percevoir dans les limites maxima ci-dessus fixées.

Pour atteindre ce but le Gouvernement Français procéda à une enquête sur les principales industries engagées dans le Traité. Il voulait, par ce moyen, s'enquérir de la situation relative de la production en France et en Angleterre, afin de compenser, par les taxes à fixer, le désavantage pouvant résulter de la supériorité acquise dans le pays concurrent. C'est ce qui explique pourquoi, dans les Conventions annexes des 16 Octobre et 12 Novembre, 1860, on trouve, tout à la fois, à côté de la franchise complète (tissus de soie) une série de taxes qui, après avoir passé par 5, 10, et 15 pour cent, s'élèvent jusqu'à 25 et 30 pour cent.

Le Traité du 23 Janvier, 1860, a donc été une transaction entre le principe du libre échange et le principe de la protection : transaction heureuse, — car, grâce à l'esprit initiateur de la France, les autres pays de l'Europe l'ont successivement suivie dans la nouvelle voie où elle venait d'entrer.

Le Traité de 1860 étant expiré, le Gouvernement Français, dans un intérêt surtout politique, propose au Gouvernement de la Reine de réviser le dit Traité, et d'en proroger les effets jusqu'au 1 Janvier, 1877. Les conditions de cette révision sont de légères augmentations sur quelques produits des industries textiles. Ces augmentations de taxes ont-elles pour but de faire renaître et de glorifier en France le principe de la protection ? Nullement. Avant la chute de l'Empire, le Corps Législatif avait procédé (fin de 1869, et commencement de 1871) à une enquête sur les résultats du Traité de Commerce de 1860. Dans cette enquête, beaucoup de plaintes se sont fait jour, et des augmentations de droits, souvent considérables, ont été réclamées. Sans doute, il faut tenir compte des exagérations qui se manifestent toujours dans les enquêtes de ce genre ; cependant, on peut tenir pour certain que le Gouvernement déchu n'aurait jamais pu renouveler le Traité de 1860 sans réclamer des augmentations de Tarif beaucoup plus considérables que celles qui sont aujourd'hui demandées.

En bornant ainsi ses demandes, M. le Président de la République Française a non seulement fait abnégation complète de ses doctrines économiques, mais encore il a résisté aux tendances du pays, qui, à tort ou à raison, penche beaucoup plus vers le principe de la protection que vers le principe du libre échange et qui, à la venue au pouvoir de l'homme illustre qui dirige les affaires de la France, avait pu espérer la satisfaction de ses désir.

La pensée qui a dominé l'esprit de M. Thiers lorsqu'il a fait au Gouvernement Anglais des ouvertures pour la révision de Traité de 1860, a été non un pas retrograde ou le retour vers le passé, mais l'intérêt qu'il attache au maintien des relations amicales qui existent entre la France et l'Angleterre et si nécessaires dans l'état politique actuel de l'Europe.

Il est vrai que dans la pensée de l'homme éminent qui dirige si glorieusement les affaires de la Grande Bretagne, les sympathies du peuple Anglais, quel que soit le sort du Traité de 1860, c'est-à-dire, qu'il soit dénoncé ou maintenu avec les modifications demandées, resteront toujours les mêmes pour la France.

Là s'établit la divergence des opinions. Le Gouvernement Français craint que le froissement des intérêts commerciaux, conséquence fatale de la dénonciation du Traité, n'amène bientôt un refroidissement dans les relations politiques. En effet, quelle sera, en cas de dénonciation du Traité, la situation du commerce Anglais vis-à-vis de la France ? C'est le point essentiel qu'il s'agit d'examiner.

Sans doute, il n'entre pas, dans la pensée du Gouvernement Français de briser les relations qui se sont établies à la suite du Traité de 1860 et dont l'effet a été de porter de 278 millions (chiffre 1859) à 508 millions de francs (chiffre de 1869) la valeur des marchandises vendues par l'Angleterre à la France.

Mais, quels que soient ses desirs à cet égard, il y a des nécessités qui s'imposent et dont il n'est pas le maître. A côté des Tarifs conventionnels qui, par les Traités successive-

ment conclus, sont les seuls aujourd'hui appliqués en France, il y a le Tarif général qui, n'ayant pas été abrogé, est resté la loi de l'Etat et doit succéder aux Tarifs conventionnels jusqu'à ce qu'un autre Tarif général puisse être établi par l'Assemblée Nationale; car nous ne sommes plus au temps où de simples décrets du pouvoir exécutif pouvaient modifier le régime économique du pays. Or, au milieu des préoccupations politiques qui l'étreignent, chargée d'ailleurs de préparer les lois fondamentales qui sont la conséquence d'un changement si profond dans le régime politique de la France, l'Assemblée Nationale pourrait-elle, dans un délai de douze mois, préparer et voter un nouveau Tarif général, œuvre toujours longue et difficile, car il s'agit de pondérer tous les intérêts, mais qui le devient bien plus encore au milieu d'un pays troublé par les tristes événements qu'il vient de traverser, et sous le poids d'une dette qui change complètement sa situation économique. Et d'ailleurs, on ne saurait se dissimuler qu'en présence du refus d'entrer en négociations sur des demandes aussi modérées que celles du Gouvernement Français, l'Assemblée Nationale ressentirait une irritation qui viendrait encore ajouter aux complications de la situation, et la rendrait moins favorable à la modération alors surtout qu'il n'existerait plus aucune digue à opposer aux partisans du régime protecteur.

Ainsi donc, et quelle que soit la volonté du Gouvernement Français, au Tarif résultant du Traité de 1860 viendrait fatalement se substituer le Tarif général, tarif suranné couvert de prohibitions et de droits élevés qui rendraient impossible les opérations du commerce Anglais avec la France. Une telle situation n'amènerait-elle pas des réclamations de la part des industriels Anglais, qui, si l'on en juge par les délibérations des Chambres de Commerce, semblent faire bon marché du Traité, sans doute parcequ'ils ignorent le traitement qui leur serait réservé après l'expiration des douze mois qui suivraient la dénonciation du dit Traité. Ne pourrait-on pas même craindre qu'ainsi froissés dans leurs plus chers intérêts, ils n'aillent jusqu'à accuser leur propre Gouvernement d'avoir, pour l'unique satisfaction d'un principe, sacrifié ces mêmes intérêts.

Et cependant, en fait, la question de principe n'est pas engagée dans la négociation proposée; il ne s'agit ni d'un pas retrograde, ni d'un retour vers le passé; il s'agit uniquement d'une transaction qui n'est que trop motivée par la situation actuelle de la France, car personne ne peut nier que les impôts nouveaux dont le pays est chargé, et qui ne s'élèvent pas à moins de 650 millions de francs, réagissent sur les conditions du travail, et par suite sur les conditions de la production, que ces impôts l'atteignent soit directement soit indirectement.

(Signé) F. OZENNE.

Londres, le 29 Octobre, 1871.

(Translation.)

THE Treaty of Commerce concluded the 23rd of January, 1860, between France and England, limited itself to imposing, for France, the following conditions:—

1. Abolition of all existing prohibitions in the French Tariff.
2. Establishment of duties, not, in any case, to exceed 30 per cent. up to the 31st October, 1864, and 25 per cent. from that date until expiration of the Treaty.

The negotiators reserved for subsequent Conventions the business of determining the Tariffs to be levied within the above fixed maximum limits.

In order to attain this object the French Government instituted an inquiry into the principal industries concerned in the Treaty. They wished by this means to inquire into the relative condition of production in France and England, with a view to compensate, by the imposition of Tariffs, the disadvantage which might result from the superiority obtained by one or the other country. This explains why, in the Supplementary Conventions of the 16th October and 12th November, 1860, one finds, side by side by complete free trade (silk tissues) a series of duties, which, after having passed from 5, 10, to 15 per cent., rise up to 25 and 30 per cent.

So the Treaty of the 23rd January, 1860, has been a transaction between the principle of free trade and the principle of protection; a fortunate transaction, as, thanks to the originating spirit of France, the other countries of Europe have successively followed her in the new path upon which she had entered.

The Treaty of 1860 having expired, the French Government, quite as a political measure, proposes to the Government of the Queen to revise the said Treaty, and to extend its effects to the 1st January, 1877.

The conditions of this revision consist of slight augmentations upon certain products of textile fabrics. Is it the object of these augmentations of duties to restore and uphold in France the principle of protection? Not at all. Prior to the fall of the Empire the

Legislative Body had commenced an inquiry (end of 1869 and beginning of 1871*) into the results of the Treaty of Commerce of 1860. In the course of this inquiry several grievances came to light, and augmentations of duties, frequently to a large extent, were asked for. Doubtless, one must take into account the exaggerations which always manifest themselves during inquiries of this nature; nevertheless, one may hold for certain that the deposed Government would never have been able to renew the Treaty of 1860 without demanding much more considerable augmentations of Tariffs than those which are now asked for.

In thus limiting his requests, the President of the French Republic has not only made a complete abnegation of his economical doctrines, but he has even withstood the tendencies of the country, which, whether right or wrong, leans much more towards the principle of protection than towards the principle of free trade, and which on the accession to power of the illustrious man who directs the affairs of France, might have hoped for the realization of its wishes.

The idea which has dominated the mind of M. Thiers at the moment of his making overtures to the English Government for the revision of the Treaty of 1860, has not been a retrograde step nor a return towards the past, but the interest which he takes in the maintenance of the friendly relations which exist between France and England, and which are so necessary in the actual political state of Europe.

It is true that, in the opinion of the eminent man who directs so gloriously the affairs of Great Britain, the sympathies of the English people, whatever may be the fate of the Treaty of 1860—that is to say, whether it be denounced or maintained with the desired modifications, will always remain the same for France.

From thence starts the divergence of opinions. The French Government fears lest the clash of commercial interests, the fatal consequence of the denunciation of the Treaty, may soon bring about a coolness in the political relations. What will be, in effect, in case of the denunciation of the Treaty, the position of English commerce with regard to France? This is the essential point which is to be looked to.

It certainly does not enter into the intention of the French Government to rupture the relations which have been established as a consequence of the Treaty of 1860, and of which the effect has been to raise from 278 millions (calculation of 1859) to 508 millions of francs (calculation of 1869), the value of the goods sold by England to France.

Nevertheless, whatever may be its wishes in this respect, there are necessities which are imposed upon it, and of which it is not the master. By the side of the Conventional Tariffs which, by virtue of successively concluded Treaties, are at present the only ones applicable in France, there is the general Tariff which, not having been abrogated, remains the law of the State, and will have to succeed the Conventional Tariffs until another general Tariff shall have been established by the National Assembly, for we are no longer in a time when mere Decrees of the Executive Power would be able to modify the economical régime of the country. Now, in the midst of the political preoccupations which weigh upon it charged, moreover, with the preparation of the fundamental laws which are the result of so radical a change in the political régime of France, would it be possible for the National Assembly, within the space of twelve months, to prepare and vote a new general Tariff, always a long and difficult task, involving the weighing of every interest, but which becomes much more so in the midst of a country troubled by the sad events which it has just undergone, and under the weight of a debt which entirely alters its economical situation. And, moreover, one cannot conceal from oneself that, in the face of a refusal to enter into negotiations upon requests so moderate as those of the French Government, the National Assembly would experience an irritation which would add still more to the complications of the situation, and would render it less favourably disposed to moderation, the more so that there would no longer remain any bulwark to oppose to the partisans of the Protectionist régime.

Thus, then, and whatever might be the wish of the French Government, for the Tariff resulting from the Treaty of 1860 the General Tariff would inevitably come to be substituted, a superannuated Tariff full of prohibitions and high duties, which would render the operations of English commerce with France impossible. Would not such a state of things lead to complaints on the part of the English trading community, who, if one may judge from the deliberations of the Chambers of Commerce, seem to think lightly of the Treaty, no doubt because they are ignorant of the treatment which would be reserved for them after the expiration of the twelve months following the denunciation of the said Treaty.

Might not one even fear that, thus hurt in their dearest interests, they might not go

* Sic. Qy. 1870.

so far as to accuse their own Government of having for the mere satisfaction of a principle, sacrificed those very interests?

And yet, in fact, the question of principle is not concerned in the proposed negotiation; it is a question neither of a retrograde step, nor of a return to the past; it is solely a question of a transaction which is rendered only too necessary by the actual condition of France, for no one can deny that the new taxes with which the country is burthened, and which amount to not less than 650 millions of francs, react upon the conditions of labour, and consequently upon the conditions of production, whether these taxes operate directly or indirectly.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. OZENNE.

No. 40.

Earl Granville to Mr. West.

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 1, 1871.

THE French Chargé d'Affaires, during a visit which he paid me on the 24th ultimo, asked whether I had anything to communicate to him on the subject of the French Treaty of Commerce. He said the President of the French Republic wished Her Majesty's Government to know that he would prefer the abrogation of the Treaty, and the recovery by the French nation of perfect freedom of action; but that he sacrificed his own opinions and wishes to the desire of acting in a friendly and conciliatory spirit towards this country.

I informed the French Chargé d'Affaires that the Cabinet had already given serious consideration to the proposals made to them by the Government of France, but that I was not yet in a position to make any communication to him. I did not conceal from him that many difficulties presented themselves to the Cabinet.

The French Government will probably think it more frank and friendly on the part of Her Majesty's Government if, before coming to any decision, they communicate to the French Government the difficulties which occur to them; and I am the more encouraged to take this course in consequence of the conciliatory message from M. Thiers with which the French Chargé d'Affaires was entrusted.

The proposals which were made to Her Majesty's Government by the Government of France assumed for the first time a definite shape in the Draft of Treaty communicated to me by the French Ambassador on the 13th of September.

That Draft consisted of six Articles. The first reserved, without alteration, certain articles included in a Schedule marked (A). The third provided for an increased rate of duty on certain articles enumerated in Schedule (B), over and above the compensatory charges for increased or new duties to be levied in France on raw and dyeing materials to be used in French manufactories, such duties being set forth in Articles II and III; the commodities subject to these increased or new duties being enumerated in a Schedule marked (C), which however did not accompany the Draft Treaty, and has never yet been communicated to Her Majesty's Government. The IVth Article provided for the continued application of the stipulations of the Treaty and Conventions of 1860 where not varied by those of the new Treaty. The Vth Article reserved the action of the French National Assembly; and the VIth provided for the continuance of the new Treaty till the 1st of January, 1877.

It appears from a subsequent communication made to me by the French Chargé d'Affaires on the 21st of October, that the French Government are content to defer the consideration of the IIIrd Article, so far as regards the Schedule (C), until the National Assembly shall have determined the rates to be levied on raw materials imported into France.

The assent of Her Majesty's Government is requested on these grounds:—

The necessity under which France labours of raising a revenue commensurate with the increased charges imposed on her resources by the late war.

The dissatisfaction which had already been felt in France at some of the reductions of duties stipulated for in the Treaty of 1860, and the necessity, arising from the increased burden of taxation, to give some protection to French industry. The French Government are more anxious for the assent of this country to these proposals, in the expectation that other Powers with whom they hope to make arrangements of a similar character, will be induced to follow the example of England.

Other arguments differing in character have been pressed on Her Majesty's Government. It has been said by some of the Representatives of France that it is necessary

to make concessions to save a Treaty, without which France may re-enact duties of a still higher protective, and even of a prohibitive character; while it was stated to Lord Lyons by the President of the Republic that although the French Government believed in the wisdom of leaving nations free to regulate their fiscal measures according to their own sense of necessity and expediency, untrammelled by commercial engagements with foreign Powers, it was desirable to preserve the Treaty, with modifications, for political reasons.

As regards the first of these grounds, it is scarcely necessary for me to say how sincerely Her Majesty's Government sympathize with the Government of France in the embarrassment in which late events have involved it, and how gladly they would contribute to mitigate that embarrassment as far as a due regard for the interests of British trade, and for the great principles on which all trading interests are based would permit them to do so.

Her Majesty's Government fully recognize the soundness of the principle of perfect freedom of action in regard to fiscal matters laid down by the President of the Republic. They freely admit that, in the Treaty of 1860, they waived it, and waived it too in opposition to the views expressed by persons whose opinion was well deserving of consideration. But they did so for two substantial reasons:—First, they hoped—and events have shown that in this they judged rightly—that by the concessions made to France they were furthering an approach to that freedom of trade which they considered to be essential to the material well-being of all nations, and setting, in conjunction with France, an example which other European nations would not be slow to follow, and indeed have followed, to the great benefit of industry and commerce at home and abroad. Secondly, they felt assured that, as common material interests grew up between nations, the foundations of concord would be established between them, and the chances of war diminished.

Actuated by the same spirit, Her Majesty's Government voluntarily went beyond the stipulations of the Treaty of 1860, and specifically as regards the wine and tobacco duties.

Her Majesty's Government are now asked to retrace their steps by becoming parties to the imposition of greater protective duties on British commodities, and thus to give the countenance of this country to a course of action discrediting and damaging the doctrines of Free Trade, the promotion of which was a principal object in the conclusion of the Treaty of 1860.

Coupled with this is an intimation that British shipping may be exposed to some novel duty, and that, further, the indirect trade in British shipping may be subjected to new restrictions to the detriment of the great warehousing trade of this country.

And yet it would seem to be expected that the British Government, subjected to these disadvantages, would continue to observe the other provisions of the Treaty and Conventions of 1860, which interfere with their own fiscal liberty with regard to the duties on coal, wine, and spirits.

Moreover, the Treaty will determine at the end of the term named, and there will then be no provision for insuring to England an equality of treatment with other nations by means of a most-favoured-nation clause.

Her Majesty's Government feel a strong objection to set an example of negotiation for the purpose not of reducing but of increasing protective duties, a policy they believe to be even more injurious to the States who impose them than the States against which they are levelled.

But even if such considerations as these had not presented themselves to Her Majesty's Government, the vagueness of the present proposals of France would necessarily create an additional difficulty in determining how far Her Majesty's Government might, in their anxiety to meet the wishes of France, acquiesce in an increase of duties on British commodities.

Her Majesty's Government are perfectly aware that it would be presumptuous on their part to offer advice to the Government of France as to the best mode of raising the large revenue now required by them. The results of the absence or reduction of Protection on the prosperity of various States are known; so are the extraordinary effects produced in Great Britain by Free Trade upon the industrial classes, the consumers, and the revenue itself. Her Majesty's Government know that, notwithstanding the immense increase of trade between Great Britain and France under the Treaty of 1860, and the benefits which have thereby accrued to the consumers of both countries, yet that these advantages are considered by the President of the French Republic and others in France to have been accompanied with collateral disadvantages, the estimate of which would not probably be affected by any arguments which Her Majesty's Government could advance. They rejoice, however, to think that, as far as the present negotiation is concerned, there is nothing which need disturb the present friendly relations of the two Governments.

If the Government of the Republic is able to obviate the objections which I have

opened for consideration to the present proposals, Her Majesty's Government will be glad to acquiesce in a measure formally proposed to them by France. If, on the other hand, they ultimately find it necessary to leave to France, if she should think fit to use it, the remedy by a denunciation of the Treaty, although they will much regret the result, that regret will be diminished, not only by the knowledge of the personal sentiments of the President of the Republic, but by the conviction that freedom of commercial intercourse can only in the long run be obtained by the belief of the nations concerned in the advantages which it confers; and unreservedly respecting the moral as well as formal right of France to form and act on her own judgment of her own interests, they will not allow even the change they may lament to act unfavourably on the sentiments they have cherished towards the French Government and nation.

You will furnish M. Rémusat with a copy of this despatch.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 41.

Earl Granville to Mr. West.

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 2, 1871.

I READ this morning to the French Chargé d'Affaires and to M. Ozenne my despatch to you which was sent to Paris last night.*

M. Ozenne said that it was not for him to speak on behalf of his Government, but that undoubtedly he felt great regret at its contents. It appeared to contain four points:—

1. That Her Majesty's Government refused the settled proposals which had been made to them by the French Government.

2. That they declined to settle anything on the less definite proposals as to the duties which were to compensate for the taxes on raw materials.

3. That they objected to be parties to negotiating a Treaty which involved any increase of protection.

4. That they wished to maintain their friendly relations with France.

I told M. Ozenne that the last two points were correctly stated by him; but that as regarded the first, he had overstated the effect of it. We had refused nothing; we had decided nothing; but we had stated—which we thought it frank and courteous to France to point out—the difficulties which presented themselves to our minds. That with regard to the possible propositions based on what might be the future decisions of the French Cabinet and Assembly, it was not only that we did not wish to give an answer on an hypothetical question, but that we did not like to settle a part of the scheme till we knew the whole plan.

M. Ozenne said he saw no way out of the dilemma. The French had moderated their proposals to the lowest degree that it was possible for them to do, consistently with the pledges which M. Thiers had given, and with the requirements of the Assembly. He saw no hope of saving the Treaty, and the result would be disastrous to France, who could not, in her present circumstances, and in the disjointed state of parties, reform during the next twelve months her Tariff, as established by law, when not modified by Treaties; and a great blow, instead of an almost imperceptible one, would be aimed at the commerce between the countries.

With respect to the observations on the French proposals outside the Treaty, M. Ozenne said that my despatch was in error. It was quite true that an additional tax was imposed on French and English vessels in the direct trade, and a differential tax on the English shipping engaged in the indirect trade; but that no tax was directed against our warehousing trade which did not exist at present.

As to the favoured-nation clause, he considered that there would be no difficulty in placing us on at least as good a footing as Germany.

M. Ozenne did not attempt to answer the arguments which I brought forward in support of the objections which were stated in my despatch, to our accepting the French proposals.

M. Ozenne, in the first place, stated that there was nothing left to detain him here; but at the end of the conversation, though without any suggestion from me, he announced that he should ask M. Thiers for his orders.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 42.

Mr. West to Earl Granville.—(Received November 4.)

My Lord,

Paris, November 3, 1871.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 1st instant.

At an interview which I had this day with M. de Rémusat, I informed his Excellency that I had received a despatch from your Lordship on the subject of the Commercial Treaty of 1860, and that I was instructed to furnish his Excellency with a copy of it, which I now begged to place in his hands.

As his Excellency seemed desirous that I should read it, I proceeded to do so. He listened most attentively, but made no observation or comment until I had finished reading it.

He then said that the observations contained in this despatch might, he thought, as well have been made at the commencement of the negotiations as at the present moment; and that it scarcely required three months' discussion to arrive at such conclusions. He regretted the view taken by Her Majesty's Government, and feared that it must now lead to the denunciation of the Treaty by the French Government. I remarked to his Excellency that perhaps he could scarcely appreciate, from hearing me merely read your Lordship's despatch, its real import and the friendly tone of its language; and I proceeded to call his Excellency's attention to several passages which I thought might have some weight with him if calmly considered. I explained to him that your Lordship's despatch contained no final decision upon the questions under consideration; but that it only stated objections which had been taken by Her Majesty's Government to the proposals of the French Government, and I laid stress upon that passage in which your Lordship states that if the Government of the Republic is able to obviate those objections, Her Majesty's Government would be glad to acquiesce in a measure formally proposed to them by France.

I told his Excellency that he would, I thought, admit that, in the event of the proposed Treaty coming into force, England, when that Treaty determined, might possibly be placed in a very disadvantageous position, as regarded equality with other nations by means of a most-favoured-nation clause; and that he could scarcely be surprised at Her Majesty's Government looking upon such a possibility in a very serious light. He would therefore, I felt convinced, when he came to consider calmly the contents of your Lordship's despatch, only see in it a proof of the sincere desire of Her Majesty's Government, if possible, to come to an understanding upon points under discussion, and a wish to preserve the principles of a commercial policy which, in their opinion, has conferred such benefits upon Europe.

M. de Rémusat said he could not but acquiesce in the conciliatory language of your Lordship's despatch, but repeated again his regret at its reception. He was, he said, as he had often told me, a "free trader," and consequently could not be content at finding a free trade policy in danger of being reversed. He should, however, do all in his power to prevent the bad effect which he feared the contents of your Lordship's despatch might produce upon some of his colleagues who did not agree with him on commercial matters, and still hoped that the evil consequences of the proposed modifications may be found to be exaggerated. Under any circumstances, said his Excellency, if France and England cannot agree on commercial questions, at all events political ones will not hinder their amicable relations, and he added that he would have desired to have preserved the Treaty as an additional guarantee for such a desirable end.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

L. S. SACKVILLE WEST.

No. 43.

Mr. West to Earl Granville.—(Received November 11.)

My Lord,

Paris, November 10, 1871.

M. DE REMUSAT told me to-day that the answer to your Lordship's despatch of the 1st instant, copy of which I had communicated to him, was already prepared, but that he was unable to show it to me as it was at that moment in the President's hands for final approval. "Je suis bien affligé," his Excellency said, at the result of the negotiation; and he added that he thought the Treaty must now be denounced. He could not understand, he continued, why the general objections made by Her Majesty's

Government to the French proposals had not been made at the very outset of the negotiations, and regretted that the matter had been allowed to be discussed in detail in the face of them. He could not admit, moreover, that in agreeing to the modifications which had been proposed by the French Government was involved the abandonment of the policy of Free Trade on the part of Her Majesty's Government.

His Excellency then went on to express his deep regret, as a free trader, at the injurious consequences which he feared would ensue to the commerce of the two countries upon the denunciation of the Treaty, which he seemed to regard as now inevitable. The French Government, however, he said, would wait till the last moment before taking such a course, in the hope that the negotiations might be resumed and some arrangement come to which would relieve them from the necessity of having recourse to it.

I said that his Excellency must be well aware that Her Majesty's Government would never be parties to a reactionary commercial policy, but that, at the same time, they were ready to listen to any proposal based on an augmentation of duties for fiscal purposes. I did not, I said, know precisely upon what base the discussions had been carried on by M. Ozenne, whom I thought, however, would scarcely have proposed to Her Majesty's Government the principle of protection, as he, above all others, must know that it would not be accepted. Since, therefore, the question of the duties on the "matières premières" and "droits compensateurs" had been put aside for the moment, surely it was not necessary to put forward the proposed increase of duty on certain other articles as indicating a return to a protectionist policy; but, on the contrary, it would be more expedient to treat their imposition as a measure deemed necessary by the French Government for fiscal purposes alone, and under the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed.

His Excellency replied that what I had said was, to a certain extent, true, but that, viewing the matter in the light in which it was viewed by certain members of the Government and a large party in the National Assembly, the principle of protection could scarcely be ignored.

His Excellency concluded by saying that the Duc de Broglie would, probably, have already seen your Lordship, and have explained the course which the French Government were prepared to adopt in consequence of your Lordship's communication.

I have, &c.

(Signed) L. S. SACKVILLE WEST.

No. 44.

Mr. West to Earl Granville.—(Received November 18.)

My Lord,

Paris, November 17, 1871.

M. DE REMUSAT again repeated to me to-day the determination of the French Government to denounce the Commercial Treaty of 1860; but that he hoped, before the time arrived for doing so, some means would be found of reopening the negotiations.

He alluded to the answer of the French Government to your Lordship's despatch to me of the 1st instant; but as I was not in possession of the precise terms of this document, I declined further discussion.

I have, &c.

(Signed) L. S. SACKVILLE WEST.

No. 45.

The Duc de Broglie to Earl Granville.—(Received December 1.)

Londres, le 30 Novembre, 1871.

L'AMBASSADEUR de France a l'honneur de transmettre à son Excellence M. le Comte Granville la note ci-jointe qu'il a reçu de son Gouvernement ordre de lui communiquer.

Le Duc de Broglie espère que le Gouvernement Britannique ne se méprendra pas sur les intentions amicales qui ont dicté au Gouvernement Français la ligne de conduite dont la note fait connaître les impérieux motifs, et il sera très empressé de donner à cet égard à M. le Comte Granville toutes les explications verbales qui pourraient être désirées, dès qu'il lui sera permis de s'entretenir avec son Excellence.

Il saisit, &c.

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(Translation.)

London, November 30, 1871.

THE Ambassador of France has the honour to transmit to his Excellency Lord Granville the accompanying note, which he has been instructed by his Government to communicate to him.

The Duke de Broglie trusts that the British Government will not mistake the friendly intentions which have dictated to the French Government the line of conduct, the imperative motives for which are explained in the note, and he will be most ready to give to Lord Granville any verbal explanations which may be desired on the subject as soon as he shall have been granted an interview with his Excellency.

He avails, &c.

Inclosure in No. 45.

Note-Verbale.

LE MINISTRE des Affaires Etrangères a reçu du Ministre d'Angleterre la communication de la dépêche par laquelle le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique fait connaître les difficultés que son Gouvernement aperçoit aux modifications proposées par la France au Traité du 23 Janvier, 1860, par application des Articles IX et XXI du dit Traité.

Nous nous plaçons à reconnaître dans ce document la confirmation des sentiments d'amitié dont nous avons mainte fois dans le cours d'une délicate négociation recueilli l'expression de la part des Ministres de Sa Majesté.

Le Gouvernement Français n'a jamais mis en doute le sincère désir du Gouvernement Anglais de nous faciliter, autant qu'il peut dépendre de lui, les moyens de faire face aux difficultés financières que nous pouvons avoir à traverser et les assurances que Lord Granville renouvelle à cet égard ont pour nous un grand prix.

Animés des mêmes sentiments et du désir de n'altérer en rien les excellents rapports qui subsistent entre nos deux Gouvernements, nous devons rappeler que, dès l'origine de la négociation, le Président de la République Française, bien que persuadé des atteintes graves que le régime commercial établi en 1860 portait aux intérêts de l'industrie nationale, notamment à ceux de la marine marchande, avait déclaré l'intention de maintenir dans tout ce qu'il a d'essentiel le Traité du 23 Janvier, et de donner ainsi le témoignage du prix qu'il attache à la stabilité des relations bienveillantes entre l'Angleterre et la France. En conséquence, il n'a été proposé de notre part que des modifications sur des points de détail, modifications qui résulteraient d'une enquête ouverte par le Gouvernement précédent et qu'il avait dessein de proposer lui-même. En même temps une création nouvelle de taxes à l'intérieur devait amener à l'extérieur une augmentation de droits correspondante, ainsi que le Traité lui-même l'avait prévu.

Dès le mois de Juillet dernier nos vues ont été communiquées au Gouvernement Britannique ; à la suite de nombreux entretiens, complétés par des échanges de notes, le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat a invité le Gouvernement Français à préciser plus nettement ses intentions en libellant ses demandes dans un projet de Traité destiné à remplacer nos anciennes Conventions. Cette proposition a été accueillie comme une manifestation de la volonté du Gouvernement Britannique de sortir des généralités pour aborder les détails, et arriver, s'il était possible, à un arrangement pratique. Nous nous attendions assurément à voir un débat s'engager sur quelques unes des stipulations énoncées ; du moins, nous était-il permis d'espérer que les questions de théorie agitées dans les précédents entretiens seraient mises au second rang, et que nos propositions seraient examinées en elles-mêmes. Ramenées à leurs termes véritables, elles avaient été comprises en Angleterre même et dans le monde commercial comme des stipulations discutables, mais contre lesquelles ne s'élevait aucune objection fondamentale. L'opinion publique ne les repoussait plus ; ce n'est donc pas sans étonnement qu'au lieu des objections techniques que pouvait provoquer l'examen d'un texte positif, nous avons trouvé reproduites dans la réponse du Principal Secrétaire d'Etat les mêmes considérations générales qui avaient été opposées, il y a quatre mois, au début même de la négociation, et qui auraient pu y mettre immédiatement un terme, si elles avaient été présentées comme un dernier mot. Sans la confiance que nous persistons à mettre dans le bon vouloir et les dispositions conciliantes du Gouvernement Britannique, il nous serait difficile de ne pas voir dans la réponse du Comte Granville une sorte de fin de non recevoir et l'ajournement de toute négociation. Mais nous voudrions conserver un meilleur espoir, et nous rappellerons

que nos demandes se divisaient en deux parties complètement distinctes l'une de l'autre : les premières portaient sur des rectifications de tarif ; elles n'étaient que l'application de l'Article XXI du Traité de 1860. Les secondes avaient pour objet d'établir sur un certain nombre de marchandises les taxes de compensation prévues par l'Article IX. Ces demandes, séparées à dessein, pouvaient être rendues indépendantes les unes des autres. Celles qui étaient relatives aux droits compensateurs avaient été présentées au début de la négociation dans l'hypothèse de l'établissement prochain d'un impôt sur les matières premières ; mais l'Assemblée Nationale s'étant prorogée avant l'adoption de cette mesure préliminaire, la question n'offrait plus un intérêt immédiat, et nous consentions à n'en point presser la solution. D'ailleurs sur ce point, le Gouvernement Anglais ne pouvait élever d'objection au fond, et il ne présentait en effet d'observations que sur le chiffre des taxes projetées.

Quelles étaient donc en définitive les bases sur lesquelles reposait la négociation ? Sur quels points portaient nos propositions ? Elles se résumaient en une simple rectification de Tarif pour les marchandises énumérées au Tableau B du projet, c'est-à-dire, pour un nombre très restreint des produits Anglais importés en France ; ces produits se réduisaient en effet aux fils et aux tissus de lin, de chanvre, de coton et de laine ; et encore convient-il de remarquer que, pour les fils de lin, de chanvre, et de coton, les modifications demandées ne concernent que la moitié seulement des classes du Tarif, celles qui comprennent les numéros dont l'Angleterre importe le moins ; pour les fils de laine, il n'est question que des fils de laine tordus, dont l'importation Anglaise est absolument nulle ; pour les tissus de lin et de chanvre il ne s'agit que d'une simple correction de Tarif sans augmentation de droits ; pour les tissus de coton, deux des catégories seulement sont atteintes dans de très faibles proportions. Il est donc permis d'affirmer qu'en réalité l'unique modification qui puisse présenter de l'intérêt pour l'industrie Anglaise est celle qui porte sur les tissus de laine mélangée.

Est-il possible dès lors de prétendre que le régime commercial sur lequel reposent les relations entre la France et l'Angleterre serait compromis si nos demandes étaient accueillies ? Il faudrait alors considérer l'Article XXI du Traité comme une lettre morte ; car on se demanderait dans quel cas cet Article pourrait trouver son application. Le Traité de 1860 deviendrait un texte inflexible dont toutes les dispositions, s'enchaînant l'une à l'autre, seraient en quelque sorte solidaires. C'est là une doctrine absolue qui ne saurait avoir cours entre des Gouvernements que doit toujours guider l'esprit de transaction, puisqu'ils ont à concilier les intérêts les plus divers.

Il semblerait cependant qu'en opposant des vues générales à des propositions spéciales, le Gouvernement Britannique tend à s'interdire en effet toute transaction et à mettre ainsi le Gouvernement Français dans l'alternative ou de sacrifier des intérêts qu'il ne peut abandonner ou de renoncer à l'ensemble des stipulations consacrées par un Traité dont il acceptait le maintien. Le trouble que cette renonciation entraînerait dans les relations commerciales entre les deux pays ne peut cependant être indifférent à l'Angleterre. Le Traité de 1860 a été assurément en France l'objet des appréciations les plus diverses. Il a soulevé des objections sérieuses, de vives réclamations ; mais s'il a pu porter dans certaines industries de regrettables perturbations, il a donné à d'autres industries un remarquable essor et créé entre la France et l'Angleterre de nouvelles relations dont l'interruption soudaine ne peut être désirée par le commerce Britannique. C'est pour ces motifs que le Gouvernement Français, loin de dénoncer le Traité, avait cru le confirmer en quelque sorte en améliorant quelques détails, en apportant certaines modifications à celles de ses dispositions qui avaient soulevé les plaintes les plus pressantes.

Il nous semble que cette extrême modération de notre part ne portait aucune sérieuse atteinte aux idées de libre échange dont le Gouvernement Britannique semble faire le principal objet de ces préoccupations. Il n'en serait pas de même apparemment si nos propositions étaient définitivement écartées, et si l'abandon du Traité lui-même devenait nécessaire et rendait à l'industrie Française toute sa liberté.

Nous nous refusons à croire que ces considérations ne frappent pas l'esprit éclairé et pratique du Gouvernement Anglais ; nous nous refusons à croire qu'il ne revienne pas à une plus juste appréciation de nos demandes et que la négociation puisse être regardée comme close. Nous restons toujours prêts à la suivre ; mais comme il se peut qu'elle n'amène aucun résultat, nous pensons qu'il faut assigner un terme aux délais que dans ce cas pourraient, en se prolongeant, mettre nos intérêts en souffrance, et nous devons informer le Gouvernement Britannique que notre intention est de dénoncer, dès que l'Assemblée Nationale sera réunie, le Traité du 23 Janvier, 1860, dont les effets devront cesser avec l'année qui suivra la dénonciation, conformément aux prévisions de l'Article XXI.

Du reste, nous serons toujours disposés à continuer la négociation. Jusqu'au dernier jour des délais prescrits, la négociation pourra être continuée ou reprise, et nous nous féliciterons toujours d'arriver à une entente avec le Gouvernement de la Reine.

Quelle que soit, d'ailleurs, la réponse du Principal Secrétaire d'Etat, elle ne s'aura altérer en rien les rapports d'amitié qui unissent les deux Gouvernements comme les deux nations, et nos sentiments s'accordent entièrement sur ce point avec ceux que nous avons été heureux de trouver exprimés dans la note communiquée par le Ministre d'Angleterre.

Versailles, le 15 Novembre, 1871.

(Translation.)

Note Verbale.

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs has received from the Minister of England the communication of the despatch wherein the Principal Secretary of State of Her Britannic Majesty states the difficulties which his Government feel with regard to the modifications proposed by France in the Treaty of the 23rd of January, 1860, by the application of Articles IX and XXI of the said Treaty.

We are glad to find in this document the confirmation of the friendly sentiments of which we have frequently received the expression on the part of Her Majesty's Ministers in the course of a delicate negotiation.

The French Government has never doubted the sincere desire of the British Government to facilitate for us, so far as depended upon them, the measures for meeting the financial difficulties which we may have to undergo, and the assurances which Lord Granville renews on this point possess for us a great value.

Animated by the same sentiments and by the desire in no way to alter the excellent relations existing between our two Governments, we must remember that, from the commencement of the negotiation, the President of the French Republic, while convinced of the serious blows which the commercial *régime* established in 1860 was striking at the interests of native industry, especially upon those of the merchant navy, had declared his intention of maintaining in all essential points the Treaty of the 23rd of January, and of thus affording a proof of the value which he attached to the stability of friendly relations between England and France. Consequently, nothing has been proposed on our part beyond modifications on points of detail, modifications which would result from an inquiry instituted by the preceding Government, and which it had itself intended to propose. At the same time, the creation of new inland taxes must lead to a corresponding augmentation of exterior Customs duties, as had been foreseen in the Treaty itself.

Since the month of July last our views have been communicated to the British Government; after the elapse of several interviews, followed up by exchanges of notes, the Principal Secretary of State invited the French Government to state more precisely its intentions by putting on paper its demands in the form of a project of Treaty destined to replace our old Conventions. This proposition was received as a manifestation of the willingness of the British Government to abandon generalities for the consideration of details, and to arrive, if it were possible, at a practical arrangement. We expected certainly to see a discussion arise upon some of the proposed stipulations; at all events it was to be hoped that the theoretical questions agitated during the preceding discussions would be placed in the second rank, and that our propositions would be examined on their own merits. Considered in their true sense they had been understood both in England and in the commercial world as stipulations open to discussion, but against which no fundamental objection was raised. Public opinion was no longer against them; it is not, therefore, without astonishment that, instead of technical objections which might arise upon the examination of a definite text, we have found reproduced in the reply of the Principal Secretary of State the same general considerations which had been opposed four months ago, at the very commencement of the negotiation, and which might, at once, have put an end to it, had they been put forward as an ultimatum. Without the confidence which we still place in the good-will and the conciliatory disposition of the British Government, it would be difficult for us not to see in the reply of Earl Granville a sort of formal objection and the adjournment of all negotiations. But we would desire to retain a more favourable hope, and we will bear in mind that our demands divided themselves into two parts, the one totally distinct from the other: the first had to do with the rectifications of the Tariff; they were but the application of Article XXI of the Treaty of 1860. The second had for object the establishment upon a certain number of goods of the compensatory duties provided for by Article IX. These demands purposely separated, might be rendered independent of one another. Those which related to the compensatory duties had been put forward at the commencement of the negotiation, upon the hypothesis of the proximate establishment of a tax on raw materials; but the National Assembly having been prorogued

prior to the adoption of this preliminary measure, the question was no longer of immediate interest, and we consented not to press for its solution. Besides, the English Government were unable to raise any fundamental objection on this point, and they in fact only offered observations regarding the amount of the projected taxes.

What then, were definitively the bases on which the negotiations reposed? Towards what points were our propositions directed? They consisted in a simple rectification of the Tariff with respect to the goods enumerated in Table B of the project, that is to say to a very limited number of the English products imported into France; these products reduced themselves in effect to threads and linen tissues, hemp, cotton and wool; and here it may be remarked that, as regards linen, hemp, and cotton, the modifications demanded affect only one-half the classes of the Tariff, those which include the numbers of which England imports the least; as to woollen threads, it is only a question of threads of carded wool, of which the importation from England is absolutely nil; as to linen and hempen tissues, two of the categories alone are touched in very slight proportions. It may then be affirmed that, in reality, the only modification which can present any interest for English industry is that which concerns the mixed woollen tissues.

Is it possible after this to pretend that the commercial *régime* upon which rests the relations between France and England would be compromised if our requests were acceded to? It would be necessary in that case to consider Article XXI of the Treaty as a dead letter; for it would be asked in what case this Article would be found applicable. The Treaty of 1860 would become an inflexible text, all the dispositions of which, linked one with the other, would in a way be consolidated. Such an inflexible doctrine as this ought not to prevail amongst Governments which should always be guided by the spirit of a transaction, seeing that they have to conciliate the most opposite interests.

It would nevertheless seem that, in opposing general views to particular proposals, the British Government tend to cut themselves off from all negotiation, and thus to place the French Government in the alternative either of sacrificing interests which it cannot abandon, or of renouncing in their entirety stipulations rendered sacred by a Treaty, of which it accepted the maintenance. The trouble which this renunciation would bring upon the commercial relations between the two countries, cannot nevertheless be indifferent to England. The Treaty of 1860 has assuredly been in France the object of the most diverse opinions. It has been the cause of serious objections and of loud remonstrances; but if it has happened to cause disturbances to be regretted among certain industries, it has given a remarkable impetus to other industries, and created between France and England new relations, the sudden interruption of which could not be desired by British commerce. It is on these accounts that the French Government, far from denouncing the Treaty, have thought in some measure to confirm it, by ameliorating certain details and by applying certain modifications to such of its provisions as had produced the most urgent complaints.

It seems to us that this extreme moderation on our part did not strike any serious blow at the ideas of free trade, which the British Government appear to make the principal object of their preoccupations. It would not apparently be the same thing were our propositions definitively laid aside, and if the abandonment of the Treaty itself became necessary and restored to French industry all its liberty.

We cannot bring ourselves to believe these considerations do not strike the enlightened and practical spirit of the English Government; we refuse to believe that they will not arrive at a more just appreciation of our requests, and that the negotiation can be regarded as closed. We remain always ready to carry it on; but as it may happen that no result will ensue, we deem it necessary to assign a limit to the delays which might in this case, through prolongation, unfavourably affect our interests, and we must inform the British Government that our intention is to denounce, so soon as the National Assembly shall have met, the Treaty of the 23rd of January, 1860, the effects of which will come to an end the year following the denunciation, conformably to the provisions of Article XXI.

For the rest, we shall still always be ready to continue the negotiation. Up to the last day of the term fixed upon, the negotiation can be continued or resumed, and we shall always be happy to arrive at an understanding with the Government of the Queen.

Whatever, in any case, may be the answer of the Principal Secretary of State, it would in no way alter the friendly relations which unite the two Governments as well as the two nations, and our sentiments entirely accord on this point with those which we have been glad to find expressed in the note communicated by the Minister of England.

Versailles, November 15, 1871.

No. 46.

Earl Granville to the Duc de Broglie.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Foreign Office, December 1, 1871.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's note of the 30th ultimo, with its accompanying Memorandum, explaining the views of the French Government on the question of the negotiations which have taken place between the Government of France and Her Majesty's Government respecting the modification of the Commercial Treaty between the two countries of 1860.

Permit me to express in the first place, M. l'Ambassadeur, my regret that your Excellency's indisposition on your arrival in London, and my subsequent severe attack of gout, have prevented my renewing, since your return to England, those personal relations which are so agreeable to me.

I hope, in a very few days, to meet your Excellency in London; and I will therefore, for the present, reserve my observations on the Memorandum which your Excellency has been good enough to communicate to me.

I must, however, express my satisfaction that its tone is such as to confirm the hope that the negotiations based on the material interests of each country, whatever may be the result of such negotiations, will in no way affect the friendship of their political relations.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 47.

Earl Granville to Mr. West.

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 2, 1871.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith copy of a note, with its inclosure, which I have received from the French Ambassador at this Court,* announcing the intention of the French Government to denounce the Treaty of Commerce which exists between France and this country.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 48.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received December 9.)

My Lord,

Paris, December 8, 1871.

I SENT to your Lordship from Versailles yesterday a telegram informing you that M. Thiers had just read to the Assembly his Message on the commencement of their sittings, and that he stated in it that he intended to propose to them to denounce the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty, but to leave the door open to negotiation during the twelve months which would elapse between the denunciation and the final expiration of the Treaty.

I have this morning communicated to your Lordship by telegraph the text of some of the most important passages relative to the Treaty, and I now do myself the honour to transmit to you herewith the whole of that part of the Message which deals with this subject.

Your Lordship will not fail to observe that M. Thiers makes no allusion to the financial difficulties of France in stating his reasons for proposing to Her Majesty's Government that the Treaty should be modified. The necessity of affording protection in a certain measure to some branches of French industry is the sole ground upon which, in this Message, he bases both his original proposal to negotiate and his present intention to denounce the Treaty.

It will also strike your Lordship that M. Thiers speaks throughout of the abrogation of the Treaty as in itself a desirable subject; that he represents the restrictions which would remain, even if his proposed modifications were agreed to, as very inconvenient to France; and assigns as the motive for submitting to them a desire to maintain a good understanding and cordial relations with England.

* No. 45.

In the Message the Treaty with Prussia is spoken of as being abrogated. It must not however be forgotten that, by the Treaty of Frankfort, the same commercial advantages are secured to Germany as are enjoyed by several foreign Powers whose Commercial Treaties with France have still several years to run.

In the evening I had some conversation with M. Thiers himself. He said that he hoped Her Majesty's Government would not misunderstand the declaration he had made. His object in denouncing the Treaty was, he told me, simply to prevent the indefinite prolongation of a state of things which was, in his opinion, ruinous to some branches of French industry. The endeavour which, in a spirit of sincere friendship, he had made to come to an understanding with England had already occasioned the loss of very nearly a year, and he could not run the risk of finding himself, after a fresh unsuccessful attempt to negotiate, still bound for another twelve months by the Treaty. He was, however, quite willing to pursue the negotiation on the basis of his original proposals, and there would be ample time, if Her Majesty's Government desired it, to make an arrangement on that basis before the Treaty would actually expire. I begged M. Thiers to remember that it was very repugnant to our feelings to be held up to the French nation as the obstacle to the adoption of measures represented to them as beneficial to their interests. We considered the principles of Free Trade, and the stipulations of the Treaty so far as they were consistent with those principles, to be advantageous to France at least as much as to ourselves. We were, I said, extremely anxious to cultivate the most friendly relations with the French people, but were not willing that it should be represented to them that our friendship was purchased by the sacrifice to us of their commercial interests. I assured M. Thiers that language to this effect could not but disincline us to maintain commercial engagements which appeared to subject us to imputations as painful as they were unjust.

M. Thiers repeated that he was ready to pursue the negotiation on the basis of the modifications he had proposed. He appeared, however, to consider the details of these modifications to be still open to discussion.

M. Thiers did not say whether he intended the denunciation to take effect from the day on which it was made, or from the month of February next. As I understand your Lordship not to be disposed to insist upon the interpretation which would make the Treaty run from February to February, I do not propose to raise any question on this point without further instructions from you.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 48.

Extract from "Journal Officiel" of December 8, 1871.

MAINTENANT, Messieurs, mon devoir est de vous entretenir d'une autre négociation et de vous en rendre un compte succinct, mais également exact et sincère.

Vous savez tous que le Gouvernement de l'Empire avait conclu avec presque toutes les Puissances dont le territoire est contigu au nôtre des Traités de Commerce qui devaient le lier pendant dix années entières. Il avait été convenu qu'après dix ans ces Traités seraient ou revisés ou dénoncés, c'est-à-dire, abolis.

Le principal d'entre eux, celui qui a été signé avec l'Angleterre, est expiré depuis environ une année. Celui qui a été conclu avec la Belgique est arrivé à son terme depuis six mois; le troisième, conclu avec la Prusse, a été emporté par la guerre; les autres, moins importants, avec l'Autriche, la Suisse, l'Italie, doivent durer encore trois ou quatre ans. Mais les trois plus importants, parce qu'ils intéressent notre frontière de plus près, ceux qui ont été conclus avec l'Angleterre, avec la Belgique, avec la Prusse, ne dépendent que de votre volonté. Ils dureront ou s'évanouiront selon que vous le voudrez.

Je ne vous apprendrai rien en vous rappelant la résistance que ces Traités ont rencontrée en France à l'époque de leur conclusion. Ce n'est pas pour avoir aboli les prohibitions absolues qu'on les blâmait, car ces prohibitions étaient désormais condamnées, et moi, Messieurs, qui ai l'honneur de vous parler, je n'avais pas une fois traversé le pouvoir sans en abolir quelques unes. Ce qu'on reprochait à ces Traités, c'était d'avoir été conclus sans le pays, d'avoir introduit sans préparation une liberté absolue, d'avoir dès lors découvert toutes nos industries à la fois, de s'être arrêtés à des tarifs insuffisants, rédigés par les Commissaires étrangers à l'exclusion des nôtres, et d'avoir ainsi causé aux plus importantes productions nationales, telles que les fers, les tissus de toute nature, les produits agricoles, et surtout la marine marchande, un dommage immense, dont l'Alsace, la Lorraine, la Champagne, la Bourgogne, la Flandre, la Normandie, la Bretagne se ressentiront longtemps. (Marques d'assentiment sur divers bancs.)

Si aujourd'hui, à la suite de la guerre qui a fait disparaître tous les approvisionnements, une véritable activité a été rendue à ces diverses branches de notre industrie, ces approvisionnements refaits, la gêne devra reparaître sous le poids renaissant de la concurrence étrangère. Quelques mois avant la chute du dernier Gouvernement, le Corps Législatif lui-même, sentant les fautes de l'Empire sans les oser dire, cherchant à les réparer sans y réussir, avait ordonné une enquête sur les Traités de Commerce, dont la dénonciation était hautement demandée. Il était ressorti de cette enquête que la marine marchande était ruinée, que l'industrie des fers avait été ravagée, que les fils et les tissus de coton, de lin, de laine, avaient subi des dommages considérables, que les tissus mélangés de Roubaix étaient presque détruits, que l'agriculture souffrait dans certains de ses produits essentiels, celui des laines notamment. On en avait généralement tiré la conclusion qu'il fallait, sur tous ces points, apporter quelque remède à un état de choses empirant tous les jours, et particulièrement par rapport à la marine marchande, que les entrepôts étrangers allaient faire disparaître complètement.

La guerre, qui efface toutes les ruines par les siennes, a fait oublier un moment cet état de choses ; mais, la paix rétablie, il a reparu à tous les yeux, fort atténué, il est vrai, par la renaissance du travail, mais atténué pour le moment et malheureusement pas pour toujours.

Nous pouvions, certes, dénoncer ces Traités, sauf, bien entendu, votre avis, à vous qui représentez la souveraineté ; mais il nous appartenait de négocier pour préparer cette dénonciation. D'immenses intérêts dans nos ateliers, dans nos campagnes, dans nos ports, attendaient et attendent encore cette résolution. Toutefois nous ne l'avons pas prise. Notre motif pour nous abstenir, nous l'avons puisé dans l'esprit de mesure qui doit caractériser tout Gouvernement sérieux et sensé.

Nous n'avons pas voulu nous faire les auteurs d'une réaction industrielle, en substituant les prohibitions au libre échange absolu. Nous entendons, en laissant aux échanges toute la liberté compatible avec la prospérité publique, assurer à nos industries, à celles qui, depuis trois quarts de siècle font la fortune de la France, la protection de tarifs suffisants pour qu'elles n'expirent pas sous la concurrence illimitée de l'étranger. Assez de stimulants pour les empêcher de s'endormir, point assez pour qu'elles soient obligées de renoncer à produire, telle est la politique économique que nous vous proposerons. (Très-bien !)

Dans cette pensée, bien que nous éprouvions une préférence marquée pour l'abrogation des Traités qui nous lient, parce que nous tenons essentiellement à recouvrer la liberté de notre politique commerciale, nous avons pensé qu'il serait plus sage de proposer à l'Angleterre de nous en tenir à une simple modification des Traités existants, modification que sous l'Empire on jugeait indispensable.

Ainsi, en laissant exister tous les tarifs sur les fers et leurs dérivés, sur les houilles, les produits chimiques, la verrerie, la cristallerie, la céramique, les lainages unis, les poissons frais ou salés, sur la plus grande partie de nos échanges, en un mot, nous avons seulement proposé de relever, dans la modeste proportion, tantôt de 3 pour cent, tantôt de 5 pour cent, nos droits sur les filés et tissus de coton, de lin et de laine ; quant à ceux de laine mélangée qui avaient fait autrefois la prodigieuse fortune de Roubaix et qui malheureusement ne la font plus, nous avons réclamé une simple élévation de 12 à 18 pour cent. Et ces modestes changements, nous les avons demandés moins pour obtenir une élévation véritable des tarifs existants que pour assurer leur loyale application. Il arrive, en effet, que par les fausses déclarations en douane, les tarifs se trouvent réduits de 3, 4, et même 5 pour cent, de manière que l'augmentation réclamée n'aurait pour effet réel que de rendre sincère l'application des Tarifs de 1860. Telle a été purement et simplement la proposition faite par nous à l'Angleterre.

"Nous préférons," lui avons-nous dit, "la dénonciation du Traité de 1860, parce que, comme vous, nous désirons recouvrer la liberté de nos relations commerciales ; mais dans une pensée de bonne entente, de cordiales relations, nous consentons à rester dans des liens pour nous fort incommodes, à condition de les relâcher là où ils nous gênent jusqu'à arrêter la vie de nos principales industries."

Cette manière de nous présenter était si naturelle qu'elle ne pouvait provoquer à première réflexion qu'un accueil favorable. Aussi, des premières paroles des Ministres Anglais soit à Paris, soit à Londres, nous avons pu acquérir, sinon la certitude, du moins l'espérance, que nos propositions seraient accueillies.

Peu à peu, cependant, les dispositions se sont montrées moins favorables, et près d'une année s'est écoulée, sans réponse positive, de manière que le temps qui s'écoule est tout à notre désavantage. Si, en effet, nous avions dénoncé le Traité de 1860 au mois de Février dernier, nous serions très-près de devenir libres aujourd'hui, car il faut une année entre la dénonciation et l'abolition du Traité. Ne l'ayant pas fait, par les raisons que nous venon de vous dire, nous avons perdu environ dix mois ; et aujourd'hui encore, du moment où

nous aurons exprimé la volonté formelle de la dénonciation, il nous faudra perdre encore tout une année avant de recouvrer notre liberté.

Cherchant enfin à obtenir une réponse positive, il nous a été opposé, non des calculs de Tarifs, mais une raison de principe.. Il nous a été dit, du reste, avec toute la courtoisie qui a toujours été apportée de part et d'autre dans cette négociation, que l'Angleterre, en accédant à notre désir, semblerait abandonner ses principes, et se prêter à un retour en arrière de la part de la principale nation industrielle du Continent.

Cette raison ne nous a pas convaincu. (Sourires.) Si le fond du Traité avait été seulement entamé, on pourrait tout au plus raisonner de la sorte. Mais une telle objection, lorsque trois objets seulement, relatifs à nos industries textiles, sont touchés, quand le fer, ses dérivés, la houille, les produits chimiques et la plupart des matières composant nos échanges ne subissent aucun changement, une telle objection est tout à fait contraire à la réalité des choses.

Est-ce donc sans motif qu'il avait été convenu qu'après dix ans le Traité serait remis en question ? Était-ce sans motif que l'Article XXI du Traité avait stipulé qu'après dix ans les Tarifs seraient révisés ? Ou l'on prétend que le Traité doit être à tout jamais immuable, et alors les réserves stipulées sont des Articles vainement écrits ; ou il faut reconnaître que nous usons d'un droit incontestable, et que nous en usons modérément, en demandant que le Traité de 1860 soit non pas abandonné, mais seulement modifié.

Voici donc la mesure à laquelle nous nous sommes arrêtés définitivement—laquelle est comprise dans notre pouvoir de négocier, mais qui serait non avenue si vous ne l'approuviez pas ;—c'est de dénoncer le Traité en consentant à négocier encore, toute une année, de manière à prendre date, dès aujourd'hui, et que le temps à perdre pendant ces nouvelles négociations ne soit pas perdu pour nous seul, et qu'il soit pris sur l'année pendant laquelle le Traité doit rester en vigueur après sa dénonciation. (Vives marques d'approbation sur un grand nombre de bancs.)

Quoiqu'il arrive du reste, abrogation ou simple modification du Traité, nos relations politiques avec l'Angleterre seront aussi amicales que par le passé, et nos Tarifs resteront même ce qu'ils étaient, sauf sur les points qui ont été de notre part l'objet d'une réclamation.

Certes, nous pouvons le dire, aucune négociation n'aura jamais été conduite avec plus de modération, d'esprit de paix : et aucun juge impartial en Europe, même Angleterre, ne pourra nous condamner.

(Translation.)

Now, Gentlemen, it is my duty to speak to you of another negotiation, of which I must give you a succinct account, but at the same time exact and sincere. You all know that the Government of the Empire concluded with nearly all the Powers whose territories adjoin ours, Treaties of Commerce, which were to be binding for ten full years. It was agreed that after ten years, these Treaties should be either revised or denounced, that is to say, abolished. The principal one, that which was signed with England, expired about a year ago. That which was concluded with Belgium reached its limit six months ago ; the third, which was concluded with Prussia, was annulled by the war ; the others, less important, with Austria, Switzerland, and Italy, have still three or four years to run. But the three most important Treaties, because the frontiers are nearest to our own, those which were concluded with England Belgium, and Prussia, depend solely upon your will—they will continue or cease to exist, according as you wish.

I shall tell you nothing new in reminding you of the opposition these Treaties encountered in France at the time of their conclusion. It was not for abolishing absolute prohibitions that they were blamed, for these prohibitions were already condemned, and I, Gentlemen, who have the honour of addressing you, I was never once in power without abolishing some of them. The complaint was, that these Treaties had been concluded without consulting the country ; that they had introduced absolute liberty without preparation ; that they had opened out all our resources at once ; that they had fixed upon insufficient Tariffs, drawn up by the foreign Commissioners to the exclusion of our own ; and that they had thus caused immense damage to our most important national productions, such as iron, tissues of all kinds, agricultural products ; and, above all, the mercantile navy, the effects of which will long be felt in Alsace, Lorraine, Champagne, Burgundy, Flanders, Normandy and Brittany. (Applause from several benches.)

If, at the present time, after a war that has exhausted all our stores, considerable activity has been given to these different branches of industry, when once these stores are renewed, the difficulty will reappear under the weight of foreign competition.

A few months before the fall of the late Government, the Legislative Body, feeling, though not daring to name, the faults of the Empire, endeavouring, though unsuccessfully, to repair them, ordered an inquiry into the Treaties of Commerce, whose denunciation was

so loudly demanded. The result of this inquiry showed that the mercantile navy was ruined; that the iron trade had been destroyed; that the manufacture of spun and woven goods in cotton, linen, and woollens had suffered great damage; that the mixed fabrics of Roubaix had almost ceased to exist; and that agriculture had suffered in some of its most essential productions, especially in wool. The universal opinion was, that upon all these points it was necessary to apply some remedy to a state of things that got worse every day, especially with regard to the mercantile navy, threatened with total annihilation by the system of foreign entrepôts. War, which effaces all ruins by its own, has caused us momentarily to forget this state of things; but now, peace being re-established, it has reappeared to all eyes, much diminished it is true, by the revival of labour, but diminished for a time only, and unhappily not for ever.

It was in our power certainly to denounce these Treaties, subject, of course, to the approval of you who represent the sovereignty; but it was our business to negotiate—to prepare this denunciation. Immense interests in the country; in our workshops, in our harbours, awaited, and are still awaiting this resolution. Still we have not taken it. Our motive for delay was derived from the spirit of caution, which should characterize all serious and sensible Governments.

We did not wish to proclaim ourselves the authors of an industrial reaction by substituting Protection for absolute Free Trade. Our desire is, in giving to trade all the freedom that is compatible with public prosperity, to insure to our own manufactures, to those which for three-quarters of a century have been the wealth of France, the protection of Tariffs sufficient to prevent their being extinguished by unlimited foreign competition. Stimulation that is sufficient to increase their energy, not sufficient to make them abandon the competition, such is our scheme of political economy which we each propose to you. (Hear!)

With this idea, although we would infinitely have preferred abrogating the Treaties which bind us, because we hold essentially to the recovery of our commercial liberty, we have judged it wisest to propose to England a simple modification of the existing Treaties, a modification that was deemed indispensable under the Empire.

Therefore, leaving intact, all the Tariffs upon iron and its derivatives, coal, chemicals, glass, crystal, ceramics, pure woollen goods, fresh and salted fish; in short, the greater part of our trade, we have only proposed to raise, in the small proportion of from 3 to 5 per cent., the duties upon spun and woven goods of cotton, linen, and wool. As for the mixed woollens, which were formerly the cause of the vast wealth of Roubaix, that has unhappily ceased to exist, we have asked for a rise of from 12 to 18 per cent. And these slight changes, we demand less to obtain a real rise in the existing Tariffs than to insure their honest application; for it has been found that, by the false declarations made at the Custom-houses, the Tariffs have been reduced by 3, 4, and even 5 per cent., so that the real effect of the demanded increase would only be to verify the application of the Tariffs of 1860. Such has been the pure and simple proposal made by us to England. We have said to her—

“We should prefer the abolition of the Treaty of 1860, because, like you, we wish to recover liberty in our commercial relations, but with the idea of keeping up a good understanding, and cordial relations, we consent to remain subjected to very inconvenient engagements, on condition of their being relaxed when they impede and almost arrest the circulation, which is the life of our principal manufactures.”

This manner of stating our case was so natural that at first sight, it could not be otherwise than favourably received. Accordingly, from the first words of the English Ministers, both in Paris and in London, we augured, if not the certainty, at least the hope, that our proposals would be entertained.

By degrees, however, less amicable dispositions manifested themselves, and nearly a year has elapsed without a decided answer, so that the time which is slipping away is all to our disadvantage.

If, indeed, we had denounced the Treaty of 1860 in the month of February last, we should now be on the verge of freedom, as it is necessary a year should elapse between denunciation and abolition. Not having done so for the reasons that I have stated to you, we have lost upwards of ten months; and even now, should we formally proclaim our determination to abrogate the Treaty, we must lose another whole year before we can recover our liberty.

Seeking to obtain a positive answer, we were confronted, not by Tariff calculations, but by reasons based on principle. We have been told, with all that courtesy which has been invariably shown on both sides during this negotiation, that if England acceded to our wishes, she would apparently abandon her principles, and encourage a retrograde movement on the part of the principal Continental manufacturing nation. This reasoning has not convinced us. (Laughter.)

If the basis of the Treaty had been in any way attacked, such reasoning might just possibly be admitted; but such an objection is entirely contrary to all reason and reality when three things only are altered, relating to our textile manufactures and when iron and its derivatives, coal, chemicals, and the greater part of the articles in which our trade consists, undergo no change at all.

Was it, then, without any motive that it was agreed to reconsider the Treaty after the lapse of ten years? Was it without any motive that Article XXI of the Treaty contained a stipulation that the Tariffs should be revised at the end of ten years?

Either it must be asserted that the Treaty was to be binding for ever, and then the stipulated reservations are so many Articles written to no purpose, or it must be acknowledged that we are using an incontestable right; and, moreover, that we are using it with moderation, in demanding that the Treaty of 1860 should be modified and not abandoned.

Here, then, is the measure on which we have definitively decided; it does not exceed our negotiating powers, but it will be laid aside if you do not approve of it.

To denounce the Treaty while consenting to negotiate for another whole year, so as to date from to-day, by which means the time to be wasted in these fresh negotiations will not be a loss on our side only, but will be deducted from the year during which the Treaty must remain in force after its denunciation. (Great applause from several benches.)

Whatever may happen, whether the Treaty be abrogated or merely modified, our political relations with England will remain on the same amicable footing as heretofore, and even the tariffs will continue unchanged, with the exception of those articles in which we have demanded a change. We may safely say that never has a negotiation been conducted in a spirit of greater peace and moderation; and no impartial judge in Europe, nor even in England, will be able to condemn us.

No. 49.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 11, 1871.

I APPROVE the language held by your Excellency to M. Thiers on the subject of the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty, as reported in your Excellency's despatch of the 8th instant.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 50.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received January 6.)

My Lord,

Paris, January 5, 1872.

I SPOKE to M. de Rémusat this afternoon of the Law about to be discussed in the Assembly, on the subject of the new taxes on the Merchant Navy. In doing so I used as nearly as possible the terms of your Lordship's despatch of the 18th September last.

I began by asking M. de Rémusat whether the Government adhered to the "projet de loi" which had been submitted to the Assembly in the month of September by the Budget Committee, and which reimposed the differential duties affecting foreign shipping which are called "surtaxes de pavillon" and "surtaxes d'entrepôt."

A copy of this "projet de loi" was transmitted to your Lordship with my despatch of the 8th September last.

M. de Rémusat said that the "projet" was the result of an understanding between the Government and the Committee, and that the Government certainly adhered to it.

I observed to M. de Rémusat that the form in which, according to this "projet," special burdens were to be thrown on foreign vessels engaged in the indirect trade would seem to be a differential duty on the merchandize imported by them. I inquired whether I was right in supposing that the "surtaxes de pavillon" were to be levied on the merchandize according to its weight, and not on the ships themselves. M. de Rémusat answered that undoubtedly this was so; that by "surtaxes de pavillon" were to be understood differential duties on the merchandize imported in foreign ships.

I proceeded to ask whether M. de Rémusat had caused careful examination to be made of the several Treaties between France and foreign Powers, and had satisfied himself that none of them contained clauses which would, in the case of one or more countries, prevent the imposing of differential duties, even in this form of "surtaxes de pavillon."

M. de Rémusat said that he was not prepared to give me a positive answer off-hand, but that he would have the question carefully studied.

I went on to say that, so far as England was concerned, the Navigation Treaty of 1826 assimilated the British and French flags in the direct trade only. The abolition of the differential charges was, I observed, effected by the independent action of France, and consequently England was not protected from their imposition by Treaty engagements. She could only remonstrate against the measure on the ground of its being of an unfriendly and inequitable character to British interests. If any foreign nations were shielded from it by Treaty stipulations of a more extensive description, it would effect special and exceptional injury on the shipping of Great Britain and of other countries in the same position, and would undoubtedly give rise to feelings of irritation on the part of the shipowners affected by it.

M. de Rémusat answered, that he did not conceive that there was any idea of putting England in a less advantageous position than other countries. The "surtaxes de pavillon" were, he presumed, to be applied to all foreign countries alike. He added, that he would without delay look into the question respecting the Treaties which I had suggested.

I went on to say that there was another feature in the case to which I was anxious to call his attention.

In Great Britain there had existed certain local exemptions in favour of particular classes of British shipping, which it was very difficult to abolish. These exemptions had been the one obstacle to the conclusion of a Treaty between England and France, including the direct as well as the indirect trade. On the occasion, however, of the French Law of 1866, by which all differential duties on foreign shipping in the indirect trade were prospectively abolished, on condition of reciprocity, Her Majesty's Government had, after communication with the Government of France, proceeded (in order to fulfil the conditions of reciprocity required by the law) to provide by Act of Parliament for the extinction of the local exemptions in question. A considerable sum had, moreover, been paid by the Treasury for the express purpose of buying up at several British ports the right which had existed there to levy differential dues on foreign shipping. Under these circumstances, it could scarcely, I added, be regarded as an equitable proceeding on the part of the French Government to withdraw within five years from British shipping the advantages given by the Law of 1866; and Her Majesty's Government could not but consider that such a course would afford them a very legitimate ground of complaint and remonstrance.

M. de Rémusat replied that certainly the considerations I had mentioned were deserving of very serious attention.

I begged him to bring them without delay to the notice of the President of the Republic.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 51.

Earl Granville to the Duc de Broglie.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Foreign Office, January 8, 1872.

I HAD the honour, on the 1st instant, to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 30th November, inclosing a *note verbale* explaining the views of the French Government on the question of the negotiations which have taken place between the Government of France and Her Majesty's Government respecting the modifications of the Commercial Treaty between the two countries of 1860, and I then stated that I would reserve, for a future occasion, my observations on the note in question.

I would now beg leave, M. l'Ambassadeur, to refer, in the first place, to that part of the note in which it is stated that, since the month of July last, Her Majesty's Government have been in possession of the views of the French Cabinet as to the alterations which they were desirous of making in the Treaty of 1860; and disappointment is expressed, that being in possession of those views, it was not until the receipt of my note of the 1st of November that the French Government were made aware that Her Majesty's Government objected to discuss the details of the French proposals, and declined, on general principles, to entertain them.

Before, however, making any reference to the dates of the communications which have passed between the two Governments on this subject, I would ask permission to refer your Excellency to the ground on which the application to Her Majesty's Government to enter into negotiation for a revision of the Treaty was first based, and which was stated to

be the necessity that existed for France to raise an increased revenue in order to meet the heavy burthens imposed upon her by the late war.

Her Majesty's Government could not but see that this necessity existed ; and they felt, therefore, that they would have been wanting in that friendly feeling which exists on the part of all parties in this country towards France, and in which Her Majesty's Government share, if they had not carefully considered whether there was not a possibility of conceding to the proposals of the French Government.

On the receipt, therefore, of the note communicated to me by your Excellency on the 18th of July, by which Her Majesty's Government were made acquainted, for the first time, with an outline of the proposed alterations in the Tariff, it was attentively considered with every wish on the part of Her Majesty's Government to meet, as far as possible, the object which it was believed the French Government had in view, viz., the raising of an increased revenue.

It was found, however, as the result of this examination, that, in the first place, further details would be required before Her Majesty's would be enabled to come to any decision on the French proposals ; and, secondly, that where so many important British interests were involved it would be necessary to consult the different Chambers of Commerce in this country, with the view to ascertain the probable effect on the interests they represented of the modifications proposed by the French Government.

Accordingly, on the 5th of August, I had the honour of addressing to your Excellency a note, asking for the further information required by Her Majesty's Government to enable them to come to a decision upon the French proposals.

It was not, however, until the 13th of September, that I had the honour of receiving your Excellency's note, inclosing a Project of a Treaty of Commerce accompanied by two Tables, in which were embodied some of the changes which the French Government proposed to make in the Treaty of 1860.

This Project, however, was far from complete, inasmuch as it left in doubt the amount of duties to be imposed upon a large number of commodities comprised in a 3rd Annex, marked Table C, referred to in Article III of the Project, which Table has not yet been communicated to Her Majesty's Government, in consequence of the French Chamber not having decided upon the amount of duty to be levied upon the Articles comprised in the said Table.

But I did not fail to submit these important documents for the immediate consideration of my colleagues, and steps were also taken to obtain the opinions of the different Chambers of Commerce upon the French Project.

It cannot but be manifest to your Excellency, however, that desirous as Her Majesty's Government may have been to arrive at a prompt decision in regard to the French proposals, the importance of the interests they involved necessitated a very attentive examination of them, which was rendered more difficult by the form in which those proposals were presented. It was not, therefore, until the 1st of November, that I was enabled to communicate to your Excellency the views of Her Majesty's Government, in regard to the proposals embodied in the French Project.

As far, therefore, as regards any charge of delay which may be imputed to Her Majesty's Government in considering the French proposals, it will be seen, on referring to the dates of the notes which have passed on this subject, that between the 18th of July, when your Excellency first communicated to me the outlines of the proposed modifications, and the 5th of August, when I replied by requesting further details, a period of eighteen days elapsed ; and between the last mentioned date and the 13th of September, when I had the honour of receiving your Excellency's reply, a further period of thirty-nine days elapsed ; and again between the 13th of September, the date of your Excellency's last-mentioned note, and the 1st of November, when I had the honour of communicating to your Excellency the views of Her Majesty's Government on the French proposals, a period intervened of forty-six days.

It would appear, therefore, that Her Majesty's Government took seven days more to consider the French Project of Treaty in all its numerous details, than the Government of the President required to frame their Project, the particulars of which, it is to be presumed, they had already fully considered when they first communicated to Her Majesty's Government through your Excellency the outlines of their Project, on the 18th of July preceding ; and I cannot doubt that your Excellency, taking into account the importance of the interests involved, and of the questions that had to be considered, will concur with me in opinion that, in view of the dates which I have quoted, no charge can fairly be brought against Her Majesty's Government of dilatoriness in considering the French proposals.

The result of the consideration by Her Majesty's Government of the French Project of Treaty, although the documents communicated to them did not enable them to form

a correct judgment as to its full scope and bearing, was a conviction that its provisions were more calculated to afford protection to French manufacturers rather than to provide an increased revenue, and, entertaining this opinion, Her Majesty's Government felt that they could not consistently accept the French proposals as they then stood.

Her Majesty's Government had the less hesitation in coming to this decision, inasmuch as M. Thiers had on more than one occasion expressed a strong opinion that it would be for the interest of France that she should not be hampered by any Treaty engagements with foreign Powers in regulating her commercial system; and it appeared, therefore, that the President was doing some degree of violence to his own opinion, and was deviating from, if not even acting in, a manner contrary to the interests of France when he asked Her Majesty's Government to consent to the proposed modifications of the Treaty.

To have accepted, therefore, the French Project of Treaty would have placed the two Governments in the false position of agreeing on either side to oblige the other to proposals which both Governments believed to be contrary to the best interests of the two countries—an anomalous position which could not fail to lead to much embarrassment.

Should, however, the French Government be enabled to make such modifications in their scheme for a revision of the Treaty of 1860 as would remove the objections which Her Majesty's Government entertain to the French proposals as they now stand on the ground that they are founded on principles of commercial restriction, Her Majesty's Government will be most willing to come, if possible, to an understanding with them on the subject.

It only remains for me to add, M. l'Ambassadeur, that it has been a source of great satisfaction to Her Majesty's Government to be confirmed by the tone of M. de Rémusat's note, and by the assurances contained in it, in the belief that it is equally the desire of both Governments that their political relations should not be at all affected by any decision which may be come to in regard to a revision of the Treaty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 52.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received January 10.)

(Extract.)

Paris, January 9, 1872.

IN my despatch of the 5th instant, I had the honour to report to your Lordship that I had spoken to M. de Rémusat in the terms of your Commercial despatch of the 18th September last, respecting the proposed duties on merchant vessels; and that I had requested his Excellency to bring what I had said to the notice of the President of the Republic.

I spoke myself to the President in the same terms last night at Versailles.

On my observing that, as regarded indirect trade, England was not protected from the reimposition of differential charges by Treaty, and therefore could only remonstrate against the measure on the ground of its being unfriendly and inequitable to British interests, M. Thiers replied that nothing could be further from his wishes than to impose any special disadvantage on British merchant-vessels. Taking into account the vast trade carried on all over the world by British vessels, he could not suppose that any very sensible effect would be produced on the amount of that trade by the differential charges which had been proposed to the Assembly. It was not, he said, against the competition of English vessels that the French mercantile marine chiefly required protection. Its most formidable rivals were the smaller merchant navies, such, for instance, as those of Italy and Greece in the Mediterranean; and Sweden and Germany in the north. The ships of these countries were worked at an extraordinarily cheap rate, and took freights which English vessels would hardly accept. It was the competition of these ships which was destroying the French navy, and against which protective measures were imperatively required.

I answered that I could not set a low value either on our carrying trade or our entrepôt trade with France. I dwelt upon the irritation which would inevitably be felt by shipowners and others in England, if we were placed on a less advantageous footing than any other nation; and I asked him whether he was sure that there were no Treaties which would prevent the immediate imposition on all foreign ships alike of his intended "surtaxes de pavillon" and "surtaxes d'entrepôt."

M. Thiers answered that he believed it would be necessary to come to some understanding with Austria, but that he was sure he should have no difficulty in doing so. He repeated in general terms his assurance that he had no desire whatever to place England in a less favourable position than any other Power.

I pointed out to M. Thiers that the British Government had, after communication with the Government of France, resorted to special Legislation, and expended large sums of money in order to comply with the provisions of the French Law of 1866; and that to withdraw from British shipping within five years the advantages thus obtained, would be an inequitable proceeding on the part of the French Government, and afford a very legitimate ground for remonstrance and complaint.

M. Thiers only said that, although he was an old Protectionist, he did not intend to pursue a reactionary policy in these matters. The changes he proposed to effect were very moderate, and were, in his opinion, absolutely necessary. I might be sure that, if he should be freed from all Treaty restrictions, he should not resort to a prohibitive or highly protective Tariff, but should simply impose moderate duties, such as those specified in the proposals he had made to Her Majesty's Government.

Finding that I could not elicit anything more definite, I concluded the conversation by observing that opinions might very much differ as to what amount of duty was to be deemed "moderate."

No. 53.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 10, 1872.

I INCLOSE, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a note which I have addressed to the Duke de Broglie,* containing the reply of Her Majesty's Government to the *note verbale* which was presented on the part of the French Government on the 30th November last, respecting the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 54.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received January 13.)

My Lord,

Paris, January 12, 1872.

M. DE REMUSAT told me this afternoon that he had received from London your Lordship's note to the Duc de Broglie of the 8th instant, containing the answer of Her Majesty's Government to the French communication of the 30th November, respecting the Commercial Treaty.

M. de Rémusat observed that the question of imposing duties on raw materials was now before the National Assembly, and that when the Assembly had come to a decision on the subject the Government of France would be able to give Her Majesty's Government further and more definite information, and perhaps to modify or even abandon a part of their present proposals.

I said that your Lordship's note left the door open to further explanation, and that you would certainly consider any communication from the French Government with an earnest desire to comply with their wishes as far as possible.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 55.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received January 15.)

My Lord,

Paris, January 14, 1872.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, herewith, to your Lordship, a complete copy of the Bill brought into the Assembly by the Government, to fix the specific tariff of duties on raw materials.

I inclose also a Table which has been distributed by the Government to every member of the Assembly, giving a comparative statement of the imports and exports before and after the Treaty of 1860.

I have not been able to obtain second copies of either of these documents.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 55.

Projet de Loi portant Fixation des Tarifs spécifiques sur les Matières Brutes, Textiles, et autres.

23 Janvier, 1872.

Exposé des Motifs.

Messieurs,

L'EXPOSE des motifs du Budget de 1872 a développé les raisons qui ont déterminé le Gouvernement à proposer un impôt sur les matières premières, avec exonération complète de droits en faveur des marchandises destinées à l'exportation.

Nous avons l'honneur de soumettre à l'Assemblée Nationale, conformément aux dispositions contenues dans les Articles 14 et 15 du projet de Loi :

1. Les Tarifs spécifiques des droits à l'importation des matières brutes, textiles, et autres ;

2. Les bases suivant lesquelles les droits perçus seront remboursés à l'exportation.

Dans la pensée du Gouvernement, le régime de l'admission temporaire sera substitué au drawback toutes les fois que cette substitution sera possible, et surtout lorsqu'il s'agira d'un produit fabriqué avec une matière première qui a son similaire en France.

D'après l'Article 14 du projet du Budget de 1872, les droits *ad valorem* devaient s'échelonner de 2 à 20 pour cent. Mais vous voudrez bien remarquer que, dans l'établissement des droits spécifiques que nous vous soumettons, le taux de 15 à 16 pour cent de la valeur n'a pas été dépassé, en moyenne, pour les grandes industrie textiles.

Projet de Loi.

Article 1.

Le Tarif des douanes à l'importation est modifié ainsi qu'il suit, décimescompris :—

	Fr. c.
Peaux brutes—	
Grandes, fraîches	15 00 les 100 kilog.
„ sèches, à l'alun (cuirs salés secs)	22 50 „
„ „ autres	30 00 „
Petites, fraîches	22 50 „
„ sèches	30 00 „
Pelletteries brutes, apprêtées ou en morceaux cousus	20 pour cent de la valeur.
Laines en masse, par 100 kilog. de laine entièrement dégraissée et desséchée à l'absolu, avec reprise de 17 pour cent pour l'humidité normale	80 00 les 100 kilog.
Le rendement imposable sera calculé d'après l'état des laines et leur provenance, conformément au tableau A ci-joint (page 20). Si la douane ou le commerce jugent que le rendement réel s'écarte de 3 pour cent, soit en plus, soit en moins, de la moyenne légale, ils pourront recourir au titrage par un bureau de conditionnement, mais il ne sera tenu compte que de la portion du rendement réel qui sera ou inférieure ou supérieure à la tolérance de 3 pour cent.	
Déchets de laine—	
Autres que la bourre lanice et tontisse	80 00 par 100 kilog. entièrement épurés.
Bourre lanice et tontisse	30 00 les 100 kilog.
Chiffons de laine et lisières de drap	80 00 „
Crins bruts préparés ou frisés	75 00 „
Cheveux non ouvrés	12 00 le kilog.
Poils pour la filature—	
De chèvre, de chevron, ou de chameau	Régime des laines.
De vache, de cheval, et autres poils grossiers	4 00 les 100 kilog.
Poils—	
Pour la chapellerie (de lièvre, de lapin, &c.)	125 00 „
Pour la broserie (de porc, de sanglier,) en masse	50 00 „
Poils de porc et de sanglier, en bottes de longueurs assorties.	180 00 „
Plumes de parure—	
De coq et de vautour	3 00 le kilog.
Autres—	
Blanches	20 00 „
Noires.	8 00 „
De toute autre couleur	3 00 „

	Fr. c.	
Plumes à écrire, brutes	20 00	les 100 kilog.
Plumes à lit, non apprêtées	200 00	"
Cire—		
Brute (brune, jaune, ou blanche)	100 00	"
Résidu de cire	20 00	"
Graisses animales autres que de poissons—		
Suifs, saindoux et dégras de peaux	20 00	"
Autres	50 00	"
Oeufs de volaille et de gibier	4 00	"
Viandes salées	4 00	"
Soies—		
En cocons, frais	1 20	le kilog.
" secs	3 00	"
Ecrues, grêges, des Indes, de la Chine et du Japon	11 00	"
" d'ailleurs	14 00	"
" Doupions.. .. .	3 60	"
Moulinées, des Indes, de la Chine et du Japon.. .. .	13 00	"
" d'ailleurs	15 00	"
Bourre de soie en masse	2 50	"
(La bourrette ou déchet de bourre de soie n'acquittera que le quart du droit de la bourre de soie.)		
Fromages—		
Blancs de pâte molle	15 00	les 100 kilog.
Autres	18 00	"
Beurre—		
Frais ou fondu	30 00	"
Salé	25 00	"
Miel	2 00	"
Produits et dépouilles d'animaux dénommés au Tarif* et non repris dans la présente Loi	0 50	"
Poissons d'eau douce frais, de pêche étrangère	10 00	"
Poissons de mer frais, de pêche étrangère	10 00	"
Homards, de pêche étrangère	7 50	"
Moules et autres coquillages pleins, de pêche étrangère	0 20	"
Graisses de poisson, de pêche étrangère.. .. .	20 00	"
Blanc de baleine et de cachalot, brut, de pêche étrangère	35 00	"
Fanons de baleine bruts, de pêche étrangère	240 00	"
Corail brut, de pêche étrangère	1 00	le kilog.
Produits de pêche étrangère actuellement exempts de droits et non repris dans la présente Loi	3 00	les 100 kilog.
Eponges	250 00	"
Produits bruts propres à la médecine ou à la parfumerie dénommés au Tarif et non repris dans la présente Loi	2 00	"
Dents d'éléphants	3 60	le kilog.
Ecailles de tortue—		
Carapaces, onglons et caouanes	8 00	"
Rognures	0 40	"
Nacre de perle—		
En coquilles brutes	30 00	les 100 kilog.
Sciée ou dépouillée de sa croûte	150 00	"
Halotides et autres coquillages destinés à l'industrie	30 00	"
Os et sabots de bétail bruts	0 30	"
Cornes de bétail brutes	15 00	"
Seigle, maïs, orge, sarrasin, avoine—		
Grains	0 25	"
Farines	0 50	"
Pommes de terre	0 10	"
Légumes secs et leurs farines	0 50	"
Marrons, châtaignes et leurs farines	0 50	"
Alpiste et millet (grains et farines)	0 50	"
Sagou, salep et fécules exotiques	15 00	"
Fruits de table frais	10 00	"
Fruits secs ou tapés—		
Raisins	20 00	"
Pistaches	160 00	"
Figues	10 00	"
Autres	30 00	"
Fruits confits ou conservés sans sucre, miel, ni eau-de-vie	30 00	"
Fruits à distiller—		
Anis vert	20 00	"
Autres	5 00	"
Graines oléagineuses—		
De sésame	9 00	"
De lin	5 00	"
De coton et de ravison	4 00	"
Autres	6 50	"
Fruits oléagineux—		
Olives fraîches	12 00	"
Autres	6 50	"

* La franchise reste applicable aux engrais, aux œufs de vers à soie, et à la viande fraîche.

	Fr.	c.	
Graines à ensementer	0	25	les 100 kilog.
Mélasses pour la distillation	0	25	"
Gommes pures—			
Exotiques	10	00	"
D'Europe	6	00	"
Résines d'Europe—			
Brutes : poix ou galipot	1	50	"
" brai gras et goudron	2	00	"
Epurées : térébenthine	5	00	"
Distillées : essence de térébenthine	7	00	"
Résidu de distillation : brai sec, colophane, résine d'huile..	1	50	"
Résineux exotiques—			
Scammonée	8	00	le kilog.
Laque naturelle	40	00	les 100 kilog.
Copal et dammar	60	00	"
Autres	50	00	"
Baumes—			
Benjoin	80	00	"
Storax et styrax	40	00	"
De copahu	100	00	"
Autres	200	00	"
Huiles, fixes, pures	20	00	"
Camphre—			
Brut	50	00	"
Raffiné	70	00	"
Caoutchouc et gutta-percha bruts ou refondus en masse	160	00	"
Aloès	14	00	"
Opium	15	00	le kilog.
Jus de réglisse	18	00	les 100 kilog.
Sucs végétaux (autres que les huiles) dénommés au Tarif et non repris dans la présente Loi	60	00	"
Racines médicinales exotiques—			
Jalap	100	00	"
Ipécacuanha	300	00	"
Rhubarbe	120	00	"
Salsepareille	30	00	"
Gingembre	15	00	"
Ecorces de quinquina	75	00	"
Feuilles de séné	50	00	"
Fruits médicinaux exotiques—			
Casse sans apprêt	8	00	"
Tamarins (gousses et pulpes)	15	00	"
Badiane	60	00	"
Follicules de séné	50	00	"
Lichens médicinaux	1	00	"
Autres racines, herbes, feuilles, fleurs, graines, et fruits médicinaux exotiques	50	00	"
Espèces médicinales d'Europe—			
Racines de réglisse	0	80	"
Autres	3	00	"
Bois à construire—			
De chêne, d'orme, et de noyer—			
Bruts ou équarris	19	50	le stère.
Sciés, ayant d'épaisseur 80 millim. ou plus	19	50	"
" " moins de 80 millim... .. .	18	00	les 100 mètres.
Autres—			
Bruts ou équarris	9	00	le stère.
Sciés, ayant d'épaisseur 90 millim. ou plus	9	00	"
" " de 70 millim. inclusivement à 90 millim. exclusivement, et mesurant en largeur—			
20 centim. ou plus	16	00	les 100 mètres.
Moins de 20 centim.	10	50	"
" " de 36 millim. inclusivement à 70 millim. exclusivement, et mesurant en largeur—			
20 centim. ou plus	8	00	"
Moins de 20 centim.	6	00	"
" " moins de 36 millim., et mesurant en largeur—			
20 centim. de plus	4	75	"
Moins de 20 centim.	2	75	"
Bois rabotés, rainés, et moulurés—			
D'orme, de chêne, et de noyer			Droit des bois sciés, selon l'espèce, augmenté de 4 fr.
Autres			Droit des bois sciés, selon l'espèces, augmenté de 2 fr.
Mâts	60	00	la pièce.
Mâtereaux	24	00	"
Espars	7	00	"
Pigouilles	0	40	"
Manches de gaffe.. .. .	0	20	"
Manches de fouine et de pinceau à goudron	0	2	"

	Fr. c.	
Bois en éclisse et bois feuillard	1 80	le cent.
Perches	10 00	„
Echalas	0 80	„
Merrains—		
De chêne	15 00	„
Autres	12 00	„
Liège brut, râpé, ou en planches	10 00	les 100 kilog.
Osier en bottes, tiges de millet, racines, et bruyères à vergettes	2 00	„
Bois à brûler—		
En bûches et rondins	0 15	le stère.
En fagots	0 50	le cent.
Charbons de bois et de chênevottes	0 25	le mètre cube.
Bois d'ébénisterie—		
En billes ou sciés à plus de 2 décim. d'épaisseur	6 00	les 100 kilog.
Sciés à 2 décim. d'épaisseur ou moins	7 00	„
Bois odorants	30 00	„
Bois de teinture—		
En bûches	2 00	„
Moulus	3 00	„
Coton en laine—		
Egrené, des Indes Orientales et de la Chine	35 00	„
„ d'ailleurs	40 00	„
Non égrené	12 00	„
Lin et chanvre—		
En tiges brutes	1 60	„
Teillés et étoupes	15 00	„
Peignés	18 00	„
Jute—		
En brins ou teillé	6 00	„
Peigné	6 70	„
(L'abaca, le phormium tenax, et les autres végétaux filamenteux non dénommés suivront le régime du lin et du chanvre.)		
Jones et roseaux exotiques	7 00	„
Jones et roseaux d'Europe	0 50	„
Fruits, tigés et filaments à ouvrir dénommés au Tarif et non repris dans la présente Loi	0 50	„
Curcuma en racine ou en poudre	5 00	„
Orcanète	10 00	„
Quercitron	3 00	„
Ecorces à tan	1 00	„
Lichens tinctoriaux	10 00	„
Safran	10 00	le kilog.
Fleurs de carthame	60 00	les 100 kilog.
Noix de galle et avelanèdes	20 00	„
Sumac et fustet (écorces, feuilles, et brindilles entières ou moulues)	4 00	„
Gousses tinctoriales	3 00	„
Autres feuilles, racines, tiges, graines, et fruits tinctoriaux (autres que la garance)	3 00	„
Betteraves	0 5	„
Légumes verts	0 25	„
Fourrages, son et jarosse	0 25	„
Houblon	60 00	„
Amurca et grignon	1 50	„
Tortaux—		
De graines de lin	0 50	„
Autres	0 25	„
Mottes à brûler et tourbe, crue ou carbonisée	0 2	„
Produits et déchets végétaux (autres que les légumes confits, les racines de chicorée et les drilles) dénommés au Tarif Officiel, pages 150 et 151, et non repris dans la présente Loi	1 00	„
Marbres—		
Blancs statuaire, bruts, équarris, ou sciés	0 50	„
Autres—		
Bruts ou équarris	2 50	„
Sciés, ayant d'épaisseur 16 centim. ou plus	2 50	„
„ „ moins de 16 centim.	3 00	„
Sculptés, moulés, ou polis	15 00	„
Albâtre—		
Brut	5 00	„
Scié	9 00	„
Sculpté, moulé, ou poli	20 00	„
Ecossines—		
Brutes, taillées, ou sciées	0 10	„
Sculptées ou polies	0 50	„
Agates brutes	1 20	„
Agates ouvrées	20	pour cent de la valeur.
Cristal de roche—		
Brut	0 50	le kilog.
Ouvré, non monté	0 50	„
Monté		Régime de la bijouterie.

	Fr. c.
Pierres ouvrées—	
Taillées ou sciées.. ..	2 50 les 100 kilog.
Sculptées ou polies	15 00 „
Meules—	
A moudre	3 50 la pièce.
A aiguiser	0 10 „
Chques—	
En marbre	50 00 „
En pierre	12 00 „
Ecume de mer, brute.. ..	20 pour cent de la valeur.
Pierres à aiguiser—	
Brutes	1 00 les 100 kilog.
Taillées	5 00 „
Pierres ferrugineuses autres que l'émeri	0 60 „
Pierres et terres servant aux arts et métiers actuellement exemptes de droit et non reprises dans la présente Loi	0 05 „
Ardoises—	
Pour construction, brutes	0 10 „
En carreaux ou en tables	6 00 le cent.
Matériaux actuellement exempts de droit et non repris dans la présente Loi	0 05 les 100 kilog.
Soufre—	
Non épuré, minéral compris	0 30 „
Epuré	0 50 „
Sublimé	1 00 „
Graphite ou plombagine	0 75 „
Jais	0 50 le kilog.
Succin	0 50 „
Goudron minéral provenant de la distillation de la houille	1 20 les 100 kilog.
Bitumes—	
Solides, mêlés de terre	0 40 „
„ autres	1 20 „
Fluides	Droit du pétrole brut.
Minéral d'or et de platine	Droit du métal brut.
Minéral d'argent	Droit du métal brut.
Cendres d'orfèvre	Droit de l'argent brut.
Cuivre pur ou allié de première fusion en masses brutes, saumons, barres, plaques, limailles ou objets détruits	15 00 les 100 kilog.
Plomb—	
En masses brutes, saumons, barres, plaques, limailles ou objets détruits	4 00 „
Allié d'antimoine, en masse.. ..	7 50 „
Etain—	
En masses brutes, saumons, barres, plaques, limailles ou objets détruits	30 00 „
Allié d'antimoine, en masse.. ..	25 00 „
Bismuth	60 00 „
Zinc en masses brutes, saumons, barres, plaques, limailles ou objets détruits.. ..	5 00 „
Cadmium brut	30 00 „
Nickel —	
Minéral grillé (speiss)	10 00 „
Pur ou allié, en masses brutes	100 00 „
Antimoine—	
Sulfuré fondu	1 00 „
Métallique	15 00 „
Cobalt vérifié—	
En masse (smalt).. ..	20 00 „
En poudre (azur).. ..	10 00 „
Arsenic métallique	8 00 „
Mercure natif	50 00 „
Manganèse.. ..	0 25 „
Potasse	1 50 „
Brome	25 00 „
Iode	60 00 „
Jus de citron	1 00 „
Citrate de chaux	1 00 „
Acides—	
Citrique cristallisé	12 00 „
Sulfurique	0 30 „
Gallique	0 50 „
Nitrique	1 00 „
Hydrochlorique	0 10 „
Arsénieux	3 60 „
Tartrique	6 00 „
Benzoïque	Droit du benjoin.
Borique	3 00 les 100 kilog.
Salin de betterave	0 40 „
Soude de varech	0 40 „
Cendres végétales vives ou lessivées	0 05 „

	Fr. c.	
Oxydes—		
De fer	0 50	les 100 kilog.
De plomb	6 00	"
De zinc	7 00	"
D'étain	30 00	"
D'urane	80 00	"
De cuivre	25 00	"
Safre et autres composés du cobalt	7 00	"
Nitrates—		
De potasse	1 50	"
De soude	1 00	"
Chlorure de potassium	0 50	"
Sulfates—		
De potasse	1 20	"
De baryte	0 20	"
De magnésie	0 50	"
Borax brut	2 50	"
Tartrates—		
De potasse, très-impur (lie de vin)	0 50	"
„ impur, tartre brut	1 50	"
„ „ cristaux de tartre	3 00	"
„ pur (crème de tartre)	4 00	"
„ autre (sel végétal)	8 00	"
De soude et de potasse (sel de seignette)	5 00	"
Carbonates—		
De magnésie	2 00	"
De baryte	0 20	"
De potasse	1 50	"
(Le régime de l'importation temporaire, tel qu'il est réglé par la Loi du 5 Juillet, 1836, sera appliqué aux plombs destinés à la fabrication des oxydes et des carbonates.)		
Carbonates de plomb	5 50	"
Acétate de fer liquide	0 20	"
Sucre de lait	15 00	"
Sulfure d'arsenic	1 25	"
Iodure de potassium	50 00	"
Produits chimiques et couleurs dérivés de l'essence de houille	10 pour cent de la valeur.	
Cochenille	80 00	les 100 kilog.
Laque en teinture ou en trochisques	35 00	"
Verres animal	70 00	"
Indigo	200 00	"
Indigène, inde-plate et boules de bleu	Régime de l'indigo.	
Pâte de pastel—		
Grossière	5 00	les 100 kilog.
Autre, dite "indigo-pastel"	Régime de l'indigo.	
Cachou en masse	7 00	les 100 kilog.
Rocou préparé	35 00	"
Orseille	20 00	"
Maurelle	10 00	"
Extraits de bois de teinture—		
Noirs et violets	20 00	"
Rouges et jaunes	30 00	"
Sucs tanins extraits des végétaux	3 50	"
Bleu de Prusse	25 00	"
Prussiate de potasse cristallisé—		
Jaune	20 00	"
Rouge	30 00	"
Outremer	15 00	"
Carmin—		
Fin	4 00	le kilog.
Commun	0 50	"
Encre—		
A dessiner, en tablettes	100 00	les 100 kilog.
Liquide à écrire ou à imprimer	20 00	"
Vernis—		
A l'esprit-de-vin	10 pour cent. de la valeur, plus la taxe de consommation afférente à l'alcool.	
Autres	10 pour cent de la valeur.	
Cirage	4 00	les 100 kilog.
Noir animal d'os	0 50	"
Noir—		
D'imprimeur en taille-douce	7 00	"
D'Espagne et de fumée	1 00	"
Minéral naturel	0 50	"
Crayons—		
Simple en pierre	10 00	"
Composés à gaine de bois blanc	20 00	"
„ à gaine de cèdre	50 00	"
Couleurs non dénommées dans la présente Loi	10 pour cent de la valeur.	

						Fr. c.
Parfumeries, non compris les savons—						
Eaux de senteur, alcooliques	..	..	..	..	..	80 00 les 100 kilog., indépendamment de la taxe de consommation afférente à l'alcool.
„ sans alcool	..	..	..	..	..	40 00 les 100 kilog.
Pommades	..	..	..	..	..	120 00 „
Autres	..	..	..	..	..	60 00 „
Epices préparées—						
Moutard	..	..	..	..	..	20 00 „
Autres	..	..	..	..	..	80 00 „
Amidon	..	..	..	..	..	4 00 „
Albumine	..	..	..	..	..	12 00 „
Colle forte	..	..	..	..	..	12 00 „
Colle de poisson	..	..	..	..	..	250 00 „
Cire à cacheter	..	..	..	..	..	60 00 „
Extraits de viande	..	..	..	..	..	30 00 „
Gélatine	..	..	..	..	..	6 00 „
Pain d'épice	..	..	..	..	..	20 00 „
Essence de houille	..	..	..	..	..	10 pour cent de la valeur.
Capsules de poudre fulminante de chasse						„ „
Cartouches de chasse vides, ou enveloppés de cartouches amorcées ou non						„ „
Mèches de mineurs	..	..	..	..	..	„ „
Artifices pour divertissements	..	..	..	..	..	„ „
Carrosserie	..	..	..	..	..	20 pour cent de la valeur.
Bimbeloterie	..	..	..	..	..	„ „
Tabletterie	..	..	..	..	..	„ „
Mercerie	..	..	..	..	..	„ „
Boutons autres que de passementerie						„ „
Cheveux ouvrés	..	..	..	..	..	15 00 le kilog.
Modes (ouvrages de)	..	..	..	..	..	20 pour cent de la valeur.
Fleurs artificielles	..	..	..	..	..	„ „
Parapluies ou parasols	..	..	..	..	..	„ „
Articles d'emballage	..	..	..	..	..	Droit de la matière dont ils sont formés.
Instruments de musique et pièces détachées	..	..	..	..	..	20 pour cent de la valeur.
Tuyaux et conduits en papier et bitume	..	..	..	..	..	3 00 les 100 kilog.
Pelleteries ouvrées	..	..	..	..	..	20 pour cent de la valeur.
Ouvrages en écume de mer	..	..	..	..	..	„ „
Corail taillé, non monté	..	..	..	..	..	2 00 le kilog.
Chapeaux de paille	..	..	..	..	..	2 pour cent de la valeur.
Chapeaux d'écorce, de sparte, et de fibres de palmier	..	..	..	..	..	„ „
Tresses de bois blanc	..	..	..	..	..	„ „
Tresses de paille, d'écorce, ou de sparte	..	..	..	..	..	„ „
Jus d'orange	..	..	..	..	..	Régime des vins de liqueur.
Eaux minérales	..	..	..	..	..	1 00 les 100 kilog.
Grosil ou verre cassé	..	..	..	..	..	0 40 „

Art 2. Les droits perçus sur les matières brutes seront remboursés à l'exportation des produits fabriqués suivant les bases indiquées ci-après, soit au moyen du drawback, soit par application du régime de l'admission temporaire tel qu'il est établi par l'Article 5 de la Loi du 5 Juillet, 1836.

Dérivés des Matières Textiles.

						DRAWBACKS.	Fr. c.
Fils de coton simples—							
No. 50 et au-dessous—							
Ecrus	..	..	..	..	..	..	47 00 les 100 kilog.
Blanchis	..	..	..	..	..	..	56 50 „
Teints	..	..	..	..	..	..	55 00 „
Du No. 50 exclusivement au No. 80 inclusivement—							
Ecrus	..	..	..	..	..	..	50 00 „
Blanchis	..	..	..	..	..	..	60 00 „
Teints	..	..	..	..	..	..	58 50 „
Au-dessus du No. 80—							
Ecrus	..	..	..	..	..	..	52 00 „
Blanchis	..	..	..	..	..	..	62 50 „
Teints	..	..	..	..	..	..	60 50 „
Fils de coton retors—							
No. 50 et au-dessous—							
Ecrus	..	..	..	..	..	..	52 00 „
Blanchis	..	..	..	..	..	..	62 50 „
Teints	..	..	..	..	..	..	60 50 „
Du No. 50 exclusivement au No. 80 inclusivement—							
Ecrus	..	..	..	..	..	..	55 00 „
Blanchis	..	..	..	..	..	..	66 00 „
Teints	..	..	..	..	..	..	64 00 „

Au-dessus du No. 80—						Fr. c.
Ecrus	..	..	..	..	..	57 00 les 100 kilog.
Blanchis	..	..	..	..	..	68 50 „
Teints	..	..	..	..	..	66 20 „
Tissus de coton—						
En fils simples—						
Ecrus—						
Velours, piqués, basins, façonnés, damassés, et brillantés	..	..	..	..	..	51 50 „
Tous autres pesant par 100 mètres carrés—						
7 kilog. et plus	..	..	..	..	..	51 50 „
3 kilog. à 7 kilog.	..	..	..	..	..	54 00 „
Au-dessous de 3 kilog.	..	..	..	..	..	56 00 „
Blanchis—						
Sans apprêt ..	..	..	..	..	..	20 pour cent en sus du droit du tissu écri, selon l'espèce.
Apprêtés à un degré quelconque..	..	..	..	..	..	Droit du tissu écri, selon l'espèce, plus 2 fr. par cent kilog. pour l'amidon.
Imprimés ou teints—						
En rouge d'Andrinople	..	..	..	..	..	Droit de l'écri augmenté de 24 pour cent, plus 3 fr. 50 c. par 100 kilog., afférents à la teinture.
En toute autre couleur—						
Moleskine pesant 25 kilog. ou moins aux 100 mètres carrés..	..	..	..	..	..	Droit de l'écri augmenté de 4 pour cent, plus 3 fr. 50 c. par 100 kilog., afférents à la teinture.
Tous autres tissus ..	..	..	..	..	..	Droit de l'écri augmenté de 14 pour cent, plus 3 fr. 50 c. par 100 kilog., afférents à la teinture.
En fils retors—						
En chaîne ou en trame seulement ..	..	..	..	..	..	Droit du tissu selon l'espèce, augmenté de 2 fr. par 100 kilog., plus 3 fr. 50 c., afférents à la teinture.
A la fois en chaîne et en trame ..	..	..	..	..	..	Droit du tissu selon l'espèce, augmenté de 4 fr. par 100 kilog., plus 3 fr. 50 c., afférents à la teinture.
on cardé dit "ouate"	..	..	..	..	..	45 00 les 100 kilog.
ouvrages valant au moins les deux-tiers du prix du coton brut	..	..	..	..	..	30 00 „
Seront exclus du drawback :—						
1. Les déchets de coton valant moins des deux-tiers du prix du coton brut.						
2. Les fils de coton valant moins de 1 fr. 50 c. le kilog.						
3. Les tissus de coton valant moins de 2 fr. 50 c. le kilog.						
Tous les produits manufacturés avec la soie, la laine, le lin, le chanvre, le jute; et le phormium tenax, jouiront des bénéfices de l'admission temporaire.						
Les droits compensateurs pour les produits manufacturés avec les matières textiles ci-dessus énoncées seront appliqués aux produits étrangers conformément aux chiffres suivants :—						
Laine dégraissée et blousses (déchets du peignage)	..	..	..	..	..	80 00 par 100 kilog. de laine entièrement épurée.
Laine peignée et cardée (entièrement épurée et dégraissée)—						
Ecrue ..	..	..	..	..	..	83 00 les 100 kilog.
Teinte ..	..	..	..	..	..	88 00 „
Fils de laine—						
Peignée—						
Ecrus, simples ..	..	..	..	..	..	92 00 „
„ retors, non grillés	..	..	..	..	..	96 00 „
„ „ grillés	..	..	..	..	..	101 00 „
Teints, simples	..	..	..	..	..	109 00 „
„ retors ..	..	..	..	..	..	114 00 „
Cardée—						
Ecrus, dégraissés	..	..	..	..	..	95 00 „
„ non dégraissés	..	..	..	..	..	76 00 „
Teints, dégraissés	..	..	..	..	..	100 00 „
„ non-dégraissés	..	..	..	..	..	80 00 „
Tissus de laine—						
Draps et autres tissus similaires foulés—						
Ecrus	..	..	..	..	..	108 00 „
Teints	..	..	..	..	..	124 00 „
Tous autres—						
En fils simples—						
Ecrus	..	..	..	..	..	100 00 „
Teints	..	..	..	..	..	115 00 „
En fils retors ..	..	..	..	..	..	Mêmes quotités augmentées de 5 fr. par 100 kilog.
(Seront exclus du drawback les fils de laine valant moins de 3 fr. et les tissus de laine moins de 5 fr. au kilogramme.)						
Fils de lin et de chanvre—						
Simple—						
Ecrus ou teints	..	..	..	..	..	19 70 les 100 kilog.
Crémés ou blanchis	..	..	..	..	..	22 35 „
Retors—						
Ecrus ou teints	..	..	..	..	..	20 50 „
Crémés ou blanchis	..	..	..	..	..	23 10 „
Entièrement blanchis	..	..	..	..	..	27 30 „

	Fr. c.
Tissus de lin et de chanvre—	
Ecrus ou teints	20 75 les 100 kilog.
Crémés ou à fils de couleurs	25 05 „
Entièrement blanchis, ou imprimés	28 65 „
Bourre de soie—	
Cardée ou peignée	3 00 par kilog.
Filée de toute sorte, et en tissus—	
Sans surcharge de teinture ou avec surcharge ne dépassant pas 25 pour cent	3 60 „
Avec surcharge de plus de 25 pour cent et de moins de 100 pour cent	1 80 „
Avec surcharge de plus de 100 pour cent	Pas de drawback.
Tissus de soie et soies teintées—	
Sans surcharge de teinture ou avec surcharge de moins de 25 pour cent	14 00 le kilog.
Avec surcharge—	
De 25 à 100 pour cent	7 00 „
De 100 à 200 „	4 70 „
De plus de 200 „	Pas de drawback.
(Les soies grêges ou autres jouiront du bénéfice de l'importation temporaire.)	
Fils de jute de tout sorte (simples, retors, écrus, blanchis ou teints)	8 40 les 100 kilog.
Tissus de jute de toute sorte	9 00 „
Fils et tissus de phormium tenax, d'abaca et autres végétaux non dénommés	Même régime que les fils et tissus de lin et de chanvre.
Fils de poil de chèvre, de chevron et de chameau	Même régime que les fils de laine.
Tissus de poil de chèvre, de chevron et de chameau—	
Châles ou écharpes de cachemire des Indes	Régime actuel.
Autres	Régime des tissus de laine.
Fils mélangés de toute sorte	Les fils mélangés suivront le régime de la partie dominant en poids.
Tissus mélangés de toute sorte, la matière dominant en poids entrant dans le mélange—	
Pour 75 pour cent. ou plus	Régime du tissu entièrement formé de la matière dominant en poids.
Pour moins de 75 pour cent et plus de 50 pour cent	Les $\frac{2}{3}$ du drawback applicable au tissu formé de la matière dominant en poids.
	Les $\frac{1}{3}$ du drawback applicable au tissu formé de l'autre matière.
Cordages	12 00 les 100 kilog.
Filets de pêche	18 00 „

Autres Produits.

Fils et ouvrages en poil de vache et autres poils grossiers	5 00 les 100 kilog.
Bois communs ouvrés—	
Chêne, orme et noyer	25 fr. le stère, ou, au choix du déclarant, 3 fr. les 100 kilog.
Autres	12 fr. 50 c. le stère, ou 2 fr. les 100 kilog., au choix du déclarant.
Liège ouvré et bouchons	12 00 les 100 kilog.
Savons contenant 50 pour cent au moins d'huiles végétales ou de graisses.. .. .	10 00 „
(L'admission temporaire continuera d'avoir lieu aux conditions déterminées par la Loi du 5 Juillet, 1836, pour les graines et fruits oléagineux.)	
Acide stéarique brut, en bougies ou autrement ouvré	35 00 „
Acide oléique	10 00 „
Cire ouvrée	100 00 „
Métaux battus, laminés ou ouvrés—	
Cuivre pur ou allié	15 50 „
Plomb	4 40 „
Etain	33 00 „
Zinc	5 50 „
Nickel	110 00 „
Peaux tannées, corroyées et hongroyées.. .. .	26 00 „
Peaux de veau cirées	38 00 „
Peaux vernies, teintées, mégissées ou maroquinées	76 00 „
Ouvrages en peau, la peau entrant pour les $\frac{2}{3}$ au moins dans le poids	Régime de la peau dont ils sont formés.
Plumes à écrire, apprêtées	20 00 les 100 kilog.
Plumes à lit, apprêtées ou employées pour objets de literie	200 00 „
Cornes de bétail préparées	18 00 „
Ouvrages en caoutchouc et en gutta-percha	160 00 „
Rotins filés	4 fois le droit du rotin brut.
Ouvrages en crin	75 00 „
Vannerie en végétal—	
Brut	1 fois le droit du végétal brut.

Pelé	1½ fois le droit du végétal brut.
Coupé	2 " " "
	Fr. c.
Fanons de baleine apprêtés	260 00 les 100 kilog.

Art. 3. Il sera perçu à l'importation des produits fabriqués, à titre de compensation des taxes établies sur les matières brutes, des droits supplémentaires égaux aux drawbacks ou droits compensateurs fixés par l'Article 2 ci-dessus.

Les sels et oxydes métalliques non dénommés dans la présente Loi acquitteront, en compensation des droits applicables aux métaux, les taxes supplémentaires ci-après :—

	Fr. c.
Cendres bleues ou vertes	9 00 par 100 kilog.
Acétate de cuivre	6 00 "
Sulfate de cuivre	4 50 "
Sels d'étain	21 00 "
Sulfate de zinc	1 50 "
Chromates et sous-chromates de plomb	3 00 "

Art. 4. Ne seront admis au drawback ou à la décharge des soumissions d'admission temporaire que les quantités de marchandises donnant ouverture à une allocation ou à une décharge de 50 fr. au moins par expéditeur, et pour des produits fabriqués avec des matières premières ayant acquitté les droits du présent Tarif.

Toute déclaration inexacte, quant à la nature, au poids, à l'espèce ou à la catégorie des marchandises présentées pour l'allocation du drawback ou à la décharge des comptes d'admission temporaire, rendra le contrevenant passible d'une amende égale au quadruple de la somme dont le Trésor pouvait être frustré. Le drawback ou la décharge sera, en outre, refusé pour toute la partie. En cas de récidive, l'amende sera doublée.

Art. 5. Des décrets pourront autoriser l'admission en entrepôt fictif des marchandises actuellement exemptes de taxes, qui se trouveront tarifées en vertu de la présente Loi.

Art. 6. Les chocolats et cacaos broyés importés en Algérie ou d'Algérie en France payeront les droits du tarif métropolitain.

Fait à Versailles, le 23 Janvier, 1872.

Le Président de la République,
(Signé) A. THIERS.

Le Ministre de l'Agriculture et du Commerce,
(Signé) VICTOR LEFRANC.

Le Ministre des Finances,
POUYER-QUERTIER.

TABLEAU A.

Annexe au Tarif des Douanes.

TABLEAU du Rendement des Laines en Suint ou Lavées (autres que dégraissées à fond).

LAINES EN Suint.

Provenances.	Rendements.
Russie, Allemagne, et Autriche	35 pour cent.
Pays-Bas et Belgique	50 "
Angleterre	45 "
Espagne et Portugal	33 "
Italie	40 "
Grèce, Turquie, et Etats Barbaresques	40 "
Cap de Bonne Espérance	30 "
Etats Unis	40 "
Chili et Pérou	40 "
Buenos Ayres	32 "
Monte Video et Corrientes	40 "
Australie	35 "
Autres provenances	40 "

LAINES LAVÉES.

Russie et Allemagne	70 "
Belgique, Pays Bas, et Angleterre	70 "
Espagne et Portugal	70 "
Italie	60 "
Indes	65 "
Australie	68 "
Autres provenances	65 "

(Translation.)

Projet de Loi to fix Specific Tariffs on Raw Materials, Textiles, and others.

January 23, 1872.

Exposé des Motifs.

Gentlemen,

IN the scheme of the Budget for 1872 are pointed out the reasons which have determined the Government to propose a tax on raw materials, complete freedom from duties being accorded to goods destined for exportation.

We have the honour to submit to the National Assembly, in conformance with the provisions contained in Articles 14 and 15 of the Bill:

- 1 The specific Tariffs of duties on raw materials, textiles and others;
- 2 The scales on which the duties levied will be repaid on exportation.

In the opinion of the Government, the plan of temporary admission will be substituted for a drawback whenever this substitution is possible, and especially when it is a question of an article manufactured from a raw material which is also produced in France.

According to Article 14 of the scheme for the Budget of 1872, duties *ad valorem* were to graduate from 2 to 20 per cent. But you will be good enough to remark that, in the establishment of the specific duties which we submit to you, the rate of 15 to 16 per cent. has not been exceeded, on an average, for the great textile manufactures.

Projet de Loi.

					Fr. c.
Raw hides—					
Large fresh	..	..	..	..	15 00 per 100 kilog.
„ dried, with alum (dried cured leather)	..	..	..	..	22 50 „
„ „ others	..	..	..	..	30 00 „
Small fresh	..	..	..	..	22 50 „
„ dried	..	..	..	..	30 00 „
Raw furs, dressed or in pieces sewn together	..	..	..	..	20 per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .
Raw wool, per 100 kilog., quite clean and perfectly dried, with a deduction of 17 per cent. for normal humidity	..	..	..	..	80 00 per 100 kilog.
The amount to be taxed will be calculated according to the condition of the wools and their origin, in accordance with the annexed Table A (page ..). If the Customs or the trade consider that there is a difference of 3 per cent., either in excess or in defect, between the actual amount and the legal average, they may have it tested by a Committee of Inquiry; but no account will be taken of the part of the actual amount which is above or below the allowance of 3 per cent.					
Wool waste—					
Other than flocks of wool and wool shearings	..	..	..	..	80 00 per 100 kilog., quite cleansed..
Wool-flocks and shearings	..	..	..	..	30 00 per 100 kilog.
Scraps of wool and cloth list	..	..	..	..	80 00 „
Horse-hair, prepared or curled	..	..	..	..	75 00 „
Human hair, unworked	..	..	..	..	12 00 the kilog.
Hair for spinning—					
Of goats or camels	..	..	..	..	Same duty as wool.
Of cows, of horses, and other coarse hairs	..	..	..	..	4 00 per 100 kilog.
Hair—					
For hat-making (of hares, rabbits, &c.)	..	..	..	..	125 00 „
For brushes (of pigs and wild boars), in quantities	..	..	..	..	50 00 „
Bristles of pigs and boars, in bundles of assorted lengths	..	..	..	..	180 00 „
Feathers, ornamental—					
Of cocks and vultures	..	..	..	..	3 00 the kilog.
Others—					
White	..	..	..	..	20 00 „
Black	..	..	..	..	8 00 „
Any other colour	..	..	..	..	3 00 „
Quills for writing, uncut	..	..	..	..	20 00 per 100 kilog.
Feathers for bedding, unprepared	..	..	..	..	200 00

	Fr. c.
Wax—	
Raw (brown, yellow, or white)	100 00 per 100 kilog.
Refuse of wax	20 00 "
Animal fats, except those of fishes—	
Tallow, lard, and scourings	20 00 "
Others	50 00 "
Eggs of fowls and game	4 00 "
Salted meat	4 00 "
Silk—	
In cocoons, fresh	1 20 per kilog.
" dry	3 00 "
Unbleached, raw, from India, China, and Japan	11 00 "
" " from elsewhere	14 00 "
" Doupions	3 60 "
Thrown, from India, China, and Japan	13 00 "
" from elsewhere	15 00 "
Waste silk, in quantities	2 50 "
Coarse silk will pay only the quarter of the duty on silk waste.	
Cheeses—	
Soft white	15 00 per 100 kilog.
Others	18 00 "
Butter—	
Fresh or melted	30 00 "
Salted	25 00 "
Honey	2 00 "
Animal products and skins specified in the Tariff,* and not re-included in the present Law	
Fish, freshwater, fresh, from foreign fisheries	0 50 "
" sea, fresh, from foreign fisheries	10 00 "
Lobsters from foreign fisheries	10 00 "
Mussels and other shell-fish from foreign fisheries.. .. .	7 50 "
Fat of fish from foreign fisheries	0 20 "
Spermaceti from foreign fisheries	20 00 "
Whalebone from foreign fisheries	35 00 "
Coral, in branches	240 00 "
Produce of foreign fisheries, now free from duty, and not included in the present Law	1 00 the kilog.
Sponges	3 00 per 100 kilog.
Raw materials for drugs or perfumery, specified in the Tariff, and not included in the present Law	250 00 "
Elephants' tusks	2 00 "
Tortoise-shell—	3 60 per kilog.
Carapaces, ongions, and caouanes	8 00 "
Parings	0 40 "
Mother-of-pearl—	
In shells	30 00 per 100 kilog.
Cut or prepared	150 00 "
Haliotides and other shells used for manufactures	30 00 "
Bones and hoofs of cattle, unprepared	0 30 "
Horns	15 00 "
Rye, maize, barley, buckwheat, oats—	
In grain	0 25 "
In flour	0 50 "
Potatoes	0 10 "
Dry vegetables and their meals	0 50 "
Chestnuts, horse chestnuts, and their meals	0 50 "
Canary seed and millet (grain and flour)	0 50 "
Sago, salap, and exotic feculæ	15 00 "
Fresh fruits.	10 00 "
Dried or pressed fruits—	
Raisins	20 00 "
Pistachio nuts	160 00 "
Figs	10 00 "
Others	30 00 "
Fruits preserved without sugar, honey, or brandy	30 00 "
Fruits for distillation—	
Aniseed	20 00 "
Others	5 00 "
Oleaginous grains—	
Sesamum.	9 00 "
Flax	5 00 "
Cotton	4 00 "
Others	6 50 "
Oleaginous fruits—	
Fresh olives	12 00 "
Others	6 50 "
Seed for sowing	0 25 "
Molasses for distilling	0 25 "

* Manures, silkworms' eggs, and fresh meat will still be admitted free of duty.

	Fr. c.	
Pure gums—		
Exotic	10 00	per 100 kilog.
European	6 00	"
European resins—		
Raw : pitch or galipot	1 50	"
" rosin and tar	2 00	"
Refined : turpentine	5 00	"
Distilled : spirits of turpentine	7 00	"
Refuse from distillation, dry resin, colophany, oil resin	1 50	"
Exotic resinous substances—		
Scammony	8 00	per kilog.
Native lac	40 00	per 100 kilog.
Copal and dammar	60 00	"
Others	50 00	"
Balsams—		
Benjamin	80 00	"
Storax and styrax	40 00	"
Copaiva	100 00	"
Others	200 00	"
Oils, pure	20 00	"
Camphor—		
Raw	50 00	"
Refined	70 00	"
India-rubber and gutta-percha, raw or melted, in lumps	160 00	"
Aloes	14 00	"
Opium	15 00	the kilo.
Liquorice	18 00	per 100 kilog.
Vegetable juices (except oils) specified in the Tariff and not re-included in the present law	60 00	"
Exotic medicinal roots—		
Jalap	100 00	"
Ipecacuanha	300 00	"
Rhubarb	120 00	"
Sarsaparilla	30 00	"
Ginger	15 00	"
Quinine bark	75 00	"
Senna leaves	50 00	"
Exotic medicinal fruits—		
Cassia, unprepared	8 00	"
Tamarinds (pods and pulp)	15 00	"
Badiana	16 00	"
Follicles of senna	50 00	"
Medicinal lichens	1 00	"
Other exotic medicinal roots, herbs, leaves, flowers, grains, and fruits	50 00	"
European medicinal substances—		
Liquorice roots	0 80	"
Others	3 00	"
Woods for building—		
Oak, elm, and walnut—		
Rough or squared	19 50	the stère.
In planks, 80 millim. thick	19 50	"
" less than 80 millim.	18 00	the 100 mètres.
Others—		
Rough or squared	9 00	the stère.
In planks, 90 millim. or more thick	9 00	"
" of 70 millim. inclusive, to 90 millim. exclusive, and measuring in width—		
20 centim. or more	16 00	per 100 mètres.
Less than 20 centim.	10 50	"
" of a thickness of 36 millim. inclusively to 70 millim. exclusively, and measuring in width—		
20 centim. or more	8 00	"
Less than 20 centim.	6 00	"
" of a thickness less than 36 millim. and measuring in width—		
20 centim. or more	4 75	"
Less than 20 centim.	2 75	"
Planed, grooved, or moulded woods—		
Of elm, oak, and walnut	Same duty as on woods in plank, plus 4 fr.	
Other	Same duty as on woods in planks, plus 2 fr.	
Masts	60 00	each.
Small masts	24 00	each.
Spars	7 00	"
"	0 40	"
Boat-hook handles	0 20	"
Handles of pitchforks and tar-brushes	0 02	"
Split-wood and hoop-wood	1 80	the cent.
Poles	10 00	"

	Fr. c.	
Laths	0 80	the cent.
Staves—		
Of oak	15 00	"
Others	12 00	"
Raw cork, rasped or in planks..	10 00	per 100 kilog.
Osier in bundles, millet-straw, roots and heather for brooms	2 00	"
Firewood—		
In logs and billets	0 15	the stère.
In faggots	0 50	the cent.
Charcoal of wood and hemp-stalks	0 25	the cubic metre.
Wood for cabinet-making—		
In pieces or planks more than 2 decimetres thick	6 00	per 100 kilog.
In planks 2 decimetres thick or less	7 00	"
Scented woods	30 00	"
Dye-woods—		
In logs	2 00	"
Bruised	3 00	"
Cotton-wool—		
Cleaned, from the East Indies and China	35 00	"
" from elsewhere	40 00	"
Not cleaned	12 00	"
Flax and hemp—		
In the stalk	1 60	"
Hackled and tow	15 00	"
Combed	18 00	"
Jute—		
In the fibre, or hackled	6 00	"
Combed	6 70	"
Abaca, phormium tenax, and other vegetable fibres not enumerated, will pay the same duties as flax and hemp.)		
Rushes and reeds, foreign	7 00	"
" European	0 50	"
Fruits, stalks, and threads for manufacture specified in the Tariff, not re-included in the present law	0 50	"
Turmeric, in root or powder	5 00	"
Orchanet	10 00	"
Quercitron	3 00	"
Tanning-bark	1 00	"
Lichens for dyeing	10 00	"
Saffron	10 00	the kilog.
Carthamus flowers	20 00	per 100 kilog.
Gall-nuts and acorn-cups	20 00	"
Sumach and fustic (bark, leaves and twigs, whole or bruised)	4 00	"
Pods for dyeing	3 00	"
Other leaves, roots, stalks, grains, and fruits for dyeing (except madder)	3 00	"
Beetroot	0 05	"
Green vegetables	0 25	"
Forage, bran and vetches	0 25	"
Hops	60 00	"
Amurca and olive husks	1 50	"
Oil-cakes—		
Of flax seed	6 50	"
Others	0 25	"
Turf for burning, and raw or carbonized peat	0 02	"
Vegetable products and refuse (except preserved vegetables, chicory roots, and sago), specified in the Official Tariff, pages 150 and 151, and not recomprised in the present Law	1 00	"
Marbles—		
White statuary, rough, cut, or sawn	8 50	"
Others—		
Rough or cut	2 50	"
Sawn, 16 centim. thick or more	2 50	"
" less than 16 centim.	3 00	"
Carved, moulded or polished	15 00	"
Alabaster—		
Rough	5 00	"
Sawn	9 00	"
Carved, moulded, or polished	20 00	"
Scotch crystals—		
Rough, cut, or sawn	0 10	"
Carved or polished	0 50	"
Rough agates	1 20	"
Cut agates	20	per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .
Rock crystal—		
Rough	}	0 50 the kilog.
Cut, not mounted		
Mounted		
Worked stones—		
Cut or sawn	2 50	per 100 kilog.
Carved or polished	15 00	"

	Fr. c.	
Mill stones..	3 50 each	
Grindstones	0 10	"
Marbles—		
Of marble	50 00	"
Of stone..	12 00	"
Raw meerschaum	20 per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .	
Whetstones—		
Rough	1 00 per 100 kilog.	
Cut	5 00	"
Ferruginous stones, except emery	0 60	"
Stones and earths for scientific and trade purposes now free from duty and not recomprised in the present law	0 05	"
Slates—		
For building, rough	0 10	"
In squares or blocks	6 00 the 100.	
Materials now exempt from duty and not recomprised in the present law	0 05 per 100 kilog.	
Sulphur—		
Not refined, ore included	0 30	"
Refined	0 50	"
Sublimated	1 00	"
Graphites or plumbago	0 75	"
Jet	0 50 per kilog.	
Amber	0 50	"
Mineral tar from distilled coal	1 20 per 100 kilog.	
Bitumen—		
Solid, mixed with earth	0 40	"
Others	1 20	"
Fluid	Same duty as on raw petroleum.	
Gold and platinum ore	Same duty as on raw metals.	
Silver ore	"	"
Dross	Same duty as on silver.	
Copper, pure or alloyed at first melting, in pigs, bars, plates, filings, and broken bits	15 00 per 100 kilog.	
Lead—		
In pigs, bars, plates, filings, or bits	4 00	"
Alloyed with antimony, in pigs	7 50	"
Tin—		
In pigs, bars, plates, filings, or bits	30 00	"
Alloyed with antimony, in pigs	25 00	"
Bismuth	60 00	"
Zinc in pigs, bars, plates, filings, or bits	5 00	"
Raw cadmium	30 00	"
Nickel—		
Ore, roasted (speiss)	10 00	"
Pure or alloyed, in pigs	100 00	"
Antimony—		
Sulphurated	1 00	"
Metal	15 00	"
True cobalt—		
In pigs (smalt)	20 00	"
In powder (azure)..	10 00	"
Metallic arsenic	8 00	"
Mercury, native	50 00	"
Manganese..	0 25	"
Potash	1 50	"
Bromine	25 00	"
Iodine	60 00	"
Lemon-juice	1 00	"
Citrate of lime		
Acids—		
Crystallized citric..	12 00	"
Sulphuric	0 30	"
Gallic	0 50	"
Nitric	1 00	"
Hydrochloric	0 10	"
Arsenic	3 60	"
Tartaric	6 00	"
Benzoic	Same duty as on benzoin.	
Boric	3 00 per 100 kilog.	
Salts of beetroot	0 40	"
Kelp	0 40	"
Vegetable ashes, quick and lixiviated	0 05	"
Oxides—		
Of iron	0 50	"
Of lead	6 00	"
Of zinc	7 00	"
Of uranium	30 00	"
Of tin	80 00	"
Of copper	25 00	"

Zaffer and other combinations of cobalt	7 00 per 100 kilog.
Nitrates—	
Of potassium	1 50 "
Of soda	1 00 "
Chloride of potassium	0 50 "
Sulphates—	
Of potash	1 20 "
Of baryta	0 20 "
Of magnesium	0 50 "
Raw borax	2 50 "
Tartrates—	
Of potash, very impure (wine lees)	0 50 "
" impure, raw tartar	1 50 "
" " crystal of tartar	3 00 "
" pure (cream of tartar)	4 00 "
" other (vegetable salts)	8 00 "
Of soda and of potash (Rochelle salts)	5 00 "
Carbonates—	
Of magnesium	2 00 "
Of baryta	0 20 "
Of potash	1 50 "
(The scale of duties for temporary admission, as fixed by the law of July 5, 1836, will be applicable to leads intended for the manufacture of oxides and carbonates.)	
Carbonates of lead	5 50 "
Acetate of iron, liquid	0 20 "
Sugar of lead	15 00 "
Sulphuret of arsenic	1 25 "
Iodide of potassium	50 00 "
Chemical products and colours extracted from essence of coal	10 per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .
Cochineal	80 00 per 100 kilog.
Lake	35 00 "
Animal kermes	70 00 "
Indigo	200 00 "
Indigo, indigo-blue, and blue-balls	Same duty as indigo.
Pastel-paste—	
Coarse	5 00 per 100 kilog.
Other, called "indigo-pastel"	Same duty as on indigo.
Catechu	7 00 per 100 kilog.
Annotto, prepared	35 00 "
Alga tinctoria (archil)	20 00 "
Ricinus (turnsol)	10 00 "
Extract of dye-woods—	
Black and violet	20 00 "
Red and yellow	30 00 "
Tan substances extracted from vegetable	3 50 "
Prussian blue	25 00 "
Crystalized prussiate of potassium—	
Yellow	20 00 "
Red	30 00 "
Ultramarine	15 00 "
Carmine—	
Fine	4 00 per kilog.
Common	0 50 "
Indian ink, in sticks	100 00 per 100 kilog.
Writing or printing ink	20 00 "
Varnishes—	
With spirits of wine	10 per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> in addition to the excise duty on alcohol.
Other	10 per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .
Blackening	4 00 per 100 kilog.
Bone-black	0 50 "
Printing black	7 00 "
Spanish lamp-black	1 00 "
Natural mineral black	0 50 "
Plain pencils	10 00 "
Pencils with white wood handle	20 00 "
" with cedar wood handle	50 00 "
Colours not specified in the present Law	10 per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> ,
Perfumery, not including soap—	
Scents, alcoholic	80 00 per 100 kilog
Independently of the Excise duty on alcohol.	
" without alcohol	40 00 per 100 kilog.
Pomatus	120 00 "
Other	60 00 "
Prepared spices—	
Mustard	20 00 "
Others	80 00 "
Starch	4 00 "
Albumen	12 00 "
Glue	12 00 "

	Fr. c. per 100 kilog.
Isinglass	250 00
Sealing wax	60 00
Extracts of meat	30 00
Gelatine	6 00
Gingerbread	20 00
Essence of coal	10 per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .
Caps for fowling-pieces	" "
Empty cartridges or capped cartridges	" "
Miners' fuzes	" "
Fireworks	" "
Carriages	20 per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .
Toys	" "
Hardwares	" "
Mercery	" "
Buttons, not haberdashery	" "
Human hair, made up	15 00 per kilog.
Fashionable articles	20 per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .
Artificial flowers	" "
Umbrellas or parasols	" "
Packing materials	Same duty as on the raw materials.
Musical instruments and separate pieces	20 per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .
Pipes in paper and vitumen	3 00 per 100 kilog.
Furs, dressed	20 per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .
Articles in meerschaum	" "
Coral, cut, not mounted	2 00 per kilog.
Straw hats	2 per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .
Hats of bark, of sparta grass, and palmetto	" "
Straw, bark, or sparta grass plaits	" "
Orange juice	Same duty as on wine.
Mineral waters	1 00 per 100 kilog.
Broken glass	0 40

Art. 2. The duties levied on the raw materials will be returned on the exportation of the manufactured articles on the scale hereafter mentioned, either in the form of a drawback, or by the application of the plan of temporary admission, as established by Article 5 of the Law of July 5, 1836.

Products of Textile Materials.

	Fr. c.
Cotton yarns, single—	
No. 50 and below—	
Unbleached	47 00 per 100 kilog.
Bleached	56 50
Dyed	55 00
From No. 50 exclusive to No. 80 inclusive—	
Unbleached	50 00
Bleached	60 00
Dyed	58 50
Above No. 80—	
Unbleached	52 00
Bleached	62 50
Dyed	60 50
Cottons yarns, twisted—	
No. 50 and below—	
Unbleached	52 00
Bleached	62 50
Dyed	60 50
From No. 50 exclusive to No. 80 inclusive—	
Unbleached	55 00
Bleached	66 00
Dyed	64 00
Above No. 80—	
Unbleached	57 00
Bleached	68 50
Dyed	66 20
Cotton tissues—	
In single yarns—	
Unbleached—	
Velvets, quiltings, dimities, stripes and checks, damasks, and brilliantes	51 50
All others weighing per 100 square metres—	
7 kilog. and more	51 50
3 to 7 kilog.	54 00
Below 3 kilog.	56 00

						Fr. c.
Bleached—						
Undressed	..	..	..	..	..	20 per cent. above the duty on unbleached tissue, according to their kind.
Dressed to a certain degree	..	..	..	..	..	Duty on the unbleached tissue, according to the kind, in addition to 2 fr. per 100 kilog. for the starch.
Printed or dyed—						
In Adrianople red	..	..	..	..	..	Duty on the unbleached material, increased by 24 per cent., in addition to 3 fr. 50 c. per 100 kilog. for the dye.
In any other colour—						
Moleskins weighing 25 kilog. or less to the 100 square metres						Duty on the unbleached material, increased by 4 per cent., in addition to 3 fr. 50 c. per 100 kilog. for the dye.
All other tissues	..	..	..	..	..	Duty on the unbleached material, increased by 14 per cent., in addition to 3 fr. 50 c. per 100 kilog. for the dye.
In twisted yarns—						
In warp or in weft singly						Duty on the tissue according to the kind, increased by 2 fr. per 100 kilog., in addition to 3 fr. 50 c. for the dye.
Both in warp and in weft.						Duty on the tissue according to the kind, increased by 4 fr. per 100 kilog., in addition to 3 fr. 50 c. for the dye.
Carded cotton, called "ouate" (wadding)						45 00 per 100 kilog.
Machine waste worth at least about two-thirds of the price of raw cotton						30 00 "
The following are excluded from the drawback:—						
1. Cotton waste worth less than two-thirds of the price of raw cotton.						
2. Cotton yarns worth less than 1 fr. 50 c. the kilog.						
3. Cotton tissues worth less than 2 fr. 50 c. the kilog.						
All articles manufactured with silk, wool, flax, hemp, jute, and phormium tenax, will enjoy the advantages of temporary admission.						
Compensatory duties for articles manufactured with the textile materials enumerated below will be imposed on foreign products on the following scale:—						
Wool scoured and refuse from combing						80 00 per 100 kilog. of wool thoroughly cleansed.
Wool combed and carded (thoroughly cleansed and scoured)—						
Unbleached						83 00 per 100 kilog.
Dyed						88 00 "
Woollen yarns—						
Combed—						
Unbleached, single						92 00 "
" twisted						96 00 "
" " "						101 00 "
Dyed, single						109 00 "
" twisted						114 00 "
Carded—						
Unbleached, scoured						95 00 "
" unscoured						76 00 "
Dyed, scoured						100 00 "
" unscoured						80 00 "
Woollen tissues—						
Cloths and other like tissues fulled—						
Unbleached						108 00 "
Dyed						124 00 "
All others—						
In single yarns—						
Unbleached						100 00 "
Dyed						115 00 "
In twisted yarns						Same amounts increased by 5 fr. per 100 kilog.
(Woollen yarns worth less than 3 fr., and woollen tissues worth less than 5 fr. the kilog., will be excluded from the drawback.)						
Yarns of flax and hemp—						
Single—						
Unbleached or dyed						19 70 per 100 kilog.
Cream coloured or bleached						22 35 "
Twisted—						
Unbleached or dyed						20 50 "
Cream coloured or bleached						23 10 "
Thoroughly bleached						27 30 "
Tissues of flax and hemp—						
Unbleached or dyed						20 75 "
" or with coloured threads.						25 05 "
Thoroughly bleached or printed						28 65 "

	Fr. c.
Silk waste—	
Carded or combed	3 00 per kilog.
Spun in any way and in tissues—	
Without a layer of dye or with a layer not exceeding 25 per cent.	3 60 „
With a layer of more than 25 per cent. and of less than 100 per cent.	1 80 „
With a layer of more than 100 per cent.	No drawback.
ilk tissues and dyed silks—	
Without a layer of dye or with a layer of less than 25 per cent. ..	14 00 per kilog.
With layer—	
Of 25 to 100 per cent.	7 00 „
Of 100 to 200 per cent.	4 70 „
Above 200 per cent.	No drawback.
Silks, raw or otherwise, will be admitted to the privilege of temporary importation.	
Jute yarns of all kinds (single, twisted, unbleached, bleached, or dyed)	8 40 per 100 kilog.
Jute tissues of all kinds	9 00 „
Yarns and tissues of phormium tenax, abaca, and other vegetables not specified	Same duty as on yarns and tissues of flax and hemp.
Yarns of goats', kids', or camels' hair	Same duty as on woollen yarns.
Tissues of goats', kids', or camels' hair—	
Shawls or scarves of Indian Cashmere	Present rate.
Others	Same duty as on woollen tissues.
Mixed yarns of all kinds	Mixed yarns will follow the scale of the chief component part.
Mixed tissues of all kinds, the heavier material prevailing—	
To the extent of 75 per cent. or more.	Same duty as though entirely made up of the heavier part.
To the extent of less than 75 per cent. and more than 50 per cent. .	Three-fifths of the drawback allowed to the tissue of the chief component part.
	Two-fifths of the drawback allowed to the tissue of the chief component part.
Rope	12 00 per 100 kilog.
Fishing-nets	18 00 „

Other Manufactures.

Yarns and articles in cowhair and other coarse hairs	5 00 per 100 kilog.
Articles of ordinary woods—	
Of oak, elm, and walnut	25 fr. the stère, or, at the option of the exporter, 3 fr. per 100 kilog.
Of other woods	12 fr. 50 c. the stère, or 2 fr. the 100 kilog., at the option of the exporter.
Manufactured cork and corks	12 00 per 100 kilog.
Soaps containing 50 per cent. at least of vegetable oils or fats ..	10 00 „
The temporary admission will continue on the conditions fixed by the Law of July 5, 1886, for grains and oleaginous fruits.	
Stearic acid, raw, in candles or otherwise manufactured	35 00 „
Oleic acid	10 00 „
Wax, manufactured	100 00 „
Metals forged, rolled, or wrought—	
Copper, pure or unalloyed	15 50 „
Lead	4 40 „
Tin	33 00 „
Zinc	5 50 „
Nickel	110 00 „
Hides, tanned and curried	26 00 „
Calf skins, waxed	38 00 „
Skins varnished, dyed, tanned, or dressed with gall	76 00 „
Articles of hide, the hide weighing $\frac{3}{4}$ of the whole	Same duty as for the hide itself.
Writing quills, cut	20 00 per 100 kilog.
Feathers for beds, dressed or used for bedding	200 00 „
Cattle-horns, dressed	18 00 „
Articles of india-rubber and gutta-percha	160 00 „
Rattans, ground	4 times the duty on the raw materials.
Horse-hair manufactures	75 00 per 100 kilog.
Osiers—	
Rough	The duty on raw material.
Peeled .. 1½ times	„ „
Cut .. twice	„ „
Whalebone, prepared	260 00 per 100 kilog.

Art. 3. Supplementary duties equivalent to the drawbacks or compensatory duties fixed by Article 2, mentioned above, will be imposed on the importation of manufactured goods, as compensation for the taxes laid on raw materials.

Salts and metallic oxides not named in the present Law will pay the supplementary taxes mentioned below, as compensation for the duties applicable to metals :—

	Fr.	c.	
Blue or green ashes	9	00	per 100 kilog.
Acetate of copper	6	00	"
Sulphate of copper	4	50	"
Protochlorure of tin	21	00	"
Sulphate of zinc	1	50	"
Chromate and sub-chromate of lead	3	00	"

Art. 4. Quantities of goods only will be allowed to a drawback or the benefit of temporary admission, which receive an allowance or exemption of 50 fr. at least on exportation, and for articles manufactured with raw materials which paid the duties of the present Tariff,

Every incorrect declaration as to the nature, weight, kind, or class of goods submitted for the allowance of drawbacks or to the benefit of the duties for temporary admission, will render the offender liable to a fine equivalent to four times the amount of which the Treasury might have been defrauded.

The drawback or the allowance will be, moreover, refused to the whole party. In the event of a repetition of the offence, the fine will be doubled.

Art. 5. Decrees will authorize the admission in "entrepôt fictif" of goods now free from taxes, which will be found to be taxed in virtue of the present law.

Art. 6. Chocolate and ground cocoa imported into Algeria or from Algeria into France will pay the duties of the home tariff.

Done at Versailles, January 23, 1872.

The President of the Republic,
(Signed) A. THIERS.

The Minister of Agriculture and Commerce,
(Signed) VICTOR LEFRANC.
The Finance Minister,
POUYER-QUERTIER.

TABLE A.

Annex to the Customs Tariff.

TABLE of the allowance for Wools uncleaned or washed (except those thoroughly scoured).

UNCLEANED WOOL.

Country.	Allowances.
Russia, Germany, and Austria	35 per cent.
Netherlands and Belgium	50 "
England	45 "
Spain and Portugal	33 "
Italy	40 "
Greece, Turkey, and Barbary States	40 "
Cape of Good Hope	30 "
United States	40 "
Chili and Peru	40 "
Buenos Ayres	32 "
Monte Video and Corrientes	40 "
Australia	35 "
Other countries	40 "

CLEANED WOOL.

Russia and Germany	70 "
Belgium, Netherlands, and England	70 "
Spain and Portugal	70 "
Italy	60 "
India	65 "
Australia	68 "
Other countries	65 "

Inclosure 2 in No. 55.
COMPARISON OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS BEFORE AND AFTER THE TREATIES OF 1860.
AGRICULTURAL AND MANUFACTURED GOODS.

PRODUITS AGRICOLES.

	EXPORTATIONS.					IMPORTATIONS.				
	1868.		1869.			1868.		1869.		
	Quantités de pro- duits agricoles ex- portés en plus en 1868 qu'en 1859.	Quantités de pro- duits agricoles ex- portées en moins en 1868 qu'en 1859.	Quantités de pro- duits agricoles ex- portées en plus en 1869 qu'en 1859.	Quantités de pro- duits agricoles ex- portées en moins en 1869 qu'en 1859.		Quantités de pro- duits agricoles im- portées en plus en 1868 qu'en 1859.	Quantités de pro- duits agricoles im- portées en moins en 1868 qu'en 1859.	Quantités de pro- duits agricoles im- portées en plus en 1869 qu'en 1859.	Quantités de pro- duits agricoles im- portées en moins en 1869 qu'en 1859.	
Céréales ..	152.0	67.3	69.2	82.8	37.7	337.8	56.3	18.6	..	On a souvent parlé des brillants résultats des Traités de Commerce au point de vue agricole, en annonçant que les exportations de la France pour l'étranger avaient pris d'immenses développements depuis les Traités de 1860. La vérité est que, sauf pour les vins, rien n'avait été stipulé dans les Conventions avec l'Angleterre en faveur des produits de notre agriculture.
Vins ..	232.0	234.4	261.0	..	7.8	14.4	14.1	6.3	..	On a cherché à mettre au compte des Traités de Commerce les exportations que l'extension des chemins de fer et des transports maritimes à vapeur avait augmentées dans une certaine proportion.
Eaux-de-vie ..	92.6	63.3	56.2	36.4	4.9	9.7	12.5	7.6	..	Mais on a omis de faire ressortir, dans les rapports officiels, le développement énorme que les importations des produits agricoles, provenant des pays étrangers, ont prises en France à la suite de la suppression des droits sur les matières brutes : laines, cuirs, graines et fruits oléagineux, huiles, peaux, &c.
Graines et fruits oléagineux ..	7.1	12.2	15.6	..	43.2	91.2	103.0	61.8	..	Ces résultats sont établis ci-contre dans les tableaux relevés sur les documents officiels des Douanes.
Chevaux, bestiaux ..	17.3	34.6	53.5	..	63.1	171.7	157.6	94.5	..	En voici le résumé :
Bois ..	17.3	34.8	38.0	..	106.2	179.4	189.2	83.0	..	Pour les produits agricoles, l'augmentation des importations en France sur l'année 1859, qui a précédé le Traité du 21 Janvier, 1860, est de :
Fromage ..	2.4	6.5	6.6	..	9.0	15.1	19.6	10.6	..	537,800,000 fr. en 1868 } Céréales déduites.
Beurre ..	21.9	63.8	71.3	..	2.7	27.0	31.9	22.5	..	570,000,000 fr. en 1869 }
Graines à semencer ..	12.9	23.4	20.6	..	9.4	10.4	5.9	9.4	..	Les exportations pour les deux mêmes années n'ont augmenté que de :
Graines ..	13.0	34.5	36.4	..	2.4	5.2	22.8	3.5	..	214,300,000 fr. en 1868 } Céréales déduites.
Graines ..	8.9	30.5	27.2	..	15.7	19.3	32.2	80.6	..	277,700,000 fr. en 1869 }
Fruits ..	4.1	3.6	3.4	..	22.4	17.8	10.3	57.1	..	Donc, nos exportations, au lieu de dépasser les importations, comme on nous l'avait promis et affirmé, ont donné pour l'agriculture un résultat diamétralement opposé, puisqu'il a été introduit en France en produits agricoles pour une valeur de :
Huile d'olive ..	5.9	5.5	6.1	..	4.1	11.8	10.3	571.2	1.2	323,500,000 fr. en 1868, et
Viande salée ..	1.5	2.3	2.1	..	..	..	..	537.8	570.0	292,300,000 fr. en 1869,
Charbon cardères ..	4.0	17.8	14.1	..	..	..	..	..	..	de plus qu'il n'a été exporté.
Tourteaux ..	2.0	17.9	24.3	..	69.7	108.5	129.8	..	..	Avant les Traités, au contraire, nos exportations dominaient les importations.
Peaux brutes ..	5.0	10.3	10.5	..	8.6	6.6	7.4	..	..	Si nous avions compris les céréales dans ces tableaux, les résultats seraient encore plus défavorables pour notre agriculture.
Pois ..	2.4	13.2	17.2	..	2.2	37.5	46.3	..	..	
Graisses ..	0.9	2.2	2.9	..	0.5	0.7	0.9	..	..	
Légumes verts ..	0.6	1.1	1.4	..	..	0.1	0.2	..	..	
Truffes ..	2.3	7.0	5.7	..	..	0.4	0.9	..	..	
Résines ..	1.2	5.9	11.9	..	3.9	3.9	5.1	..	..	
Houblon ..	1.7	2.2	2.7	..	2.7	9.9	10.9	..	..	
Fourrages ..	8.9	36.5	44.7	..	125.7	237.9	206.3	..	..	
Laines ..	0.6	2.3	2.0	..	5.7	12.0	11.5	..	..	
Chanvre ..	1.9	16.9	10.7	..	28.1	85.2	75.8	..	..	
Lin ..	620.4	750.0	815.3	119.9	576.8	1,414.7	1,165.4	589.8	1.2	
Total ..	152.0	67.3	69.2	82.8	37.7	337.8	56.3	18.6	..	
Céréales à déduire ..	468.4	682.7	746.1	37.1	539.1	1,076.9	1,109.1	571.2	1.2	
Total ..	..	..	..	277.7	..	..	..	570.0	..	

(Translation.)
AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.

VALUES IN MILLIONS OF FRANCS.											
Exports.						Imports.					
1859.	1868.	1869.	1868.		1869.	1859.	1868.	1869.	1868.		1869.
			Excess of exports in 1868 over 1859.	Decrease of exports with 1859.	Excess of exports in 1869 over 1859.				Excess of imports in 1868 over 1859.	Decrease of exports in 1868 as compared with 1859.	Excess of imports in 1869 over 1859.
Cereals ..	152.0	67.3	69.2	..	84.7	82.8	37.7	337.8	56.3	..	18.6
Wines ..	232.0	234.4	261.0	2.4	..	..	7.8	14.4	14.1	..	6.3
Brands ..	92.6	63.3	56.2	..	29.3	36.4	4.9	9.7	12.5	..	7.6
Grains and oleaginous fruits..	7.1	12.2	15.6	5.1	..	..	43.2	91.2	105.0	..	61.8
Horses, Cattle ..	17.3	34.6	53.5	17.3	..	..	63.1	171.7	157.6	..	94.5
Wood ..	17.3	34.8	38.0	17.5	..	..	106.2	174.4	189.2	..	83.0
Cheese ..	2.4	6.5	6.6	4.1	..	..	9.0	15.1	19.6	..	10.6
Butter ..	21.9	63.8	71.3	41.9	..	..	2.7	10.4	12.1	..	9.4
Grain for sowing ..	12.9	23.4	20.6	10.5	..	..	9.4	27.0	31.9	..	22.5
Eggs ..	13.0	34.5	36.4	21.5	..	..	2.4	5.2	5.9	..	3.5
Fruits ..	8.9	30.5	27.2	21.6	..	..	15.7	19.3	22.3	..	6.6
Olive oil ..	4.1	3.6	3.4	..	0.5	0.7	22.4	17.8	32.2	4.6	9.8
Salted meat ..	5.9	5.5	6.1	..	0.4	..	4.1	11.3	10.3	..	6.2
Tessels ..	1.5	2.3	2.1	0.8	..	..	..	1.2	1.3	..	..
Oil-cakes ..	4.0	17.8	14.1	13.8	..	..	0.7	108.5	129.8	..	0.6
Raw hides ..	2.0	17.9	24.3	13.9	..	..	8.6	6.6	7.4	..	60.1
Hair ..	5.0	10.3	10.5	5.3	..	..	2.2	37.5	46.3	..	..
Fatty substances ..	2.4	13.2	17.2	10.8	..	..	0.5	0.7	0.9	..	44.1
Green vegetables ..	0.9	2.2	2.9	1.3	..	..	..	0.1	0.2	..	0.4
Truffles ..	0.6	1.1	1.4	0.5	..	..	..	0.9	0.9	..	0.2
Resins ..	2.3	7.0	5.7	4.7	..	..	0.4	0.9	0.9	..	0.5
Hops ..	1.7	2.2	2.7	0.5	..	..	3.9	3.9	5.1	..	1.2
Forage ..	8.9	36.5	44.7	27.6	..	..	125.7	237.9	10.9	..	8.2
Wools ..	0.6	2.3	2.0	1.7	..	..	..	206.3	206.3	..	80.6
Hemp ..	1.9	16.9	10.7	15.0	..	..	28.1	85.2	75.8	..	5.8
Flax ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	47.7
Total ..	620.4	750.0	815.3	244.5	114.9	119.9	576.8	1,414.7	1,165.4	6.6	589.8
Cereals to be deducted ..	152.0	67.3	69.2	..	84.7	82.8	37.7	337.8	56.3	..	18.6
Total ..	468.4	682.7	746.1	244.5	30.2	37.1	539.1	1,076.9	1,109.1	6.6	571.2
			214.3	277.7	537.8	570.0					

Observations.

Mention has often been made of the brilliant results of the Treaties of Commerce as regards agriculture, by stating that the exports from France for foreign countries had increased immensely since the Treaties of 1860. The truth is, that, except for wines, no stipulation was made in the Conventions with England in favour of our agricultural products.

To the Treaties of Commerce have been ascribed the exports which the extension of railways and of steam communication had increased in a certain measure.

But it has been forgotten to point out, in the official Reports, the enormous development which has taken place in the imports of agricultural products from foreign countries since the suppression of the duties on raw materials, wools, leather, grains, and oleaginous fruits, oils, hides, &c.

These results are confirmed by the accompanying statement based on the official Customs Returns.

Here is a summary:

As regards agricultural products, the increase of imports into France over the year 1859, which preceded the Treaty of Jan. 21, 1860, is:—

537,800,000 fr. in 1868 } Cereals not included.
570,000,000 fr. in 1869 }
The exports for the same two years have only increased—
By 214,300,000 fr. in 1868 } Cereals not included.
277,700,000 fr. in 1869 }

Our exports, therefore, instead of having exceeded the imports, as was promised and asserted, have given, as regards agriculture, a result diametrically opposed to this, as more agricultural products have been imported into France than exported from it—

By 223,500,000 fr. in 1868, and
292,300,000 fr. in 1869.

Before the Treaties, on the other hand, our exports exceeded the imports.

If we included cereals in this Table the results would be still more unfavourable to our agriculture.

No. 56.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 19, 1872.

I APPROVE the language held by your Excellency to M. de Rémusat on the subject of modifications in the Commercial Treaty with France, as reported by your Excellency in your despatch of the 12th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 57.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 19, 1872.

I HAVE already stated to you by telegraph in general terms that you should at once explain to the French Government that Her Majesty's Government have not acquiesced, directly or indirectly, in any proposal to impose a duty on raw materials imported into France; neither have they, directly or indirectly, acquiesced in any definite proposal concerning the imposition of a differential duty on British manufactured goods as compensation to the French manufacturer for the tax to be imposed on his raw material, or concerning the drawback to be granted to the French manufacturer on exportation.

So far as these points are concerned, the Treaty and Conventions of 1860 remain unaltered and form the rule of the commercial relations between the two countries.

These points might, indeed, have come under review if the French Government had not advisedly withdrawn from discussion the IIIrd Article of the Draft Treaty submitted to me by the Duc de Broglie in his note of the 13th of September; but, notwithstanding this withdrawal, I felt it necessary to observe, in general terms, in my despatch to Mr. West of the 1st of November, on the general vagueness of the French proposals as necessarily creating an additional difficulty in determining how far Her Majesty's Government might, in their anxiety to meet the wishes of France, acquiesce in an increase of duties on British commodities.

I may also point out that, in my letter to the Duc de Broglie of the 5th of August, I asked the question—"What is the intention of the French Government as regards the taxation of raw materials which are both produced in France and are also imported from abroad?" and to that question no answer has ever been given.

It is clear, therefore, that M. Thiers laboured under a misapprehension in assuming, as he seems to have done in his late speech on the Customs Bill, that Her Majesty's Government had held out expectations of a willingness on their part to make concessions beyond the strict letter of the Treaty and Convention of 1860, and Her Majesty's Government are far from accepting M. Thiers' statement that the duties on raw materials proposed by the Government Bill might be established immediately under the clauses of the Commercial Treaty sanctioning the imposition of Customs duties to counterbalance internal taxes on like articles.

Her Majesty's Government perfectly admit the operation of Article IX of the Treaty of Commerce of the 23rd of January, 1860, and of Article III of the Second Supplementary Convention of the 16th of November, 1860, as far as those Articles apply, but they have not admitted that they would offer no objection to what might be decided in France respecting Tariff duties. They expressly required a clear statement of what was contemplated, for it was only when such statement was before them that they could judge of the merits of the French proposal, and shape their course according to the judgment they might form.

I will take this opportunity to advert to two other misapprehensions under which M. Thiers appears to labour. The first (which we learn from a telegram received to-day, possibly not accurate) is that Her Majesty's Government have absolutely renounced any intention of interfering with the wine duties as now established in this country. What Her Majesty's Government have said is, that whatever course the French Government might adopt in regard to the Treaty, Her Majesty's Government would certainly never dream of resorting, by way of retaliation, to a Protectionist policy; but in my despatch of November 1 to Mr. West I distinctly adverted to the unreasonableness of the French Government in expecting that Great Britain, notwithstanding the disadvantages which she was asked to submit to, would continue to observe the other provisions of the Treaty and

Convention of 1860 which interfere with her own fiscal liberty with regard to the duties on coal, wine, and spirits.

The other point has reference to the statement of M. Thiers that Her Majesty's Government had repeatedly declared that the Commercial Treaty had been forced upon them by France.

The motives which induced them to propose the negotiation of the Treaty; in the first instance, were, as stated in my despatch to Mr. West, that they hoped by the concessions made to France they were furthering an approach to that freedom of trade which they considered to be essential to the well-being of all nations, and by so laying the foundations of concord, diminish the chances of war.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 58.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received January 20.)

(Extract.)

Paris, January 19, 1872.

I SPOKE to M. Thiers last night at Versailles about the statements respecting the views of Her Majesty's Government, made in the speech which he delivered in the Assembly on the 15th instant, in the debate on the duties on raw materials.

M. Thiers gave me a brief summary of what he had said. He had, he observed, stated to the Assembly that Her Majesty's Government had made no objection to the "droits compensateurs," and that they had merely asked that the amount of the proposed duties should be communicated to them, in order that they might see what would be the effect of these compensatory duties, taken in combination with the proposed modifications of the tariff. M. Thiers went on to say that he had received the most friendly and satisfactory assurances of the desire of Her Majesty's Government to assist France in her present financial difficulties. He added that he could assure me that the duties on raw materials were imposed solely for the sake of raising an amount of revenue, which was absolutely necessary.

I answered that I had sent the report of his speech as soon as possible to your Lordship, and that I had particularly called your attention to the passages in which he had spoken of the views of Her Majesty's Government. Time, I said, had not admitted of my receiving instructions from your Lordship in reply; and, as the negotiations respecting the Treaty had taken place in London, I could not, of course, although I had been, from time to time made acquainted with what had passed, undertake to speak positively respecting all the details. I could undoubtedly confirm M. Thiers' belief that Her Majesty's Government were very anxious to be of use to France in the present state of her finances, but I was not aware that any definite proposals had been made to Her Majesty's Government respecting these taxes on raw materials; and of course Her Majesty's Government could not object to what had never been suggested. But, however this might be, I was, I confessed, at a loss to understand the interpretation given by M. Thiers in his speech, to the Articles in the Treaties sanctioning compensatory duties; but, so far as I could gather its meaning, I was certainly not prepared to admit that construction. I reminded M. Thiers that Her Majesty's Government had a duty to perform to British traders and manufacturers, who had naturally counted upon the execution of the Treaty; and I begged him not to proceed hastily in a matter of so much importance, and above all not actually to impose any doubtful duties without communicating with Her Majesty's Government and ascertaining positively what their sentiments were.

M. Thiers did not enter into any explanation respecting his interpretation of the Treaties, but he expressed his desire and his intention to communicate freely with Her Majesty's Government respecting the proposed taxes; and he observed that what he was now pressing on the Assembly was simply the adoption of the principle that duties should be levied on raw materials. The details would, he said, be discussed when the tariffs embodied in the Bill were under consideration.

In speaking of the negotiation with Her Majesty's Government respecting the modifications of the Treaty of Commerce, M. Thiers said that it had come to nothing ("tombée"). I reminded him that your Lordship's note to the Duc de Broglie of the 8th instant invited, rather than declined, a further communication from the French Government.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received January 20.)

My Lord,

Paris, January 19, 1872.

I HAD this afternoon the honour to receive your Lordship's telegram of this morning, conveying to me instructions respecting the statements made in the Assembly by M. Thiers concerning the sentiments of Her Majesty's Government on the subject of the proposed taxes on raw materials.

I forthwith embodied the substance of your Lordship's telegram in a note to the French Government, which I sent immediately to Versailles by Mr. West, with instructions to put it into the hand of the Minister for Foreign Affairs with the least possible delay.

I have the honour to inclose a copy of the note.

It is not probable that Mr. West will be able to get back to Paris before the departure of the messenger.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 59.

Lord Lyons to M. de Rémusat.

M. le Ministre,

Paris, January 19, 1872.

IN order to guard at once against any possible mistake or misunderstanding, I am directed by Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State to state to the French Government that Her Majesty's Government have not acquiesced, directly or indirectly, in any proposal to tax the raw materials which, by the Second Supplementary Convention of the 16th November, 1860, are freed from taxation.

I am further directed to point out to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government have not, directly or indirectly, acquiesced in any definite proposal, either concerning differential duties to be imposed on British manufactured goods, by way of compensation for the tax to be imposed on raw materials, or concerning drawback to be granted to French manufactures on export.

I am desired to remind your Excellency that no definite proposal on any of these points has as yet been submitted to Her Majesty's Government; and I am particularly instructed to request that the misapprehension which appears to have existed on the subjects may be immediately corrected.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 60.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received January 22.)

My Lord,

Paris, January 20, 1872.

WITH reference to my despatch of yesterday, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a letter from Mr. West, reporting the delivery to M. de Rémusat of my note concerning the statements made in the Assembly respecting the views of Her Majesty's Government on the subject of the proposed taxes on raw materials.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 60.

Mr. West to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Paris, January 20, 1872.

IN obedience to your Excellency's instructions I proceeded yesterday to Versailles, in order to deliver to M. de Rémusat the note which your Excellency had addressed to the French Government.

I found M. de Rémusat in the Assembly, which he immediately left upon hearing that I was desirous of speaking to him.

He at once read the note, thanked me for bringing it to him, made no observations whatever, and immediately re-entered the Assembly, which M. Thiers was at the time addressing. The result of the debate your Excellency is already acquainted with.

I have, &c.

(Signed) L. SACKVILLE WEST.

No. 61.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received January 22.)

My Lord,

Paris, January 20, 1872.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a *note verbale*, embodying the substance of your Lordship's despatch of yesterday, respecting the statements made in the National Assembly, concerning the views of Her Majesty's Government respecting the proposed taxes on raw materials.

I have sent a member of the Embassy to Versailles to deliver the *note verbale* to M. de Rémusat.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 61.

Note Verbale

IN the note which Lord Lyons had the honour to address to M. de Rémusat on the 19th instant, by order of Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, he explained that Her Majesty's Government had not acquiesced directly or indirectly in any proposal to impose a duty on raw materials imported into France; and that they had not directly or indirectly acquiesced in any definite proposal, either concerning the imposition of a differential duty on British manufactured goods as compensation to the French manufacturer for the tax to be imposed on his raw material, or concerning the drawback to be granted to the French manufacturer on exportation.

So far as these points are concerned the Treaty and Conventions of 1860 remain unaltered, and form the rule of the commercial relations between the two countries.

These points might indeed have come under review if the French Government had not advisedly withdrawn from discussion the IIIrd Article of the Draft Treaty submitted to Earl Granville by the Duc de Broglie in his Excellency's note of the 13th September last; but, notwithstanding this withdrawal, Lord Granville felt it necessary to observe in general terms, in a despatch addressed to Mr. West for communication to the French Government on the 1st November last, on the general vagueness of the French proposals as creating an additional difficulty in determining how far Her Majesty's Government might, in their anxiety to meet the wishes of France, acquiesce in an increase of duties on British commodities.

Moreover, in his letter to the Duc de Broglie of the 5th of August last, Lord Granville asked the question; "What is the intention of the French Government as regards the taxation of raw materials which are both produced in France, and are also imported from abroad?" To that question no answer has been given.

It is clear, therefore, that there are no grounds for assuming that Her Majesty's Government had held out expectations of a willingness on their part to make concessions beyond the strict letter of the Treaty and Conventions of 1860; and Her Majesty's Government are very far from accepting the statement that the duties on raw materials proposed in the *Projet de Loi*, brought into the Assembly by the Government, might be imposed immediately under the clauses of the Commercial Treaties sanctioning the imposition of Customs duties to counterbalance internal duties on like articles.

Her Majesty's Government perfectly admit the operation of Article IX of the Treaty of Commerce of the 23rd. of January, 1860, and of Article III of the Second Supplementary Convention of the 16th November, 1860, so far as those Articles apply; but they have not admitted that they would make no objection to what might be decided in France respecting Tariff duties. On the contrary, they expressly required a clear statement of what was contemplated, because it was only when such a statement was before them

that they could judge of the merits of the French proposal, and shape their course according to the judgment they might form.

There are two other misapprehensions which appear to have existed, and which it may be well to correct. The first is that Her Majesty's Government have absolutely renounced any intention of interfering with the wine duties as now established in Great Britain. What Her Majesty's Government have said is, that whatever course the French Government might adopt in regard to the Treaty, Her Majesty's Government would certainly never dream of resorting by way of retaliation to the suicidal course of a Protectionist policy; but, in the despatch of the 1st November before mentioned, Lord Granville directly adverted to the unreasonableness of the French Government in expecting that Great Britain, notwithstanding the disadvantages she was asked to submit to, would continue to observe the other provisions of the Treaty and Conventions of 1860, which interfere with her own fiscal liberty with regard to the duties on coals, wine, and spirits.

The other point has reference to the statement that England had repeatedly declared that the Commercial Treaties had been forced upon her by France. The motives which induced Her Majesty's Government to propose the negotiation of the Treaty, in the first instance, were, as stated in the despatch of the 1st November, the hopes that by the concessions made to France, they were furthering an approach to that freedom of trade which they considered to be essential to the well-being of all nations, and that by thus laying the foundations of concord, they were diminishing the chances of war.

The despatch of the 1st November was communicated by Mr. West to M. de Rémusat on the 3rd of the same month.

No. 62.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received January 22.)

(Extract.)

Paris, January 20, 1872.

I HAVE already had the honour to inform your Lordship by telegraph that the Assembly adopted yesterday, in opposition to the Government, the following resolution:—

“L'Assemblée Nationale, réservant le principe d'un impôt sur les matières premières, décide qu'une Commission de quinze membres examinera les Tarifs proposés et les questions soulevées par cet impôt, auquel elle n'aura recours qu'en cas d'impossibilité d'aligner autrement le Budget.”

No. 63.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 22, 1872.

I APPROVE the language held by your Excellency to M. Thiers, as reported in your despatch of the 19th instant, giving an account of what passed at a conversation which your Excellency had with the French President at Versailles on the previous evening, on the subject of the proposed tax on raw materials.

I am, &c.

(Signed) • GRANVILLE.

No. 64.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received January 24.)

My Lord,

Paris, January 22, 1872.

M. THIERS spoke to me yesterday at Versailles on the subject of the Commercial Treaty.

He said that he hoped that he should bring the negotiation with Her Majesty's Government to a satisfactory conclusion. The question of the duties on raw materials was, he affirmed, entirely distinct from that of the modification of the Treaty tariffs.

He could assure me that in proposing the duty on raw materials he had been actuated entirely by fiscal considerations. Nor did he believe that the interests of England would really suffer from such a duty. On several articles—such, for instance, as wood—it was entirely immaterial to England whether there were duties or not; with regard to other

articles—for example, cotton and wool—it could not be supposed that a duty of 20 per cent. would cause any diminution in the quantity consumed in France.

All proper communications would be made to Her Majesty's Government, and he trusted that there would be no difficulty about this matter.

He had, indeed, some idea of despatching M. Pouyer-Quertier, the Minister of Finance, to London, to give explanations to Her Majesty's Government respecting this point and the other questions connected with the Treaty. M. Pouyer-Quertier's reputation as a strong Protectionist might, perhaps, be a disadvantage to him in England; but, on the other hand, he understood all the details, and not only spoke English well, but was also a master of the technical terms necessary for the discussion of these commercial and manufacturing questions in that language. M. Thiers said, in conclusion, that, with regard to the idea of sending M. Pouyer-Quertier to England, nothing was yet decided, but that the negotiation would, at all events, he trusted, soon make satisfactory progress.

I answered that the principal objection of Her Majesty's Government to the proposals which had been made to them arose from the conviction that those proposals were founded on principles of commercial restriction; and Her Majesty's Government had, I said, more than once declared their willingness to come, if possible, to an understanding if this objection could be removed by the Government of France. It was, in fact, I observed, repugnant to Her Majesty's Government to be parties to a measure for increasing protection—to a measure which would be at variance with the doctrines of Free Trade, which the Treaty had been made to promote. It was in "protection," I added, that the main difficulty lay.

M. Thiers had not made any allusion to the recent Debates in the Assembly, nor to the notes of the 19th and 20th instant, in which, in obedience to your Lordship's orders, I had communicated to the French Government the dissent of Her Majesty's Government from the statements made in that debate respecting their sentiments. I thought it, however, right to say to him that Her Majesty's Government had certainly been not a little startled at finding that they were represented as having acquiesced in duties not warranted by the Treaty, and in a construction of some of the Articles which was, to say the least, very much strained. My notes had, however, I presumed, sufficed to do away with all misapprehension on the subject, and it was, therefore, unnecessary for me to enter into further details.

M. Thiers did not enter into any explanation respecting his own speeches, or that of the Minister of Commerce, in the debate. He merely observed that he had been correct in stating that Her Majesty's Government had begged to be furnished with the details of the compensatory duties which the French Government proposed to establish; and he wound up the conversation by again saying that he hoped to come to a satisfactory understanding with England on the whole subject of the Commercial Treaty.

This afternoon I saw M. de Rémusat at the Foreign Office, in Paris. He said that the two notes I had addressed to him had given him some pain.

I observed that the impression produced by the speeches of the President of the Republic and of the Minister of Commerce as to the views and intentions of Her Majesty's Government was so entirely at variance with the real state of the case that it was manifestly impossible that Her Majesty's Government should acquiesce in it in silence. To have done so, would have been to mislead the French Government and the public.

M. de Rémusat said that, if he had been aware that the taxes on raw materials were to give rise to a diplomatic discussion, he should have felt it his duty to be present, and that the line he should have been disposed to take would have been to decline to give any information whatever respecting the negotiation with England on the ground that it was still pending. He added, however, that he certainly considered that, when details respecting the proposed duties were asked for by Her Majesty's Government, a certain degree of assent to the principle of the duties was involved. He did not, however, wish to enter into an argument on the subject. The views of Her Majesty's Government were undoubtedly stated with sufficient distinctness in my notes. He was, he added, sorry to see the determination which seemed to be announced by them to abide rigidly by the strict letter of the Treaty. I answered that on numerous occasions Her Majesty's Government had declared their willingness to come to an understanding with the French Government if only the objection they entertained in principle to take part in an act designed to increase commercial restrictions were done away with. They had not broken off the negotiation, nor was their desire to be of use to the French Government in fiscal matters at all diminished. In the face of what had been said in the Assembly, it was undoubtedly their duty to establish the fact that they had not hitherto consented to any modification of the Treaty. The Treaty, as it stood, must, of course, be the basis of negotiation, unless it was modified by mutual consent.

M. de Rémusat observed that the 4th February was drawing so near that it would be necessary for the French Government to take, very soon, measures for giving effect to the notice which they had given to Her Majesty's Government of their intention to denounce the Treaty.

I said that, for my own part, I had always deeply regretted that the French Government had thought it necessary to raise any question at all about the Treaty. I was hardly competent to pronounce upon its merits or demerits as a commercial arrangement, but it was, at all events, a sign of good understanding and cordial intercourse, and as such I wished it to stand.

The two Governments had, I said, conducted the discussion without any asperity, and with a strong desire on both sides that whatever might be the result their political friendship should not suffer from it. But it was not easy to make this manifest to the world at large. If the French Government proceeded to denounce the Treaty, the public in all countries would be apt to imagine that this step indicated some coolness between the two nations. Some interests must I feared suffer, and some diminution of commercial intercourse take place. In fact, the impression on the public could not be good. I trusted that the French Government would consider this, and that whatever might be the course they might adopt they would heartily unite with Her Majesty's Government in endeavouring to maintain friendly feeling and friendly intercourse between the two Governments and the people of the two countries.

M. de Rémusat said that I might fully rely upon the desire of France to be on the best terms with England.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 65.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 24, 1872.

I HAVE to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve the note addressed by you to M. de Rémusat, a copy of which is inclosed in your Excellency's despatch dated the 20th instant, respecting the statements made in the National Assembly concerning the views of Her Majesty's Government on the proposed taxes on raw materials.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 66.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 24, 1872.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 19th instant, I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government will abstain at present from examining in detail the *Projet*, of which a copy was inclosed in your Excellency's despatch of the 14th instant, and from pointing out the precise particulars in which it differs from the Conventional Tariff annexed to the Second Supplementary Convention of the 16th of November, 1860.

This is now of the less importance since the *Projet* has been rejected or delayed by the action of the French Assembly; but, as questions of principle and questions involving the action of Her Majesty's Government in the recent negotiations necessarily arise in connection with it, Her Majesty's Government think it right to offer the following observations.

It is obvious that the *Projet* is directly at variance with the Second Supplementary Convention to which I have already referred.

Up to the present time Her Majesty's Government have not been officially informed whether the proposed tax on raw material is to be accompanied by a corresponding excise duty on similar raw material produced in France, but they gather from the debates in the French Chamber that this is not intended. If it is not intended, then the *Projet* is distinctly at variance with the spirit as well as with the letter of the Commercial Treaty and Supplementary Conventions, since it imposes a heavy differential duty on British raw material, the principal effect of which, so far as it affects raw material which is produced in France as well as abroad, must be, not so much to raise additional revenue as to protect the producers

of that material at the expense of British competitors and of French manufacturers and consumers. Indeed, it is probable that it may cause a heavy loss to the revenue, for it is proposed to impose a differential duty on foreign manufactured goods equivalent to the duty on the raw material; and, again, to grant to the French manufacturer an equivalent drawback on exportation.

Now, in the case of goods manufactured from raw material produced both in France and abroad, it will probably be impracticable to distinguish an exportation between goods made wholly of foreign raw material and goods made of French raw material; and, if a drawback is granted on the latter, it will be, not a repayment of money which has been paid into the exchequer, but a bounty paid out of the exchequer to the manufacturer, and this payment will be a bounty, not to the manufacturer but to the producer of the raw material, for he will be able to raise his price against the manufacturer to the extent to which the price of the foreign raw material is raised by the duty on it.

The financial effect of this scheme it is of course for the French Government to consider; but when Her Majesty's Government are asked to modify the Treaty, or are told that they have assented to its modification on the ground that the modification is necessary, not for the purpose of protection but of revenue, the above observations on the financial effect of the *Projet* become important to them, as well as to the French Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 67.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received January 25.)

(Extract.)

Paris, January 24, 1872.

I HAVE already had the honour to inform your Lordship by telegraph, that of fourteen members who were elected yesterday to serve on the Committee of the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty, nine were understood to be in favour of denouncing the Treaty, and five against denouncing it; the fifteenth member was not elected.

No. 68.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 26, 1872.

HER Majesty's Government have had under their consideration, in communication with the Law Advisers of the Crown, the interpretation put by M. Thiers on the IXth Article of the Treaty of Commerce of 1860, and the IIrd Article of the Second Supplementary Convention of 1860, under which Articles the French President, as would appear from the debates in the Chamber, claims a right on the part of the French Government to impose a tax on raw materials, as well as to impose additional duties, as "*droits compensateurs*," on manufactured goods, in the manufacture of which such raw materials enter.

Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that Article IX of the Treaty of Commerce applies only to the articles enumerated in Article I of the same Treaty, with the additional proviso that they should be of French production or manufacture, and that consequently no increase of Customs duties can be imposed on such articles of British origin or manufacture, unless a corresponding excise tax on inland duty is previously imposed on similar articles of French production or manufacture.

Her Majesty's Government are further of opinion that, as to Article III of the Second Supplementary Convention, no increase of Customs duties beyond those specified in the Article itself can be imposed upon articles of British origin and manufacture, except in the event of such modification of the excise duties actually levied at the date of the Convention upon French manufactures as would cause a corresponding increase in the cost of similar articles of French manufacture.

Your Excellency will see therefore that, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, the view of M. Thiers is incompatible with the terms of the existing Treaties.

Your Excellency will make known the views of Her Majesty's Government as above expressed to the French Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 26, 1872.

I HAVE to convey to your Excellency the approval of Her Majesty's Government of the language held by you to M. de Thiers and M. de Rémusat, as reported in your despatch of the 22nd instant.

Any member of the French Government would be received with cordiality in England; but Her Majesty's Government would regret that the Minister of Finance should take an important step like a visit to England at a moment when his presence in Paris was probably required, unless there was a reasonable chance of his mission being successful.

The announcement that his visit had been without fruit might create that belief of the relations between the two countries not being good, which it is the desire of Her Majesty's Government to avoid.

I have, therefore, to request your Excellency, should the project be further entertained, to inform Her Majesty's Government what is the basis on which M. Pouyer-Quertier would be prepared to treat—whether his visit would be in the hope of changing the decision of Her Majesty's Government upon the scheme which had been proposed to them, which is not likely to lead to a result; or whether he would be prepared to make such proposals as would obviate the principal objections entertained by Her Majesty's Government to the French scheme.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

Extract.)

Foreign Office, January 27, 1872.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatches of the 5th and 9th instant, on the subject of the proposals of the French Government to reimpose differential duties on merchandize imported in foreign ships, I have to observe to your Excellency that by the Supplementary Convention of the 16th November, 1860, jute in the fibre and hackled, and raw cotton, when imported into France, direct from British India, or from British entrepôts in British or French vessels, and raw wool when imported direct from Australia, or from British entrepôts in British vessels, must be admitted into France free of duty.

Upon these articles, therefore, thus imported, the French Government are not at liberty to place any surtax or differential duty, and as any such duty must be imposed for the purpose of protection and not of revenue, Her Majesty's Government would not feel justified in acceding to it. Further, all the articles of British origin or manufacture mentioned in the Tariff annexed to the Supplementary Convention in question, when imported direct from the United Kingdom, under the British or French flag, are to be admitted into France at the duties specified in the said Tariff. Consequently the whole duties to be levied on these articles, when so imported, including the proposed surtax or differential duty on goods imported from an entrepôt, must not exceed the duties specified in the said Tariff. But whether they do exceed them or not can only be known when both the surtax and the other proposed duties are known.

I take this opportunity of inclosing for your Excellency's information, a copy of a Memorandum drawn up in this Department, containing a list of the most recent and important Treaties which France has concluded with foreign countries, and showing the bearing of those Treaties on the question of differential duties.

Inclosure in No. 70.

Memorandum on the Proposal of the French Government to re-impose Differential Duties on Merchandize imported into France in Foreign Ships.

IT is difficult to see how it is possible for France, consistently with her Treaty stipulations with foreign Powers, to levy such duties as "surtaxes de pavillon" and

"surtaxes d'entrepôt" unless she, at the same time, makes the Decree levying such duties applicable to similar goods imported into France in national vessels.

The following is a list of the most recent and most important Treaties which France has concluded with European Powers.

Austria	..	..	..	December 11, 1866 ¹
Belgium	..	..	..	May 1, 1861 ²
Ditto	..	..	..	May 12, 1863 ³
Italy	..	..	..	January 17, 1863 ⁴
Netherlands	..	..	..	July 7, 1865 ⁵
Prussia, &c. . .	..	..	..	August 2, 1862 ⁶
Spain	..	..	..	June 18, 1865 ⁷
Sweden	..	..	..	February 14, 1865 ⁸
Switzerland	..	..	..	June 30, 1864 ⁹

In the Treaty of Commerce with Austria of 11th December, 1866, the following Article appears :—

"Article X. Les produits non originaires de l'Empire d'Autriche importés d'Autriche en France, par mer, sous pavillon de l'une des Puissances Contractantes, ne seront pas soumis à des surtaxes plus élevées que celles dont sont ou pourront être frappés les produits importés en France sous pavillon Français, d'ailleurs que du pays d'origine."

And in the Treaty of Navigation of the same date there is the following Article :—

"Article VI. Les marchandises de toute nature importées directement d'Autriche en France, sous pavillon Autrichien, et, à partir du 12 Juin, 1869, d'un pays quelconque; et réciproquement, les marchandises de toute nature importées sous pavillon Français en Autriche ne payeront respectivement de plus forts droits de douane, ni d'autres de toute nature perçus au profit de l'Etat, des communes, des corporations locales, de particuliers ou d'établissements quelconques, qu'à si elles étaient importées sous pavillon national."

These Treaties were concluded for ten years, counting from the 1st January, 1867, and would therefore not expire till the 1st January, 1877.

The Treaty of Commerce with Belgium of May 1, 1861, contains the following clauses :—

"Article XIII. Indépendamment du régime d'entrée établi par le présent Traité à l'égard des produits non originaires de Belgique, ces mêmes produits seront soumis aux surtaxes de navigation dont sont ou pourront être frappés les produits importés en France, sous pavillon Français, d'ailleurs que des pays d'origine."

"Article XIV. Les marchandises de toute origine, importées de France par la frontière de terre, seront admises à l'entrée en Belgique aux mêmes droits que si elles y étaient importées directement de France par mer et sous pavillon Français."

"Les marchandises spécifiées ou non en l'Article XX de la Loi du 28 Avril, 1816, importées de Belgique par la frontière de terre, seront admises, pour la consommation intérieure de l'Empire, moyennant l'acquiescement des droits établis pour les provenances autres que celles des pays de production, sous pavillon Français. Toutefois pour les cafés, la surtaxe ne dépassera pas 5 fr. par 100 kilos., décimes compris."

This Treaty was concluded for ten years, counting from the date of exchange of ratifications (27th May, 1861), to be continued from year to year until one of the Contracting Parties announced to the other its wish to terminate it.

By a French Decree of 29th May, 1861, the dispositions of this Treaty were expressly declared to be applicable to England.

The Treaty with Italy of 17th January, 1863, which was concluded for twelve years, counting from the date of exchange of ratifications (19th January, 1864), and would therefore not expire till 19th January, 1876, contains similar Articles, which it may be convenient to repeat here in full :—

"Article X. Indépendamment du régime d'entrée établi par le présent Traité à l'égard des produits non originaires d'Italie, ces mêmes produits seront soumis aux surtaxes de navigation dont sont ou pourront être frappés les produits importés en France, sous pavillon Français, d'ailleurs que des pays d'origine."

"Article XI. Les marchandises de toute origine importées de France par la frontière de terre seront admises, à l'entrée en Italie, aux mêmes droits que si elles y étaient importées directement de France par mer sous pavillon Français."

"Les marchandises non originaires d'Italie, spécifiées ou non dans l'Article XXII de

¹ State Papers, vol. lvi, pages 244, 257.

² Ibid., vol. li, page 698.

³ Ibid., vol. liii, page 187.

⁴ Ibid., vol. liv, page 858.

⁵ Ibid., vol. lv, page 383.

⁶ Ibid., vol. lv, page 298.

⁷ Ibid., vol. lv, page 379.

⁸ Ibid., vol. lv, page 233.

⁹ Ibid., vol. liv, page 1053.

la Loi du 28 Avril, 1816, importées de l'Italie en France par la frontière de terre, seront admises, pour la consommation intérieure de l'Empire, moyennant l'acquittement des droits établis pour les provenances autres que celles des pays de production sous pavillon Français."

The Treaty with the Netherlands of 7th July, 1865, which was concluded for twelve years from the date of exchange of ratifications, 10th August, 1865, and would therefore not expire till 10th August, 1877, contains the following clause:—

"Article XIV. Les produits non originaires des Pays Bas importés de la Néerlande en France, soit par mer, soit par terre, aux conditions déterminées par l'Article X du présent Traité, soit par les voies fluviales, ne seront pas soumis à des surtaxes plus élevées que celles dont sont ou pourront être frappés les produits importés en France sous pavillon Français, d'ailleurs que des pays d'origine. Toutefois pour les cafés la surtaxe ne dépassera pas 5 fr. par 100 kilos., décimes compris.

"Article XV. Les marchandises de toute origine importées de France, soit par terre, aux conditions déterminées par l'Article X du présent Traité, soit par les voies fluviales, seront mises, à l'entrée dans les Pays Bas, aux mêmes droits que si elles y étaient importées directement de France par mer et sous pavillon Français."

The Treaty with Prussia and the Zollverein of 2nd August, 1862, contains the following clause:—

"Article X. Indépendamment du régime d'entrée établi par le présent Traité à l'égard des produits non originaires du Zollverein, ces mêmes produits seront soumis aux surtaxes de navigation dont sont ou pourront être frappés les produits importés en France, sous pavillon Français, d'ailleurs que des pays d'origine."

This Treaty was concluded for twelve years, but was abrogated by the War of 1870-71.

By Article XI of the Treaty of Peace of 10th May, 1871, the commercial relations between France and Germany were placed upon the footing of the "most favoured nation." By the Additional Convention of 11th December, 1871, the Treaties between those two countries which were in existence before the war, were renewed; but it has been recently explained by the Prussian Ambassador at Paris that the Commercial Treaties between France and the Zollverein were not thereby put into force again, but, on the contrary, that they would be regulated by Article XI of the Treaty of 10th May, 1871.

The Treaty with Spain of 18th June, 1865, expressly declared the abolition of "les surtaxes de douane," on "objets d'origine ou de manufactures" imported into either country.

The Treaty of Commerce with Sweden of 14th February, 1865, which was concluded for twelve years, from the 22nd March, 1865, and will therefore not expire until 22nd March, 1877, contains the following Article:—

"Article XI. Les produits non-originaux de Suède ou de Norvège, importés des Royaumes Unis en France, par mer, sous pavillon de l'une des Puissances Contractantes, ne seront pas soumis à des surtaxes plus élevées que celles dont sont ou pourront être frappés les produits importés en France, sous pavillon Français, d'ailleurs que du pays d'origine. Toutefois, pour les cafés la surtaxe ne dépassera pas 5 fr. par 100 kilos., décimes compris."

This Treaty was made applicable to Great Britain, Belgium and Italy, by French Decree of April, 1865.

The Treaty with Switzerland of 30th June, 1864 (concluded for twelve years from the 24th November, 1864, and which would, therefore, remain in force till 24th November, 1876), contains the following Article:—

"Article XII. Indépendamment du régime d'entrée établi par le présent Traité à l'égard des produits non originaires de la Suisse, ces mêmes produits seront soumis aux surtaxes dont sont ou peuvent être frappés les produits importés en France sous pavillon Français d'ailleurs que des pays d'origine."

In each of these Treaties, however, power is given to either party to terminate them by giving twelve months' notice.

In addition to the foregoing, France has concluded the following Treaties with others Powers, many of which contain "most favoured nation" clauses, as do also many of those from which the above extracts have been given:—

Argentine Confederation .	..	..	July	10, 1853 ¹
Bolivia	..	..	December	9, 1834 ²
Brazil	..	..	January	8, 1826 ³
Ditto	..	..	June	7, 1826 ⁴

¹ State Papers, vol. xlv, page 1071.

² Ibid., vol. vol. xxiii, page 165.

³ Ibid., vol. xiii, page 805.

⁴ Ibid., vol. xii, page 818.

Brazil	..	..	..	..	August	21, 1828 ⁵
Chile	..	..	..	..	September	15, 1846 ⁶
China	..	..	..	..	June	27, 1858 ⁷
Colombia	..	..	..	..	May	15, 1856 ⁸
Costa Rica	..	..	..	..	March	12, 1848 ⁹
Denmark	..	..	..	..	August	23, 1742 ¹⁰
Ditto	..	..	..	..	September	30, 1749 ¹¹
Ditto	..	..	..	..	February	8, 1842 ¹²
Dominica	..	..	..	..	May	8, 1852 ¹³
Equator	..	..	..	..	June	6, 1843 ¹⁴
Greece	..	..	..	..	Query any Treaty.	
Guatemala	..	..	..	..	March	8, 1848 ¹⁵
Haiti	..	..	..	..	February	12, 1838 ¹⁶
Hans Towns	..	..	..	..	March	4, 1865 ¹⁷
Honduras	..	..	..	..	February	22, 1856 ¹⁸
Italy	..	..	..	..	June	13, 1862 ¹⁹
Japan	..	..	..	..	October	9, 1858 ²⁰
Liberia	..	..	..	..	April	15, 1852
Madagascar	..	..	..	..	September	12, 1862 ²¹
Mecklenburg	..	..	..	..	June	9, 1865 ²²
Mexico	..	..	..	..	March	9, 1839 ²³
Morocco	..	..	..	..	May	28, 1767 ²⁴
Muscat	..	..	..	..	November	17, 1844 ²⁵
Nicaragua	..	..	..	..	April	11, 1859 ²⁶
Paraguay	..	..	..	..	March	4, 1853 ²⁷
Paraguay, renewed	..	..	..	..	August	9, 18 (?)
Persia	..	..	..	..	July	12, 1855 ²⁸
Peru	..	..	..	..	March	9, 1861 ²⁹
Portugal	..	..	..	..	March	9, 1853 ³⁰
Ditto	..	..	..	..	July	11, 1866 ³¹
Prussia	..	..	..	..	August	2, 1862 ³²
Rome	..	..	..	..	July	29, 1867 ³³
Russia	..	..	..	..	June	14, 1857 ³⁴
Salvador	..	..	..	..	January	2, 1858 ³⁵
Sandwich Islands	..	..	..	..	October	29, 1857 ³⁶
Siam	..	..	..	..	August	15, 1856 ³⁷
Sweden	..	..	..	..	February	14, 1865 ³⁸
Switzerland	..	..	..	..	June	29, 1865 ³⁹
Tunis	..	..	..	..	November	15, 1824 ⁴⁰
Ditto	..	..	..	..	August	8, 1830 ⁴¹
Turkey	..	..	..	..	April	29, 1861 ⁴²
Tripoli	..	..	..	..	June	19, 1801
Ditto	..	..	..	..	August	11, 1830 ⁴³
United States	..	..	..	..	June	24, 1822 ⁴⁴
Ditto renewed	..	..	..	..	July	7, 1863 or 1865
Uruguay	..	..	..	..	April	8, 1836 ⁴⁵

⁵ State Papers, vol. xv, page 1259.

⁶ Ibid., vol. xlv, 1060.

⁷ Ibid., vol. li, page 637.

⁸ Ibid., vol. xlvii, page 774.

⁹ Ibid., vol. xxxvii, page 1375.

¹⁰ Ibid., vol. xxxv, page 1263.

¹¹ Ibid., vol. xxxv, page 1276.

¹² Ibid., vol. xxxv, page 1259.

¹³ Ibid., vol. xli, page 908.

¹⁴ Ibid., vol. xxxiii, page 683.

¹⁵ Ibid., vol. xxxvii, page 1363.

¹⁶ Ibid., vol. xxvi, page 1092.

¹⁷ Ibid., vol. lv, page 352.

¹⁸ Ibid., vol. xlvii, page 805.

¹⁹ Ibid., vol. liv, page 938.

²⁰ Ibid., vol. l, page 400.

²¹ Ibid., vol. liii, page 154.

²² Ibid., vol. liv, page 367.

²³ Ibid., vol. xxix, page 222.

²⁴ Ibid., vol. xx, page 1345.

²⁵ Ibid., vol. xxxv, page 1011.

²⁶ Ibid., vol. l, page 363.

²⁷ Ibid., vol. xlv, page 869.

²⁸ Ibid., vol. lii, page 122.

²⁹ Ibid., vol. xlv, page 1078.

³⁰ Ibid., vol. lvii, page 95.

³¹ Ibid. vol. lv, pages 298, 344.

³² Ibid., vol. lvii, page 135.

³³ Ibid., vol. xlvii, page 651.

³⁴ Ibid., vol. l, page 386.

³⁵ Ibid., vol. l, pages 378, 846.

³⁶ Ibid., vol. xlvii, page 993.

³⁷ Ibid., vol. lv, page 233.

³⁸ Ibid., vol. lv, page 378.

³⁹ Ibid., vol. xiv, page 712.

⁴⁰ Ibid., vol. xix, page 1050.

⁴¹ Ibid., vol. li, page 742.

⁴² Ibid., vol. xix, page 1052.

⁴³ Ibid., vol. xvii, page 1222.

⁴⁴ Ibid., vol. xxvi, page 1097.

Uruguay	..	..	..	..	September 26, 1867 ⁴⁵
Venezuela	..	..	..	..	March 25, 1843 ⁴⁶

Besides other small States.*

(Signed) E. HERTSLET.

Foreign Office, January 20, 1872.

No. 71.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 27, 1872.

IT appears, from the debates which have recently taken place in the National Assembly, and from the articles which have been published by the French press, that considerable doubt prevails in France as to the course which Her Majesty's Government have pursued in the negotiations with the French Government on the Commercial Treaty.

Her Majesty's Government therefore think it right to recapitulate the principles on which they have acted.

Her Majesty's Government have acknowledged the full title of France to judge what her fiscal necessities require, and whether and how far any increase of protective restrictions on trade will aid her in meeting them.

Her Majesty's Government accordingly, beyond a frank statement of facts and reasons, make no complaint of the measures taken by the French Government in this sense, and would endeavour to prevent any diminution in the cordial feeling between the two countries, should the French Government denounce the Treaty.

If the Treaty restrains France in matters purely fiscal, Her Majesty's Government are ready to modify the Treaty as far as those points are concerned.

With regard to protective proposals, Her Majesty's Government have felt great objection to accepting any such, but they did not absolutely and finally close the door against them.

First, because it appeared possible that they might be minimized and rendered insignificant; and,

Secondly, because the general spirit actuating the policy of the French Government as to trade was sure to become much more evident when they should have promulgated their entire plans beyond as well as within the Treaty.

I have more than once stated that Her Majesty's Government intended no war of tariffs or return to protective duties, but they value the recovery of their fiscal freedom, in case they should have occasion to use it upon any of the points in which the Treaty to a certain extent restrains them.

They have never approved in detail or in principle any plan for levying a duty on raw materials, or a compensating duty on goods.

They think the denunciation of the Treaty, though it will not induce them to refuse a renewal of the negotiation, if France should desire it, is a very great step towards its extinction.

They consider that the Treaty will determine twelve months after any day on which it may be denounced.

Your Excellency will communicate the substance of this despatch to the French Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 72.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 28, 1872.

M. GAVARD informed me to-day that he was instructed by M. de Rémusat to speak to me on the subject of the French Treaty, which might be denounced to-day or to-morrow.

⁴⁵ State Papers, vol. lvii, page 144.

⁴⁶ Ibid., vol. xxxiii, page 694.

* See Boiteau. *Traité de Commerce de France avec l'Etranger*, 1863.

He wished me clearly to understand that this step would be taken in no hostile sense to England. It was only a necessity created by the financial requirements of France, and it was not intended to use the powers given by this denunciation of the Treaty in any Protectionist sense.

Nothing, he said, would be done beyond what had already been announced to the English Government, and possibly the imposition of a Customs duty upon a few articles merely for fiscal purposes.

I asked M. Gavard whether he could tell me what these articles were. He said that he could not; but that the duties imposed would be of a purely fiscal, and not of a Protectionist, character.

I told M. Gavard that Her Majesty's Government regretted the course adopted by the French Government, which had raised the question of the denunciation of the Treaty; but that, as I had often said, we desired that the denunciation should not affect the cordiality of our political relations.

I added that, from the communication M. de Rémusat had received, he would not be surprised that a matter outside the Treaty, viz., the Law which had been passed on the mercantile marine, and the warehousing system, had caused Her Majesty's Government great regret; and that, anxious as they were to agree with M. de Rémusat in his friendly assurances that protection was not the object of the French Government, I could not forget that which M. Thiers had said in his Presidential Speech to the Assembly, where he grounded the necessity of the chance conclusively on the want of further protection to some interests.

I then told M. Gavard what I had stated to your Excellency in my despatch of the 27th instant, and of my great pleasure at learning from your Excellency to-day that M. de Rémusat had entirely approved of and agreed to what was therein said.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 73.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received January 29.)

My Lord,

Paris, January 28, 1872.

I HAD, this morning, the honour to receive your Lordship's despatches of the day before yesterday and of yesterday, the first expressing the opinion of Her Majesty's Government respecting the bearing of the Treaty stipulations on the proposed tax upon raw materials; the second, recapitulating the principles on which Her Majesty's Government have acted in the negotiations with regard to the French proposals for modifying the Treaty of 1860.

I immediately embodied the substance of these despatches in the two notes of which I have the honour to transmit copies to your Lordship herewith.

I took the notes to Versailles and put them, myself, into M. de Rémusat's hand.

I said to him that I had come with them myself, in the first place, because I wished to insure his attention being called to them before the debate of to-morrow; and, in the second place, because I was very anxious to guard against the possibility of anything being said in the debate which would convey an incorrect impression of the views of Her Majesty's Government, and give rise to a necessity for further explanations. The discussion had, I said, been carried on hitherto between the two Governments in a spirit of friendship and cordiality, and we were certainly most anxious that it should be continued in the same spirit. It must not, however, be forgotten that all that was said in the Assembly was repeated in the press of foreign countries as well as of France, and that if an erroneous impression were given of the views of Her Majesty's Government, their duty to their own countrymen, whose commercial interests were deeply concerned, made it essential for them to take steps to remove it. It was, I conceived, much better to prevent any occasion for explanations which could not always be kept distinct from controversy; and with this object in view, M. de Rémusat would, I was sure, thank me for bringing him, before he was called upon to speak to-morrow, a clear and precise statement of the sentiments of Her Majesty's Government.

M. de Rémusat thanked me and said that the French Chargé d'Affaires reported that your Lordship had used to him friendly and considerate language in the same sense. He then proceeded to read the note respecting the negotiations.

When he had finished the perusal he expressed great satisfaction with the contents. He observed that he had in perfect good faith believed that the discussions which had taken

place, and the questions which had been asked by Her Majesty's Government respecting the duties on raw materials and the compensatory duties on goods, implied a recognition, on their part, of the principle involved. He had not at all understood that Her Majesty's Government had contracted any engagement on the subject, but he had thought, and he could not help still thinking, that the natural inference from all that occurred was that at any rate Her Majesty's Government did not reject the principle.

M. de Rémusat went on to say that in all other respects the note represented so accurately his own notions of the sentiments of Her Majesty's Government that it might have been written by him to me; he should have said just the same thing.

He expressed also his satisfaction at finding that Her Majesty's Government did not consider that the terms of the Treaty required notice of denunciation to be given on or before the 4th of February. It appeared, he said, to be held in the French Foreign Office that, the 4th of February was the fatal term; but for his own part he had always been of opinion that the Treaty would expire one year after any day (whatever day it might be) on which notice was given; and he was very glad to be in possession of a distinct declaration that Her Majesty's Government concurred in this interpretation.

I remarked to M. de Rémusat that Her Majesty's Government had shown, and still desired to show, all friendly consideration for the French Government in the present strain on its financial resources. As for protective duties, we were, I said, firmly convinced that they were far more injurious to those who imposed them than to those against whom they were levelled; but Her Majesty's Government had always been willing to do all in their power to facilitate measures which the French Government might wish to adopt for the purpose of increasing its revenue. I proceeded to remind M. de Rémusat that the denunciation, if it took place, would be the act of the French, not of the British Government. Her Majesty's Government could not but think, I added, that denunciation would tend towards abrogation, while for their own part they were perfectly willing to preserve the Treaty as it stood, or to agree to any modifications which were not in opposition to its spirit and principles.

Thus, then, I observed, there were two inferences to be drawn from my note, which would no doubt arrest his attention; the first was, that Her Majesty's Government looked with apprehension to denunciation, in the belief that it would be a great step towards the final extinction of the Treaty; the second was, that as they agreed that the Treaty could be efficaciously denounced at any time, there was no cause whatever for precipitation on the part of the French Government.

M. de Rémusat looked through the other note, but did not make any comment upon the arguments it contained respecting the tax on raw materials.

He told me that I should probably receive, in the course of the day, a letter from him containing some observations which he had written to me on the subject of my communications of the 19th and 20th instant, respecting the views of Her Majesty's Government on this matter. The letter has not, however, yet reached me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 73.

Lord Lyons to M. de Rémusat.

M. le Ministre,

Paris, January 28, 1872.

I AM instructed by Her Majesty's Government to state to your Excellency that they are of opinion that the IXth Article of the Treaty of Commerce of the 23rd January, 1860, applies only to the articles enumerated in the 1st Article of the same Treaty, with the additional proviso that they shall be of French production or manufacture; and to say that, consequently, Her Majesty's Government hold that no increase of Customs duties can be imposed on such articles of British origin or manufacture, unless a corresponding Excise tax or inland duty is previously imposed on similar articles of French production or manufacture.

Her Majesty's Government are further of opinion that, as to the IIIrd Article of the Second Supplementary Convention, no increase of Customs duties beyond those specified in the Article itself can be imposed upon articles of British origin and manufacture, except in the event of such a modification of the Excise duties actually levied at the date of the Convention upon French manufactures, as would cause a corresponding increase in the cost of similar articles of French manufacture.

Your Excellency will see therefore that, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government,

the terms of the Treaty do not admit of the imposition either of a tax upon raw materials, or of additional duties as "droits compensateurs" on manufactured goods in the manufacture of which such raw materials enter.

I need not add that this statement of the views of Her Majesty's Government is made in the same frank and friendly spirit, which has animated them in all their communications with the French Government on the subject of the Commercial Treaties.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 73.

Lord Lyons to M. de Rémusat.

M. le Ministre,

Paris, January 28, 1872.

FROM the debates which have recently taken place in the National Assembly, and from articles which have been published by the French press, it has appeared to Her Majesty's Government that considerable doubt prevails in France, as to the course which Her Majesty's Government have pursued in the negotiations with the Government of France on the Commercial Treaty.

Her Majesty's Government have, therefore, thought it right to direct me to recapitulate to your Excellency the principles on which they have acted.

Her Majesty's Government have acknowledged the full title of France to judge what her fiscal necessities require, and whether, and how far, any increase of protective restrictions on trade will aid her in meeting them.

Beyond, therefore, a frank statement of facts and reasons, Her Majesty's Government make no complaint of the measures taken by the French Government in this sense, and they would endeavour to prevent any diminution in the cordial feeling between the two countries should the French Government denounce the Treaty.

If the Treaty restrains France in matters purely fiscal, Her Majesty's Government are ready to modify the Treaty, as far as those points are concerned.

With regard to protective proposals, Her Majesty's Government felt great objection to accepting any such, but they did not finally close the door against them—

1st. Because it appeared possible that they might be minimized, and rendered insignificant; and,

2ndly. Because the general spirit, actuating the policy of the French Government as to trade, was sure to become much more evident when it should have promulgated its entire plans beyond, as well as within, the Treaty.

Her Majesty's Government have more than once stated that they intend no war of Tariffs nor return to protective duties; but they value the recovery of their fiscal freedom, in case they should have occasion to use it upon any of the points in which the Treaty to a certain extent restrains them.

They have never approved, in detail or in principle, any plan for levying a duty on raw material, or a compensating duty on goods.

They think that the denunciation of the Treaty, though it would not induce them to refuse a renewal of the negotiation if France should desire it, would be a very great step towards its extinction.

Finally, I am instructed by Her Majesty's Government to state to your Excellency that they consider that the Treaty will determine twelve months after any day on which it may be denounced.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 74.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received January 27.)

My Lord,

Paris, January 29, 1872.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of a note which I have received this morning from M. de Rémusat. It contains observations upon the notes which I presented to him by your Lordship's orders on the 19th and 20th instant to explain the position of Her Majesty's Government in the negotiation respecting the Commercial

Treaty, and it is no doubt the communication which M. de Rémusat told me that he had already addressed to me on the subject when I waited upon him yesterday with my notes of that day, embodying the substance of your Lordship's despatches of the 26th and 27th instant.

M. de Rémusat observes that no assertions, such as those which the notes of the 19th and 20th instant appear to be intended to rectify, are to be found in the official communications, or in the correspondence of the French Government.

He makes no allusion to the statements addressed to the National Assembly by the President of the Republic and the Minister of Commerce on the 15th instant. This omission reminds me that he mentioned cursorily in conversation with me yesterday that he believed that it was received as a rule in England that the Government were not to be called to account by foreign Powers for any language they might use in Parliament. He would not, however, it is to be presumed, consider that foreign statesmen would err in looking for information respecting the views and intentions of a Government to speeches made in open debate by its principal members, and authentically published. Nor can it be supposed that if the information thus obtained should show a foreign Government that erroneous notions of their sentiments and conduct in an important matter had been formed, they would be wrong in offering explanations to remove the error. The rule, such as it is, would appear to be sufficiently observed, if, as in the notes from me to which M. de Rémusat is replying, all direct reference to the statements in Parliament be avoided in the official communications.

With regard, however, to the tax on raw materials, and to what have been termed in France compensatory duties, there is not perhaps at bottom much difference between the view taken in M. de Rémusat's note of the position of Her Majesty's Government, and that which Her Majesty's Government themselves take.

M. de Rémusat says, that although some observations might be made on the consequences which might result from the unqualified terms of the statements made by your Lordship's order in my two notes, he will not dispute the literal accuracy of those statements.

He proceeds, indeed, to give an account of the communications between the two Governments, and endeavours to draw from it the conclusion that the French Government had reason to believe that the English Government admitted the principle of the French proposals. But this account, after all, shows no more than that Her Majesty's Government were willing to examine the details of any modifications of the Treaty desired for fiscal purposes by the French Government. Her Majesty's Government have always been willing to listen to such proposals, and are still willing to listen to them; but this is a very different thing from pledging themselves to agree to the proposals either in principle or in detail, or from sanctioning, before the Treaty is modified by mutual consent, any departure from its stipulations.

M. de Rémusat's note concludes with renewing the announcement of the intention of the French Government to denounce the Treaty, and with alleging reasons for supposing that this decision will not be unacceptable to Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 74.

M. de Rémusat to Lord Lyons.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Versailles, le Janvier, 1872.

J'AI reçu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 19 du courant pour m'informer qu'afin d'éviter tout malentendu possible, vous êtes chargé par le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique de constater par une communication au Gouvernement Français:—

1. Que le Gouvernement Anglais n'a acquiescé ni directement ni indirectement à aucune proposition de taxer les matières premières affranchies de tous droits par la seconde Convention Supplémentaire du 16 Novembre, 1860.

2. Qu'il n'a nullement acquiescé non plus à aucune proposition définie d'imposer à des objets manufacturés en Angleterre des droits différentiels comme compensation de taxes frappées sur les matières premières et d'accorder un drawback à l'exportation à certaines produits de l'industrie Française.

3. Qu'aucune proposition définie sur aucun de ces points n'a été encore soumise au

Gouvernement de la Reine, et votre Excellence a pour instructions de demander le redressement des malentendus qui, à ces divers égards, paraissent avoir eu lieu.

Une note verbale, communiquée le lendemain, ajoute à ces premières observations que Lord Granville a vainement demandé un tableau des changements des tarifs projetés par la France. De plus il nous est déclaré que jamais le Gouvernement Britannique n'a donné lieu de présumer qu'il fût disposé à faire des concessions au-delà de la stricte exécution du Traité et des Conventions de 1860, ni qu'il admît que les clauses des dits actes autorisassent la France à l'établissement immédiat de tout espèce de droits dits compensateurs avant qu'il eût pu prendre connaissance des tarifs et régler sa conduite sur le jugement qu'il en porterait.

Nous sommes, en outre, avertis par la même note :—

1. Que si le Gouvernement de la Reine désavouait, quelques mesures qu'adoptât la France, toute idée de recouvrir par voie de représailles aux procédés d'une politique toute Protectionniste, il ne se regarderait pas comme obligé de maintenir les stipulations du Traité et des Conventions qui engageraient sa liberté fiscale par rapport aux droits sur les charbons, les vins, et les esprits.

2. Qu'il n'est pas exact que les Traités de Commerce lui aient été imposés par la France, mais qu'il s'est décidé à les conclure comme un acheminement sur la liberté du commerce qu'il regarde comme essentielle au bien-être de toutes les nations.

J'ignore, M. l'Ambassadeur, les motifs qui ont déterminé le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique à nous adresser des déclarations qui semblent destinées à rectifier des assertions qu'on ne rencontre ni dans nos communications officielles ni dans notre correspondance, et nous ne contesterons point l'exactitude littérale des affirmations contenues dans les documents précités, quoiqu'il y eût plus d'une observation à faire sur les conséquences qui paraîtraient résulter des termes d'une rédaction trop absolue.

Mais je me bornerai à un petit nombre de remarques que je prie votre Excellence de mettre sous les yeux du Gouvernement de la Reine.

C'est en Juillet dernier, il y a plus de six mois, que nous avons fait connaître à l'Angleterre notre intention de maintenir le Traité du 23 Janvier, 1860, et de le renouveler pour une certaine durée, moyennant quelques modifications de détail qui, aux termes de l'Article XXI, n'en altéreraient point l'esprit.

En même temps nous vous avons informé qu'en nous prévalant de l'Article XI du Traité et l'Article III de la Convention du 16 Novembre, nous avions le projet, à l'effet de nous créer des ressources pour satisfaire à d'onéreux engagements, d'imposer à l'importation les matières premières et notamment les textiles, ce qui entraînait l'établissement de droits compensateurs sur certains produits étrangers.

Le Gouvernement Anglais nous a répondu par des témoignages de bon vouloir plusieurs fois répétés, et dont nous n'avons pas perdu le souvenir. Il nous a déclaré à plusieurs reprises qu'il était sincèrement disposé à assister la France dans ses nécessités financières. Or, par quel autre moyen pouvait-il réaliser ces assurances que par son acquiescement à des créations ou à des augmentations de taxes sur des objets de commerce? Nous avons dû penser en conséquence que le Gouvernement Anglais ne faisait nulle objection directe au principe de nos propositions. Et en effet, jamais la faculté de modifier les tarifs en relevant modérément la taxe de certains articles, jamais l'application que nous entendions faire du principe des droits compensateurs, ne nous ont été contestées. Si je me reporte soit aux entretiens que j'ai eu l'honneur d'avoir avec votre Excellence, ou aux explications qu'elle a échangées avec M. le Président de la République, soit aux pièces officielles émanés du Foreign Office, soit aux pourparlers dont les négociateurs Français m'ont transmis la relation, aucune fin de non-recevoir n'a été opposée au fond de nos propositions, et nous avons été fondés à croire que toute la difficulté portait sur les moyens d'exécution, sur le choix des marchandises imposables, sur la quotité des tarifs, en un mot sur des questions particulières; et tels sont en effet les seuls points abordés dans une négociation qui a duré plus de sept mois. Jamais nous n'avons été autorisés à supposer que le Gouvernement Anglais fût décidé à résister à toute modification à la lettre des Traités, ou qu'il repoussât l'application de l'Article IX au cas où des nécessités fiscales obligeraient l'une des Parties Contractantes à imposer chez elle les matières premières. Toujours nous avons eu lieu d'espérer qu'une entente parfaite pourrait s'établir entre nous sur les points en discussion. Cependant, et surtout dans ces derniers temps, le Gouvernement Britannique ne nous a pas laissé ignorer sa répugnance à souscrire à des stipulations qui pourraient paraître à un certain degré, non des progrès mais des pas retrogrades dans la carrière de la liberté des échanges; et il est vrai enfin que par une note du 1 Novembre dernier, et pour la première fois, le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique pour les Affaires Etrangères ne nous a laissé qu'un faible espoir de mener à bien les négociations si vainement prolongées. Non qu'il ait retiré l'assentiment implicite accordé à l'admissibilité de nos bases de négociation, mais il nous a mieux fait connaître les considérations générales qui rendraient, difficile au Gouvernement Anglais de les accepter aujourd'hui.

Sans renoncer à l'espoir de voir par des explications ultérieures s'aplanir des difficultés que nous regrettons, et s'attester par des effets les dispositions bienveillantes dont nous avons reçu l'assurance répétée, la nécessité de recouvrer notre liberté fiscale et la faculté de recourir à toutes les ressources qui peuvent subvenir aux nécessités de nos finances, nous détermineront à ne pas prolonger la durée des Conventions Commerciales qui nous lient avec l'Angleterre et dont le terme est arrivé. Nous avons longtemps désiré éviter la dénonciation du Traité du 23 Janvier, 1860 ; mais il nous a paru que le Gouvernement Britannique lui-même la préférerait à des modifications qui pourraient, du moins en apparence, coûter quelque chose à la rigueur de ses principes économiques.

En dénonçant le Traité, nous n'entendrions nullement fermer la négociation, qui peut le renouveler en le modifiant. Jusqu'au jour où ses effets doivent expirer, elle resterait ouverte. D'ailleurs, en reprenant notre liberté nous n'aurions nulle intention de rouvrir une guerre de douanes. Les bases générales de notre régime commercial seraient respectées. La Grande Bretagne nous a souvent rappelé que le Traité de 1860, ou les Traités de Commerce en général, étaient contraires aux vrais principes de la liberté des échanges. Nous pensons donc qu'elle le verra expirer sans regret, si, comme nous en avons la ferme assurance, les bonnes et utiles relations qui unissent nos deux pays sont soigneusement maintenues. Nous acceptons avec une entière confiance la déclaration portant que l'Angleterre, fidèle à ses principes, ne reviendra jamais aux représailles douanières d'une autre époque, et quant à sa liberté fiscale elle n'avait pas besoin de nous rappeler qu'elle la recouvrerait par les mesures mêmes qui nous rendraient la nôtre.

L'Angleterre et la France sont l'une et l'autre trop éclairées pour en abuser.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé) REMUSAT.

(Translation.)

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Versailles, January , 1872.

I HAVE received the letter which you did me the honour of writing to me on the 19th instant to inform me that, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, you were instructed by Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State to point out by means of a communication to the French Government :—

1. That the British Government has agreed neither directly or indirectly to any proposal to tax raw materials exempted from all duties by the second Supplementary Convention of the 16th November, 1860.

2. That it has neither in any way agreed to any definite proposition to impose differential duties on goods manufactured in England as compensation for taxes laid on raw materials, and to grant a drawback on exportation to certain products of French industry.

3. That no definite proposal regarding any of these points has as yet been presented to Her Majesty's Government, and that your Excellency's instructions are to ask for the correction of the misunderstandings which seem to have existed in these various respects.

A *note verbale*, forwarded the following day, adds to these first observations, that Lord Granville has in vain demanded a Table of the change of Tariffs proposed by France. We have, moreover, been informed that the British Government have never given any reason to suppose that they were disposed to make concessions beyond the strict execution of the Treaty and the Conventions of 1860, nor that they admitted that the clauses of the said Acts authorized France to establish immediately any kind of duties called compensatory before they had been able to become acquainted with the Tariffs, and to regulate their conduct by the judgment which they might form of them.

We are also informed by the same note :—

1. That although Her Majesty's Government disavowed, whatever measures might be adopted by France, all idea of resorting by means of reprisals to measures of an entirely Protectionist policy, they would not consider themselves compelled to maintain the stipulations of the Treaty and of the Conventions which would fetter their fiscal liberty with respect to the duties on coals, wines, and spirits.

2. That it is not correct that the Treaties of Commerce had been imposed on them by France, but that they had decided to conclude them, regarding them as an advance towards commercial liberty, which they held to be essential to the well-being of all nations.

I am unaware M. l'Ambassadeur of the motives which decided Her Britannic Majesty's Government to forward to us declarations destined to all appearances to rectify assertions which are met with neither in our official communications nor yet in our correspondence, and we in no way contest the literal exactness of the assertions made in the forementioned documents, although there is more than one observation to be made on

the consequences which would seem to result from too absolute an interpretation of them.

But I will limit myself to a few remarks which I beg your Excellency to bring to the notice of Her Majesty's Government. In July last, more than six months ago, we intimated to England our intention of upholding the Treaty of the 23rd January, 1860, and to renew it for a certain time, on condition of certain modifications of detail, which, according to the provisions of Article XXI, would not in any way change its sense.

At the same time we informed you that in taking advantage of Article XI of the Treaty and Article III of the Convention of the 16th November, we had the intention, in order to procure for ourselves the resources for meeting burdensome engagements, to tax raw materials, and notably textiles on importation, which would entail the establishment of compensatory duties on certain foreign products.

The British Government have repeatedly answered us by expressions of good-will, the remembrance of which we have not lost. They have declared to us several times that they were sincerely disposed to assist France in her financial necessities. But by what other means would they be able to realize these assurances than by their consent to the creation or augmentation of taxes on articles of commerce?

We thought, therefore, that the English Government would make no direct opposition to the principle of our proposals. And, in fact, never has the power of modifying the Tariffs, by a moderate increase of the tax on certain articles, never has the application which we understood to be made of compensatory duties, been called in question. If I recur to the interviews which I had the honour to have with your Excellency, or to the explanations which you have exchanged with the President of the Republic, or to the official notices from the Foreign Office, or to the conversations, of which the French negotiators have transmitted an account, no objection has been raised to the groundwork of our proposals, and we were led to think that all the difficulty consisted in the means of execution, in the choice of goods liable to taxation, in the amount of the Tariffs, in short, in special questions; and those are, in fact, the only points which have been broached in a negotiation which has lasted over seven months. Never have we been justified in supposing that the British Government would decide upon opposing all modifications in the letter of the Treaty, or that they would reject the application of Article IX in the case where the fiscal requirements would compel one of the Contracting Parties to tax raw materials at home. We have always had occasion to hope that a perfect understanding could be established between us on the points under discussion. Still, and especially at the present time, the British Government has not permitted us to remain ignorant of their unwillingness to subscribe to stipulations which might appear to be, in a certain degree, not progressive, but retrograde steps in the course of free trade; and it is true, in conclusion, that by a note of the 1st November last, and for the first time, Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has only given us a feeble hope that the negotiations, which have been so vainly prolonged, may be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. Not that he has withdrawn the implied assent accorded to the admissibility of the groundwork of our negotiation, but he has caused us to become better acquainted with the general considerations which would render it difficult for the British Government now to accept them.

Without renouncing the hope of seeing, by means of further explanations, the difficulties, whose existence we regret, smoothed over, and the friendly assurances which have been so often repeated to us borne out by their results, the necessity of recovering our fiscal liberty, and the power to have recourse to all the resources which might tend to help our financial difficulties, will determine us not to prolong the duration of the Commercial Conventions which ally us to England, and whose term has now arrived. We have, for a long time, been anxious to avoid the denunciation of the Treaty of the 23rd January, 1860; but it has appeared to us that the British Government, themselves, preferred it to modifications which could, to all appearance at least, detract from the rigours of its economical principles.

In denouncing the Treaty, we have no intention of putting an end to negotiations, which could renew it by means of modifications. Until the day when its operation terminates, this course will remain open. Moreover, in recovering our liberty, we shall not have the slightest intention of re-opening a war of Customs. The general basis of our commercial system shall be respected. Great Britain has often reminded us that the Treaty of 1860, or Commercial Treaties in general, were in opposition to the true principles of free trade. We think then that she will see it expire without regret, if, as we are fully convinced, the good and useful relations which ally the two countries are carefully maintained. We accept, with perfect confidence, the declaration maintaining that England, faithful to her principles, will never return to the retaliatory duties of a different age, and

with regard to her fiscal liberty, she had no need to remind us that she would recover it by the same measures as would surrender ours for us.

England and France are both too enlightened to take advantage of this.

Receive, &c.,
(Signed) REMUSAT.

No. 75.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received January 31.)

(Extract.)

Versailles, January 29, 1872.

I HAD yesterday, at Paris, the honour to receive your Lordship's despatch of the day before, giving me information as to the views of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the bearing of the Anglo-French Treaties upon the provisions of the Bill now before the Assembly for imposing taxes affecting French and foreign merchant-vessels. In this despatch your Lordship points out certain cases in which, according to those Treaties, some of the provisions of the Bill could not be applied.

Your Lordship does not instruct me to communicate the views expressed in this despatch to the French Government; and it is plain that it would be difficult to make a complete or perhaps even a perfectly accurate communication until the question of the extent to which we are entitled to claim the privileges granted by Treaty to other nations is determined.

Nevertheless, as it seems probable that the Bill will be passed to-morrow or the next day, and that it will be brought into operation as soon as possible afterwards, I have thought it right to inquire of your Lordship to-day, by a telegram from this place, whether you would wish me to communicate the substance of your despatch, so far as it goes, to the French Government at once, or to wait for further instructions.

On the one hand, it might, perhaps, be more easy to prevent the improper enforcement of the law by representations beforehand than to obtain the correction of an erroneous application once actually made. On the other hand, an imperfect communication might lead to inconveniences and embarrassment in treating the matter afterwards.

Your Lordship will not have failed to observe that, in the course of the debates, the Government fully admitted that the law could not be applied in cases in which it was opposed to Treaty stipulations. The following language was indeed used by the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the 24th instant:—

“Le Gouvernement adopte le Projet de Loi de la Commission; mais en même temps il rappelle à l'Assemblée, ce qu'elle sait probablement, c'est que le Projet de Loi en ce qui touche le droit de francisation et en ce qui touche la surtaxe de pavillon, n'est pas immédiatement universellement applicable. Il sera appliqué par le Gouvernement à mesure que nous recouvrerons notre liberté, soit par la dénonciation des Traités soit par des négociations.”

In a speech made in the same day's debate the Minister of Finance enlarged on the necessity of voting the law as an essential preliminary to successful negotiation with foreign Powers.

With reference to the Memorandum inclosed in your Lordship's despatch, I may observe that, as I understand the Bill, the “surtaxe de pavillon” is (as indeed its name imports) essentially a differential tax upon merchandize imported in vessels under foreign flags, while the “surtaxes d'entrepôt” is to be levied upon merchandize in whatever vessels, French or foreign, it may be imported.

No. 76.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received January 31.)

(Extract.)

Paris, January 30, 1872.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship copies of the Report of the Committee on the denunciation of the Treaties of Commerce, which has been published in the “Journal Officiel” this morning.

It recites an explanation given by M. de Rémusat on the subject of the negotiation with England, in the course of which he appears to have said that the French Government is persuaded that England would prefer the denunciation, which, by setting aside the Treaty, would make it more easy for her to consent to modifications of the Tariff. He seems to have affirmed that it resulted from the reiterated assurances of England that it would be easier for her to make concessions after the denunciation of the Treaty than before; and to have expressed the opinion that when, thanks to the denunciation, France should have obtained from England the changes in the Tariff which she requires, the other Powers would be more ready to agree to similar changes.

Your Lordship will observe that both M. de Rémusat and the Committee were very positive in disclaiming all intention to return to a protective system; and that the Committee have introduced into the Bill a preamble to the effect that it is expedient, without returning to the commercial system which was in force previous to 1860, to revise the Tariffs.

The "Projet de Loi" recommended by the Committee authorizes the Government to denounce the Treaties with England and Belgium in due time ("en temps utile"), and provides that the Treaty Tariffs shall continue to be in force until new Tariffs are voted by the Assembly.

This "Projet de Loi" came before the House as the first order of the day yesterday.

In answer to a motion for adjournment, M. de Rémusat declared that, in the interest of the negotiation, the Government was desirous that the question should be decided as soon as possible. He added, however, that the French Government had always been of opinion that the Treaty could be efficaciously denounced on any day, and that he had now received the assurance that Her Majesty's Government took the same view. He proceeded to read a translation of the statement to this effect contained in the note I presented to him the day before yesterday.

Inclosure in No. 76.

Extract from the "Journal Officiel" of January 30, 1872.

RAPPORT fait au nom de la Commission chargée d'examiner les propositions de lois de MM. Johnston et Raoul Duval, relatives aux Traités de Commerce (urgence déclarée), par M. Delsol, Membre de l'Assemblée Nationale.

Messieurs,—La question soulevée par les deux propositions émanées de l'initiative de nos honorables collègues avait déjà été indiquée par M. le Président de la République dans son Message du 7 Décembre dernier.

Voici dans quels termes il s'exprimait : "Vous savez tous que le Gouvernement de l'Empire avait conclu avec presque toutes les Puissances dont le territoire est contigu au nôtre des Traités de Commerce qui devaient le lier pendant dix années entières. Il avait été convenu qu'après dix ans ces Traités seraient révisés ou dénoncés, c'est-à-dire, abolis.

"Le principal d'entre eux, celui qui a été signé avec l'Angleterre, est expiré depuis, environ une année. Celui qui a été conclu avec la Belgique est arrivé à son terme depuis six mois; le troisième, conclu avec la Prusse, a été emporté par la guerre; les autres moins importants, avec l'Autriche, la Suisse, l'Italie, doivent durer encore trois ou quatre ans. Mais les trois plus importants, parce qu'ils intéressent notre frontière de plus près, ceux qui ont été conclus avec l'Angleterre, avec la Belgique, avec la Prusse, ne dépendent que de votre volonté. Ils dureront ou s'évanouiront selon que vous le voudrez."*

Le désir du Gouvernement, plusieurs fois manifesté, notamment au sein de votre Commission, est d'obtenir l'autorisation de dénoncer les Traités, particulièrement celui fait avec l'Angleterre.

Les Commissaires nommés dans les bureaux de l'Assemblée se sont prononcées dans le même sens à une majorité de 10 voix contre 5.

Vous savez, Messieurs, que pour la dénonciation du Traité fait avec l'Angleterre, le 4 Février prochain est dans une opinion fort accréditée un terme de rigueur.

Cette opinion, il est vrai, n'est point partagée par le Gouvernement, mais il suffit qu'un doute puisse s'élever pour que la dénonciation doive être faite avant cette date. La dénonciation d'un Traité a, comme le Traité lui-même, un caractère libéral, et dans le cas où le Gouvernement Anglais n'admettrait pas que la dénonciation puisse avoir lieu à toute époque, nous serions exposés à voir le Traité se prolonger, non plus jusqu'au 4 Février, 1873, mais jusqu'au 4 Février, 1874.

Maintenant la dénonciation doit-elle être autorisée par l'Assemblée Nationale? Quels peuvent être ses avantages? Quels peuvent être ses inconvénients? Tels sont les points sur lesquels a porté l'examen de votre Commission.

Les partisans de la dénonciation ont commencé par écarter toute pensée d'un retour plus ou moins déguisé au régime qui existait avant les Traités. Ils ont reconnu que ces

* Les Traités faits avec les diverses Puissances sont les suivants :

Autriche-Hongrie, Traité conclu le 1 Janvier, 1867, pour 10 ans, prend fin le 1er Janvier, 1877;

Suisse, 12 ans de durée à partir de Janvier 1865, prend fin en Janvier 1877.

Pays-Bas, Traité conclu le 7 Juillet, 1865, pour 12 ans, prend fin le 7 Juillet, 1877;

Suède et Norvège, Traité du 14 Février, 1865, pour 12 ans, prend fin le 14 Février, 1877;

Italie, Traité du 17 Janvier, 1863, durée 12 ans, prend fin le 17 Janvier, 1875;

Espagne, une Convention de Juin 1865, durée 12 ans, prend fin en Juin 1877.

Traités ont opéré en France une révolution économique ; il y aurait le plus grand péril pour l'industrie nationale à subir une contre-révolution, surtout dans les temps agités que nous traversons. Ils ont donc mis hors du débat la thèse du système protecteur et celle du libre échange. Ces hautes questions économiques leur ont même paru étrangères au mandat qui a été confié à la Commission, car le point à décider n'est pas de savoir si la France adoptera tel ou tel régime, mais si le Gouvernement sera ou non autorisé à dénoncer les Traités de Commerce arrivés à expiration.

Cela posé, la dénonciation des Traités leur a paru commandée par les nécessités financières, nées des derniers événements. Tant que les Traités sont en vigueur, la France ne peut pas toucher à ses Tarifs de douane sans obtenir l'assentiment des autres Puissances, et cette source importante de revenus, qui a permis aux Etats Unis de réparer si rapidement les désastres de la guerre de sécession, ne peut fournir chez nous au Trésor que des sommes insuffisantes.

En un mot la majorité de votre Commission a été d'avis qu'il y a lieu d'autoriser la dénonciation pour recouvrer la faculté de modifier nos droits de douane selon les exigences de notre situation financière. Les besoins pressants du Trésor l'ont seuls préoccupée. Point de réaction économique, liberté de nos tarifs, telle est sa pensée ; il n'y a rien de plus dans la solution qu'elle a cru devoir adopter.

Il va, toutefois, sans dire que le but fiscal qu'elle poursuit ne doit pas faire obstacle à la rectification de certaines erreurs commises dans les tarifs de 1860 et reconnues depuis cette époque. Le Traité lui-même prévoit et autorise les modifications dont la nécessité ou l'utilité aurait été démontré par l'expérience.

La minorité de la Commission a combattu la dénonciation avec la plus grande énergie. Elle a invoqué tour à tour des considérations économiques et des considérations politiques.

Au point de vue économique, elle a soutenu que, malgré toutes les protestations contraires, la dénonciation serait envisagée comme un pas fait en arrière et comme un retour au régime protecteur.

Tout en reconnaissant que la liberté des Tarifs constitue le droit commun entre les nations, elle affirme qu'en fait la France a retiré les plus grands avantages de son Traité avec l'Angleterre. Depuis 1860, le chiffre des échanges entre les deux pays a considérablement progressé. Le Gouvernement Anglais avait abandonné ses taxes fiscales sur 151 articles de douane, et notamment sur les soieries, qui produisaient à son Trésor un revenu important. Il avait réduit dans de très-notables proportions les droits sur les vins et les eaux-de-vie.

N'est-il pas à craindre, si le Traité est dénoncé, que toutes ces concessions ne soient retirées, et qu'à l'élévation, si modérée qu'elle soit, de nos Tarifs, l'Angleterre ne réponde par la surélévation des siens ? Après la guerre des peuples, faut-il s'exposer à la guerre des Tarifs ?

Examinant ensuite les négociations qui ont eu lieu entre les deux Gouvernements, les adversaires de la dénonciation prétendent que la crainte d'un retour au régime protecteur est la véritable cause qui a jusqu'ici empêché l'Angleterre de consentir aux modifications qui lui étaient demandées. S'il ne s'était pas trouvé en face de tendances protectionnistes, le Gouvernement Anglais eût facilement accepté ces modifications. L'Article XXI du Traité ne stipule-t-il pas formellement que les Parties Contractantes pourront y introduire, d'un commun accord, tout changement qui ne serait pas en opposition avec son esprit ou ses principes ? L'Article IX ne permet-il pas à chaque Puissance qui jugerait nécessaire d'établir un impôt sur un article de production ou de fabrication nationale, de grever immédiatement d'un droit égal à l'importation l'article similaire étranger ? La résistance de l'Angleterre aux modifications qui lui ont été proposées ne peut donc s'expliquer que par leur caractère plus ou moins protecteur, et par l'opposition qui existait entre elles et l'esprit ou les principes du Traité.

La dénonciation, a-t-on ajouté, produira sans aucun doute, dans ce pays, si attaché aux doctrines du libre échange, un vif mécontentement. Les négociations, pour obtenir les modifications de Tarifs nécessaires à nos finances, deviendront plus difficiles et leur succès sera gravement compromis. Enfin, on ne peut espérer retirer aucun avantage de la dénonciation isolée des Traités faits avec l'Angleterre ou avec la Belgique ; car, les marchandises de ces deux pays pourront toujours pénétrer en France, sous le couvert des Puissances voisines envers lesquelles nous resterons liés par des Traités qui ne peuvent pas encore être dénoncés.

Pour être réellement efficace, la dénonciation devrait être applicable à tous les Traités, et ce n'est qu'en 1877 que les derniers d'entre eux doivent expirer.

Au point de vue politique, la minorité de la Commission a exprimé la crainte que la dénonciation des Traités ne nous aliène les sympathies des autres Puissances.

L'Angleterre sera froissée dans ses idées économiques. Les Etats secondaires, voisins de la France, se jetteront volontiers dans les bras de l'Allemagne, qui ne manquera

pas de leur faciliter l'accès de son vaste marché. L'isolement politique dans lequel nos malheurs nous ont jetés sera ainsi doublé de notre isolement commercial.

La minorité a demandé avec insistance la communication des pièces diplomatiques qui ont été échangées à l'occasion des négociations poursuivies avec l'Angleterre. Ces pièces peuvent seules établir la nature de ces négociations et montrer qu'elles n'ont pas eu lieu dans un but protectionniste. La Commission tout entière s'est associée à ce vœu.

Le Gouvernement a ensuite été invité par la Commission à fournir des explications sur les questions diplomatiques ou commerciales qui viennent d'être soulevées.

M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, répondant aux diverses questions qui lui ont été adressées, a déclaré que la minorité de la Commission se méprenait sur la nature des négociations qui ont eu lieu et sur les effets commerciaux ou politiques que produirait la dénonciation du Traité fait avec l'Angleterre. Il a affirmé que le Gouvernement ne poursuivait le rétablissement ni direct ni indirect du régime protecteur, et qu'il voulait simplement recouvrer la liberté de nos tarifs, liberté qui nous est d'autant plus nécessaire que nous avons de plus lourdes charges à supporter. Une note sommaire qu'il a placée sous les yeux de la Commission comme exprimant le caractère vrai des négociations, porte, en termes formels, que le but du Gouvernement, en faisant les ouvertures à l'Angleterre, "était avant tout de maintenir les bases essentielles du régime qui préside, depuis plus de dix ans, aux relations des deux pays."

Il a dit que les Puissances étrangères étaient sympathiques aux malheurs de la France, et que l'Angleterre, notamment, se déclarait disposée à nous rendre plus faciles les moyens de parer à nos nécessités financières.

Seulement, lorsque les modifications aux tarifs lui ont été proposées en vertu des Articles IX et XXI du Traité, elle n'a pas voulu y consentir par le motif que, d'une part, ces modifications ne lui semblaient pas suffisamment rentrer dans la lettre ou dans l'esprit du Traité, et que, d'autre part, elle ne voulait pas paraître renoncer en quelque sorte spontanément et d'elle-même aux doctrines qui ont prévalu en 1860.

Dans la conviction de M. le Ministre, le Gouvernement Anglais préférerait la dénonciation, qui, en le plaçant sur un terrain autre que celui du Traité, doit lui rendre plus faciles les concessions relatives aux modifications de tarifs.

Aucune irritation, aucun mécontentement ne sont à craindre de sa part, du moment que la dénonciation, au lieu d'être le triomphe des doctrines Protectionnistes et le signal d'une contre-révolution économique, n'a pour but que des mesures fiscales trop justifiées par nos derniers désastres et par l'état de nos finances.

Lorsque, grâce à la dénonciation, la France aura obtenu de l'Angleterre les changements de Tarifs qui nous sont nécessaires, M. le Ministre n'hésite pas à penser que les autres Puissances nous accorderont plus facilement des modifications analogues.

Dans tous les cas il ne croit pas que la dénonciation reste sans efficacité parce qu'elle ne s'appliquerait qu'à un ou deux Traités seulement. Il est clair que les frais de transport que les marchandises Anglaises, par exemple, devraient supporter pour aller rejoindre la frontière de l'une des Puissances avec lesquelles nous resterons liés, rendraient cette introduction détournée plus onéreuse que ne le serait l'élévation modérée des Tarifs actuels.

Jusqu'à présent le Gouvernement ne voulait point de la dénonciation. Il espérait atteindre son but en négociant. S'il la demande aujourd'hui, c'est qu'elle est devenue nécessaire au succès même des négociations à suivre pour les modifications de Tarifs. Mais les dispositions bien connues de l'Angleterre, son honneur commercial et sa fidélité aux principes de la liberté des échanges ne permettent pas un instant de supposer qu'elle nous fera une guerre de Tarifs, et au contraire il résulte de ses affirmations répétées que les concessions lui seront plus faciles après la dénonciation qu'elles ne le sont en ce moment.

Quant à la communication des pièces diplomatiques, M. le Ministre dit que les négociations étant, non pas interrompues, mais simplement suspendues, elle ne pourrait être faite sans de graves inconvénients.

La Commission a regretté que cette communication soit impossible, mais la majorité de ses membres a pensé, qu'en présence des déclarations faites par M. le Ministre, il n'y avait pas lieu d'insister davantage.

Comment, d'ailleurs, pourrait-on sérieusement craindre que le Gouvernement revienne au régime antérieur aux Traités ? N'est-ce pas l'Assemblée qui doit régler les conditions du travail national ? N'est-ce pas elle qui doit réviser les Tarifs, en sauvegardant à la fois les intérêts de notre industrie et les besoins de nos finances ?

Jusqu'à ce que cette révision soit faite, votre Commission pense que les Tarifs actuels, tels qu'ils ont été annexés aux Traités, doivent rester en vigueur.

Afin de mieux préciser le but fiscal poursuivi dans la dénonciation des Traités,

plusieurs membres de la minorité ont pensé qu'il convenait de le formuler dans le dispositif même de la loi projetée.

Ainsi M. Clapier propose de dire que "l'Assemblée autorise le Gouvernement à dénoncer les Traités de Commerce susceptibles de l'être, et à négocier de nouveaux Tarifs, en respectant les principes de ceux précédemment établis, et de manière à procurer au pays les ressources dont il a besoin."

M. Pascal Duprat présente cette autre formule :—

"Le Gouvernement est autorisé à dénoncer le Traité avec l'Angleterre pour négocier avec plus de liberté la transformation des Tarifs, mais il reste bien entendu qu'aucune modification ne pourra avoir une portée protectionniste."

La majorité de la Commission a été d'avis qu'il y avait lieu d'indiquer, dans un considérant, le but de la dénonciation, mais qu'il pourrait y avoir des inconvénients à décréter, dans le dispositif, un principe économique. La loi a pour objet la dénonciation du Traité. Cette dénonciation faite, l'Assemblée doit conserver une pleine et entière liberté pour la transformation des Tarifs existants.

En conséquence, voici, Messieurs, les termes du Projet de Loi que la Commission propose à votre haute sanction :—

"Projet de Loi.

"L'Assemblée Nationale,—

"Considérant que, sans revenir au régime économique antérieur à 1860, il y a lieu, dans la situation actuelle du pays, de réviser les Tarifs de douane—

"Décrète :

"Article 1. Le Gouvernement est autorisé à dénoncer, en temps utile, les Traités de Commerce faits avec l'Angleterre et la Belgique.

"Article 2. Les Tarifs conventionnels resteront en vigueur jusqu'au vote des Tarifs nouveaux par l'Assemblée Nationale."

Annexe.

Note Sommaire mentionnée au Rapport.

Des propositions ont été soumises, il y a quatre mois, au Gouvernement Anglais pour le renouvellement du Traité de Commerce conclu, en 1860, entre la France et la Grande Bretagne.

Le but du Gouvernement Français, en faisant ces ouvertures, était avant tout de maintenir les bases essentielles du régime qui préside, depuis plus de dix ans, aux relations des deux pays, et de rendre aux stipulations de nos Conventions, révocables d'année en année depuis 1870, la fixité nécessaire pour assurer les opérations du commerce. Parmi les modifications que la France demandait, les unes, prévues par le Traité, sont les conséquences nécessaires des changements qui pourraient être introduits dans notre législation intérieure, mais l'examen de cette parti de nos propositions a dû, naturellement, être ajourné jusqu'au moment où nous aurons nous-mêmes arrêté le régime réservé en France aux matières premières. La négociation de l'arrangement projeté ne pouvait donc, quant à présent, porter que sur quelques rectifications dont la nécessité a été démontrée dans l'enquête ouverte devant le Corps Législatif en 1869.

Comme l'indique leur dénomination même, ces modifications rectifient certains points spéciaux, sans altérer en rien l'esprit des stipulations de 1860, et tendent, au contraire, à rentrer dans l'application de ses prévisions générales quant aux taux des droits à établir.

Il ne s'agit, au surplus, que de l'addition de quelques tant pour cent sur les droits afférents aux fils fins de coton et de lin, aux mousselines et aux tissus mélangés de laine.

Il n'y a rien de plus dans les propositions de la France. Bien que les deux Gouvernements n'aient pas encore réussi à se mettre d'accord pour leur adoption, il est permis d'espérer qu'ils arriveront à une entente pour conserver aux deux pays les avantages du régime en vigueur et empêcher leurs relations commerciales de retomber sous l'empire du Tarif général, c'est-à-dire, des droits prohibitifs, le seul régime applicable aux importations Anglaises, à défaut d'une Convention qui en modifie les rigueurs.

(Translation.)

REPORT made in the name of the Committee entrusted with the examination of the Projects of Law of Messrs. Johnston and Raoul Duval, relating to Treaties of Commerce (urgency having been declared), by M. Delsol, Member of the National Assembly:

Gentlemen,—The question raised by the two proposals emanating from the initiative of our honourable colleagues had been already adverted to by the President of the Republic in his Message of December 7 last.

These are the terms in which he expressed himself:—"You all know that the Government of the Empire had concluded with almost all the Powers whose territory is contiguous to our own Treaties of Commerce, which were to be binding for ten complete years. It had been agreed that at the end of ten years these Treaties should be revised or denounced, that is, abrogated.

"The principal among them, that which was signed with England, has expired about a year. The one concluded with Belgium reached its limit about six months ago; the third, concluded with Prussia, was swept aside by the war; the others, of less importance, with Austria, Switzerland, Italy, have still three or four years to run. But the three most important ones, because our frontier is most interested in them, those which have been concluded with England, Belgium, and Prussia, are dependent on our pleasure only. They will continue or vanish according as you may wish"*

"The wish of the Government, frequently manifested, notably among the members of your Committee, is to obtain the authority to denounce the Treaties, particularly that concluded with England.

"The Commissioners appointed on the Committees of the Assembly have pronounced themselves of the same opinion in a majority of 10 to 5.

"You are, aware, Gentlemen, that for the denunciation of the Treaty concluded with England the 4th of February instant, is, in accordance with a generally accepted opinion, a period not to be varied.

"This opinion, it is true, is not shared by the Government, but the possibility of a doubt arising makes it necessary that the denunciation should take place before that date. The denunciation of a Treaty has, like the Treaty itself, a liberal character; and in case the English Government did not admit that the denunciation could be made at any moment, we should run the risk of seeing the Treaty prolonged, not until the 4th of February, 1873, but until the 4th of February, 1874.

"Now, ought the denunciation to be authorized by the National Assembly? What would be its advantages? What its disadvantages? These are the points to which the attention of your Committee has been directed.

"The partisans of denunciation began by dismissing all idea of returning in a more or less disguised manner to the *régime* which was in existence before the Treaties. They acknowledged that these Treaties had effected an economic revolution in France; it would be most dangerous to the national industry to be subjected to a counter-revolution, especially in the troublous times that we are passing through. They have therefore left out of the discussion the question of the protective system and of free trade. These high economic questions appeared to them even alien to the task which was entrusted to the Committee; for the point for decision is not to know whether France shall adopt such and such a *régime*, but whether the Government shall or shall not be authorized to denounce the Treaties of Commerce which have expired.

"That settled, the denunciation of the Treaties seemed to them imperative, owing to the financial necessities created by recent events. So long as the Treaties are in force, France cannot touch its Customs Tariffs without obtaining the consent of the other Powers, and this important source of revenue, which enabled the United States so rapidly to repair the disasters of the War of Secession, with us only furnishes insufficient sums to the Treasury. In short, the majority of your Committee were of opinion that there was ground for authorizing the denunciation, in order to recover the power of modifying our Customs

* The Treaties concluded with the various Powers are the following:—

Austro-Hungary, Treaty concluded the 1st of January, 1867, for 10 years, terminates the 1st of January, 1877;

Switzerland, to last 12 years, from January 1865, terminates January 1877;

Netherlands, Treaty concluded July 7, 1865, for 12 years, terminates July 7, 1877;

Sweden and Norway, Treaty of the 14th of February, 1865, for 12 years, terminates the 14th of February, 1877;

Italy, Treaty of 17th January, 1863, lasting 12 years, terminates the 17th January, 1875;

Spain, Convention of June 1865, lasting 12 years, terminates in June 1877.

duties in accordance with the exigencies of our financial situation. The pressing wants of the Treasury have alone had their attention. No economic reaction, but freedom for our Tariffs, such is their object; such is the sole aim of the solution which they have thought fit to adopt.

It is of course needless to say that the fiscal object which they pursue must not stand in the way of the rectification of certain mistakes made in the Tariffs of 1860, and acknowledged subsequently. The Treaty itself provides for and authorizes the modifications the necessity or advantage of which may have been proved by experience.

The minority of the Committee resisted the denunciation with the greatest energy. They invoked, by turns, economic and political considerations.

From the economic point of view they maintained that, notwithstanding all protestations to the contrary, the denunciation would be considered as a backward step, and a return to a protective *régime*.

Whilst fully admitting that freedom in the matter of Tariffs is an international right, they maintain that, in point of fact, France has secured the greatest advantages from its Treaty with England. Since 1860 the amount of trade between the two countries has increased considerably. The English Government had abandoned its fiscal taxes on 151 articles liable to duty, and notably those on silks, which yielded an important revenue to its Treasury. It had reduced to a very important extent the duties on wines and brandies.

Is it not to be feared, if the Treaty should be denounced, that all these concessions may be withdrawn, and that England may respond to the raising of our tariffs, however moderate it may be, by an increase of her own? After a war of nations must one expose oneself to a war of Tariffs?

Proceeding then to the examination of the negotiations which have taken place between the two Governments, the opposers of the denunciation affirm that the dread of a return to a Protective *régime* is the true cause which has, until now, prevented England from consenting to the modifications which were demanded of her. If they had not found themselves confronted by protectionist tendencies the English Government might without difficulty, have accepted these modifications. Does not Article XXI of the Treaty provide formally for the introduction by the Contracting Parties by common agreement of such changes as may not be in opposition to its spirit or principles? Does not Article XI permit each Power, which might think it necessary, to establish an impost on an article of native production or manufacture, to saddle at once with an equal duty the importation of the same foreign article. The resistance of England to the modifications which were proposed to her can then truly be explained by their more or less protective character, and by the opposition which existed between them, and the spirit or the principles of the Treaty.

The denunciation, it has been added, will doubtless awaken, in that country, so attached to doctrines of Free Trade, serious dissatisfaction. The negotiations for obtaining the modifications of the Tariffs which are necessary for our finances, will become more difficult, and the success of them will be seriously compromised. In short, there is no hope of gaining any advantage from the isolated denunciation of the Treaties made with England or Belgium; for the goods of these two countries can always find their way into France, through the medium of the neighbouring Powers in regard to whom we shall remain bound by the Treaties which cannot yet be denounced.

To be really efficacious, the denunciation should be applicable to all the Treaties, and it is only in 1877 that the last of them is to expire.

From the political point of view the minority of the Commission expressed their fear that the denunciation of the Treaties might alienate from us the sympathies of other Powers.

The economic ideas of England will be slighted. The secondary States, neighbours of France, will gladly throw themselves into the arms of Germany, who will not fail to facilitate their access to her vast markets. The political isolation in which our misfortunes have plunged us, will thus be doubled by our commercial isolation.

The minority pressed with eagerness for the production of the diplomatic documents which had been exchanged during the negotiations, carried on with England. These documents can alone establish the nature of those negotiations, and show that they were not carried on with protectionist aims. The entire Commission joined in this wish.

The Government was then invited by the Commission to furnish explanations as to the diplomatic or commercial questions which have recently arisen.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, in answering the various questions addressed to him, declared that the minority in the Commission misunderstood the nature of the negotiations which had taken place, and on the commercial or political effects which the denunciation of the Treaty with England would produce. He affirmed that the Government sought neither directly nor indirectly the re-establishment of the protective *régime*, and simply

desired the recovery of the freedom of our Tariffs—a freedom which is the more necessary for us as we have heavier burdens to support. A summary, which he placed before the Commission as an expression of the true character of the negotiations, states in formal terms that the aim of the Government in making the overtures to England “was above all things to maintain the essential bases of the *régime* which has prevailed, for more than ten years, in the relations of the two countries.”

He said that foreign Powers sympathised with the misfortunes of France, and that England, notably, declared itself disposed to facilitate for us the means of meeting our financial necessities.

Only, when modifications in the Tariffs were proposed to her, in virtue of Articles IX and XXI of the Treaty, she withheld her consent on the ground that, on the one hand, these modifications did not appear to her sufficiently to come within the letter or the spirit of the Treaty; and that, on the other hand, she did not wish to appear as renouncing in some sort spontaneously and for herself the doctrines which prevailed in 1860.

In the Minister's opinion the English Government would prefer the denunciation which, by giving her a standpoint other than that of the Treaty, would make concessions relative to the modifications in the Tariffs more easy for her.

No irritation, no displeasure, is to be apprehended on her part if the denunciation, instead of being a triumph of protectionist doctrines, and the signal of an economic counter revolution, has but for its aim fiscal measures only too justified by our late disasters and by the condition of our finances.

Whenever, thanks to the denunciation, France shall have obtained from England the changes of Tariff which are necessary to us, the Minister does not hesitate to believe that the other Powers will grant us, with less difficulty, analogous modifications.

In any case he does not suppose that the denunciation would prove inefficacious because it would be applicable to one or two Treaties only. It is clear that the charges for transport which English goods, for instance, would have to pay in order to arrive at the frontier of one of the Powers to which we shall remain bound, would render this circuitous introduction more costly than the moderate elevation of the present Tariffs would make it.

Until now the Government did not desire the denunciation. It hoped to attain its object by negotiation. If it demands it now, it is that it has become necessary to the success even of the negotiations to be set on foot for the modifications of the Tariffs. But the well-known disposition of England, her commercial honour and her fidelity to the principles of free trade, do not allow for one moment the supposition that she will wage upon us a war of Tariffs, and, on the contrary, it follows from her reiterated assertions that concessions will be easier for her after the denunciation than at present.

As regards the communication of diplomatic documents, the Minister states that the negotiations being not interrupted, but simply suspended, it could not be made without serious inconvenience.

The Commission regretted that such communication was impossible, but the majority of its members considered that, in the face of the declarations made by the Minister, there was no ground for pressing the point.

How, moreover, could it be seriously feared that the Government might return to the *régime* anterior to the Treaties? Is it not the Assembly which should regulate the conditions of national labour? Is it not its duty to revise the Tariffs, whilst defending at once the interests of our industry and the wants of our finances?

Until this revision be made, your Commission is of opinion that the actual Tariffs, such as they were annexed to the Treaties, should remain in force.

In order better to define the fiscal aim pursued in the denunciation of the Treaties several members of the minority considered it desirable to formulate it in the Draft even of the projected Law.

Therefore M. Clapier proposes to state that “the Assembly authorizes the Government to denounce the Treaties of Commerce which can be so treated, and to negotiate new Tariffs, whilst respecting the principles of those previously established, and so as to obtain for the country the resources of which it is in want.”

M. Pascal Duprat presents this other formula:—

“The Government is authorized to denounce the Treaty with England in order to negotiate in a freer manner the transformation of the Tariffs, but it remains understood that no modification shall possess a protective character.”

The majority of the Commission was of opinion that there was ground for indicating in a preamble the object of the denunciation, but that inconvenience might arise from laying down in the Draft an economic principle. The Law has, as its object, the denunciation of the Treaty. That denunciation made, the Assembly must reserve full and entire liberty in transforming the existing Tariffs

These, then, Gentlemen, are the terms of the Bill which the Commission proposes for your distinguished sanction.

"Project of Law."

"The National Assembly,—

"Being of opinion that, without returning to the economic *régime* anterior to 1860, there is ground in the present situation of the country for a revision of the Customs Tariffs:—

"Decrees.

"Article 1. The Government is authorized to denounce, at the proper time, the Treaties of Commerce concluded with England and Belgium.

"Article 2. The Conventional Tariffs shall remain in force until the new Tariffs are voted by the National Assembly."

Annex.

Summary alluded to in the Report.

Proposals were submitted, four months ago, to the English Government for the renewal of the Treaty of Commerce concluded in 1860 between France and Great Britain.

The aim of the French Government, in making these overtures, was, above, all to maintain the essential bases of the *régime* which has for the past ten years, governed the relations of the two countries, and to give to the stipulations of our Conventions, revocable from year to year since 1870, the permanency necessary for the stability of commercial operations. Amongst the modifications which France demanded, some, foreseen by the Treaty, are the necessary consequence of changes which might be introduced in our internal legislation, but the examination of this portion of our propositions has had naturally to be deferred until the time when we ourselves have determined on the *régime* to be observed with regard to raw materials. The negotiation of the proposed arrangement could not, therefore, at present, bear on any but a few rectifications, the necessity for which was proved by the inquiry conducted before the Legislative Body in 1869.

As their denomination itself shows, these modifications rectify certain special points, without in any way altering the spirit of the stipulations of 1860, and tend on the contrary to comply with the application of their general provisions as regards the rates of the duties to be established.

Moreover, it is only a question of the addition of a certain per-centage on the duties attaching to fine threads of cotton and flax, to muslins and tissues mixed with wool.

There is nothing more in the proposals of France. Although the two Governments have not yet succeeded in agreeing on their adoption, it is permitted to hope that they will arrive at an understanding so as to preserve to the two countries the advantages of the *régime* in force, and to prevent their commercial relations from being again subjected to the General Tariff, that is to say, of prohibitory duties, the only *régime* applicable to English importations, failing a Convention modifying its rigours.

No. 77.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received January 31.)

My Lord,

Paris, January 30, 1872.

M. THIERS spoke to me yesterday at Versailles of the Commercial Treaty. He said that it was always impossible to predict, with absolute certainty, what a Legislative Body would do, but that he presumed that, on the next day or the next day but one (to-day or to-morrow), the National Assembly would confer upon him authority to denounce the Treaty at his own discretion. He did not say what use he should make of this authority.

He proceeded to observe that the late communications from Her Majesty's Government had not been agreeable, and that though he declined to enter into a controversy on the subject, he could not admit that they were perfectly accurate in the conclusions they drew as to the negotiations.

I said to M. Thiers that statements made in the Assembly had certainly conveyed the impression that Her Majesty's Government had already agreed to sanction measures

in opposition to the Treaty stipulations. It was, I added, a duty which they owed to the Queen's subjects, whose commercial interests were involved, no less than to the French Government and to themselves, to correct, with promptitude and in categorical language, so serious a mistake.

M. Thiers remarked that he must except from all animadversion the last communication from Her Majesty's Government which I had made to M. de Rémusat the day before. That, he said, was very good.

The communication M. Thiers meant was that contained in my note to M. de Rémusat of the day before yesterday, which embodied the substance of your Lordship's despatch of the 27th instant.

I went on to say that whatever steps he might determine to take, I felt sure he would never lose sight of the importance of using every endeavour to prevent a diminution of good-feeling between the two Governments and the two nations. In this spirit I was most anxious, I said, to impress upon him at once the importance of care in punctually executing the Treaty in detail, and in not allowing subordinate authorities to strain its stipulations, and levy exaggerated duties. The controversies which would arise from any such proceedings could hardly, I thought, fail to produce an unfortunate effect.

M. Thiers answered that I need be under no apprehension respecting this matter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 78.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 31, 1872.

I APPROVE the language held by your Excellency to M. Thiers upon the subject of the denunciation of the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty, as reported by your Excellency in your despatch of the 30th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 79.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 31, 1872.

I ENTIRELY approve the language held by your Excellency to M. de Rémusat, in the conversation upon the subject of the denunciation of the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty, reported by your Excellency in your despatch of the 28th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 80.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received February 1.)

My Lord,

Paris, January 30, 1872.

WITH reference to my despatch of yesterday, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that, having received this evening your Lordship's telegraphic instruction of to-day, I at once addressed to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs a note, founded upon your Lordship's despatch of the 27th instant, respecting the Bill on the merchant navy.

I sent the note immediately by special messenger to Versailles.

I have the honour to inclose a copy of it herewith. It will call the attention of the French Government to two particular cases in which the Anglo-French Treaties are opposed to the immediate application of the Bill, and will, I trust, lead them to insert these cases among the exceptions to its complete operation which the Austrian and other Treaties will oblige them to make when they proceed to put it into execution.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 80,

Lord Lyons to M. de Rémusat,

M. le Ministre,

Paris, January 30, 1872.

WITHOUT prejudice to a full and complete examination of the bearings on the Treaty engagements between France and England of the Bill on the Mercantile Navy, now before the National Assembly, it may be well that I should at once direct your Excellency's attention to two special points, and should beg you to recommend them without delay to the consideration of the French Government and to that of the financial authorities in particular.

Her Majesty's Government observe that, by the Supplementary Convention of the 16th of November, 1860, jute in the fibre or hackled, and raw cotton, when imported into France direct from British India or from British entrepôts in British or French vessels, and raw wool when imported direct from Australia, or from British entrepôts in British vessels, must be admitted into France free of duty. It is not, therefore, open to the French Government to levy any surtax or differential duty upon these articles thus imported.

Her Majesty's Government point out also that all the articles of British origin or manufacture mentioned in the Tariff annexed to the Supplementary Convention in question, when imported direct from the United Kingdom, under the British or French flag, are to be admitted into France at the duties specified in the said Tariff: consequently, the whole duties to be levied on these articles, when so imported, including the proposed surtax or differential duty on goods imported from an entrepôt, must not exceed the duties specified in the said Tariff.

Having, in obedience to the instructions of Her Majesty's Government, made known to your Excellency their views on these two special matters, it only remains for me to repeat that I do not, of course, by so doing, preclude myself from bringing to your notice any further considerations which a general examination of the duties may suggest.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 81.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received February 3.)

(Extract.)

Paris, February 1, 1872.

IT is supposed that the National Assembly will in all probability either to-day or to-morrow pass the Bill conferring upon the President of the Republic power to denounce the Commercial Treaties with England and Belgium whenever he may think it advisable to do so.

It has been suggested that further negotiations with England should be attempted before the power thus given is actually used.

Whether the Treaty be now destined to endure or to come to an end, and whatever may be its merits or demerits as a commercial arrangement, it has certainly led to the attainment of one of the principal objects for which it was concluded by England. It has undoubtedly contributed in a very large degree to spread the principles of free trade in France, and has raised up important interests in support of those principles. The progress in this direction since 1860 is manifest to all observers, but a more remarkable fact is the very great advance of liberal opinion in commercial matters since the Parliamentary inquiry which was made by the Imperial Corps Législatif, only two years ago.

Your Lordship is well aware that I myself think that the political results of an abrogation of the Treaty would be very injurious to cordiality between the two countries; that it would produce an impression that the friendship between them was diminished; and that the mere existence of this impression would have the effect of soon making it only too correct. On political grounds, therefore, I am very desirous the Treaty should be preserved, and I also confess that I do sympathize strongly with the French in their financial straits, and perfectly understand the annoyance which they feel at the restrictions which the Treaties impose on their adopting such measures as they themselves consider to be best calculated to supply their urgent needs.

It is natural, therefore, that I should look with some discouragement at the present state of the negotiation.

The Bill authorizing the denunciation provides for the maintenance of the Treaty tariffs until new tariffs be established by the Assembly, and the natural course therefore

would be for the French Government to wait until these normal tariffs were voted, and then propose to Her Majesty's Government to bring the Treaty as nearly as possible into accordance with them. This was the course which would, it was supposed, have been pursued under the Empire if the Parliamentary inquiry had not been interrupted by the war. A Committee upon the subject of tariffs is now sitting, but it may be weeks or months before the tariffs are settled and presented to the Assembly; and it is impossible to say beforehand what may be the nature of them, though it may perhaps be fairly expected that they will be tolerably liberal. In the meantime, however, the Treaty, if it be now denounced, will be drawing to a close; while, even if pressed to do so by the French Government, it would be very difficult for Her Majesty's Government to agree beforehand to concessions which might be used as arguments with the Assembly to increase the burthensome character of the new tariffs.

Again, it is difficult to suppose that the Protectionist element will be altogether eliminated from the new tariff. It is true with regard to Customs duties that most fiscal measures involve incidentally some degree of protection, and also that duties imposed for revenue are often incidentally protective, and it may in some cases be difficult to decide which is the essence and which is the accident.

Nor is it easy to show that the French revenue would derive any material benefit from the modifications proposed, or from the abrogation of the Treaty, so long as other nations preserved their Treaty tariffs. The result might, indeed, be to diminish the supply of certain commodities, and so to give a sort of protection to French producers; but the imposing an exceptionally high rate of duty on English commodities would tend to drive the French consumer to seek those commodities from countries still holding Treaties, and thus, instead of deriving an increased Customs revenue, the French Government would simply exclude English articles.

I have not been able to ascertain whether the French Government contemplates any change in the proposals already made. It would, I think, be a very fortunate circumstance if the protectionist element in them could be eliminated, or so reduced in amount that Her Majesty's Government would be justified in agreeing to them.

There would then remain to be settled the position in which England would stand, in the period which would elapse between her consenting to the new duties, and the time at which they might be admitted by or enforced against other nations. In July M. Thiers authorized me to state to your Lordship from him, that he considered himself bound to secure to Her Majesty's Government all the advantages which should be retained by any other Power. But the strongest objections to most-favoured-nation clauses have since been expressed in the Assembly by M. Thiers himself, and other members of the French Government; and certainly the draft of a Convention submitted to your Lordship by the Duc de Broglie on the 13th September last does not appear to provide clearly for giving effect to M. Thiers' assurance to me. It simply states that all the stipulations of the Treaties of 1860 shall remain in force, except those which are contrary to the new Convention. This would, no doubt, revive the most-favoured-nation clause of 1860, so far as regarded other matters; but it is by no means clear that it would sufficiently guard against duties, increased by the Convention itself, being imposed on England until they could be equally imposed on all foreign nations.

But however this may be, the inducements on purely commercial grounds to preserve or modify the Treaty do not appear on the surface to be very great.

If the French Government adheres to its announcement that with or without a Treaty it will not impose higher duties than those it has already proposed to England, the only result of our agreeing to its proposals would seem to be to enable it to levy the higher duties on our productions without waiting for the Treaty to run out.

On the other hand, if a proper most-favoured-nation clause were inserted in a new Convention with us, France would be precluded from carrying the Convention into effect so long as Treaties with any other Powers subsisted.

Of the commercial disadvantage to England of being left without the shield of a Treaty while other countries were able to hold France to the observance of her engagements with them, I am not competent to judge. Possibly, the diversion of one tributary from the ocean of British commerce might not cause any very sensible diminution of it; but, as I have already said, the political and diplomatic disadvantages of abrogation appear to me to be well worthy of being taken into account.

No. 82.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received February 3.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 2, 1872.

I HAVE received just in time, to send to your Lordship the inclosed copy of it by to-day's post, a note from M. de Rémusat in answer to that dated the 28th instant, in which I communicated to him the views of Her Majesty's Government respecting the negotiations on the subject of the Commercial Treaty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 82.

M. de Rémusat to Lord Lyons.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Versailles, le 1 Février, 1872.

VOTRE Excellence a bien voulu me remettre, le 28 Janvier, une lettre dans laquelle elle résume l'opinion définitive du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique sur les divers points relatifs aux négociations dont le Traité de Commerce du 23 Janvier, 1860, a été l'objet.

Il en résulte que le Gouvernement Anglais, reconnaissant dans sa plénitude le droit de la France de prendre les mesures fiscales que la nécessité lui impose, s'attachera, si la dénonciation des Conventions Commerciales est au nombre de ces mesures, à empêcher qu'il s'en suive aucune atteinte portée à la cordialité des sentiments qui unissent les deux pays. Cette assurance loyalement donnée, nous sommes heureux de la recevoir. Votre Excellence ajoute que, toutes les fois que, dans un but purement fiscal, des mesures même de protection lui seraient proposées par nous, le Gouvernement de la Reine, bien qu'il y fût en général opposé, ne regarderait pas, pour cela, que la porte fût fermée à toute négociation; cependant il considérerait la dénonciation du Traité comme un grand pas vers son extinction. Celle-ci, d'ailleurs, serait de droit douze mois après le jour, quel qu'il soit, de la dénonciation.

Je suis heureux, M. l'Ambassadeur, de reconnaître, grâce à cette communication, que les vues du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique s'accordent en grande partie avec celles du Gouvernement Français. Nous tenons également au maintien de la cordialité des relations entre les deux pays. Nous espérons que les négociations pourront être continuées utilement, et la dénonciation du Traité, si nous sommes conduits à y recourir, ne les interromprait pas. Dans le cas où il serait définitivement abrogé, l'esprit qui présiderait à notre régime commercial serait l'esprit même dans lequel le Traité a été conçu. Les modifications que nous avons déjà proposées sont le type de celles que nous pourrions alors adopter, et nous nous conformerions, à cette égard, aux déclarations que M. le Président de la République a faite dans son Message à l'Assemblée Nationale du 6 Décembre, 1871.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) REMUSAT.

(Translation.)

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Versailles, February 1, 1872.

YOUR Excellency was good enough to forward to me on the 28th January, a letter summing up the final opinion of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, on the various points relating to the negotiations of which the Commercial Treaty of the 23rd January 1860, has been the object.

The purport of it is, that the British Government, fully recognizing the right of France to adopt the fiscal measures which necessity imposes on her, will do her utmost if the denunciation of Commercial Conventions is among these measures, to prevent any harm from thereby resulting to the cordiality of the feelings which unite the two countries.

We are happy to receive this assurance candidly given.

Your Excellency adds that, whenever, with a purely fiscal object, measures even of protection might be proposed by us, Her Majesty's Government, although opposed in general to them, would not on that account consider the door closed to all negotiations; still it would regard the denunciation of the Treaty as a great step towards its extinction.

This, moreover, would by rights be twelve months after the day of the denunciation, whenever that might be.

I am pleased, M. l'Ambassadeur, to perceive, thanks to this communication, that the views of Her Britannic Majesty's Government coincide, to a great extent, with those of the French Government. We are equally anxious to keep up the cordial relations between the two countries. We hope that the negotiations can be continued with profit, and that the denunciation of the Treaty, if we are induced to resort to it, will not interrupt them. In the event of its being definitively abrogated, the spirit which will rule our commercial system would be the same as that in which the Treaty was conceived. The modifications that we have already proposed are the type of those which we could then adopt, and we would conform, in this respect, to the declarations that the President of the Republic has made in his Message to the National Assembly on the 6th December 1871.

Receive, &c.
(Signed) REMUSAT.

No. 83.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received February 3.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 2, 1872.

I HAVE received, just in time to send to your Lordship, the inclosed copy, by to-day's post, of a note from M. de Rémusat, in answer to that dated the 28th ultimo, in which I made known to him the views of Her Majesty's Government respecting the bearing of the Anglo-French Treaties upon the duties on raw material and compensatory duties on manufactured goods.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 83.

M. de Rémusat to Lord Lyons.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Versailles, le 1 Février, 1872.

VOTRE Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de me remettre une lettre en date du 28 Janvier dernier, par laquelle elle me fait connaître la manière dont le Gouvernement de la Reine entend l'application de l'Article IX du Traité de Commerce et de l'Article III de la Convention Additionnelle du 16 Novembre.

Il résulterait de cette interprétation que les taxes que le Gouvernement Français se proposait d'établir sur les matières premières ne sauraient en effet être établies sans infraction aux Articles précités. Je n'ai pas le dessein de discuter en ce moment cette question. Je remarquerai seulement que l'esprit des stipulations sur lesquelles nous nous sommes appuyés est tellement favorable à nos propositions que pendant sept mois de négociations elle n'avait jamais été contestées en principe. L'objection formelle tirée du texte des Traités nous est notifiée pour la première fois. En se bornant dès le début à nous demander des éclaircissements et des Projets de Tarif, le Gouvernement Britannique semblait admettre implicitement le système proposé comme base de négociation. Il nous avait laissés jusqu'à ces derniers temps dans cette persuasion. Si l'opinion dont nous recevons aujourd'hui l'expression devait être considérée comme un rejet absolu des mesures qui sont peut-être les seules propres à compléter les ressources dont nous avons besoin pour faire face à nos nécessités financières, ce serait pour nous un motif nouveau de recourir à la dénonciation du Traité, unique moyen qui nous resterait de recouvrer notre liberté fiscale. En toute hypothèse, d'ailleurs, nous n'en userions qu'avec une grande modération, et dans un esprit propre à entretenir les bons rapports qui unissent nos deux nations.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) REMUSAT.

(Translation.)

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Versailles, February 1, 1872.

YOUR Excellency did me the honour to transmit to me a letter, dated the 28th of January last, in which you informed me of the manner in which Her Majesty's Government understand the application of Article IX of the Commercial Treaty and Article III of the Supplementary Convention of the 16th November.

The result of this interpretation would be that the taxes which the French Government proposed to establish on raw materials would not really be established without a breach of the forementioned Articles.

It is not my intention at the present moment to discuss this question; I will only remark that the spirit of the stipulations upon which we relied is so favourable to our proposals that its principle was never contested during the seven months of the negotiations.

The formal objection drawn from the text of the Treaties is notified to us for the first time.

The British Government, whilst limiting themselves from the very commencement to demanding explanations and the schemes for Tariffs, seemed implicitly to accept the proposed system as the groundwork of negotiation. They let us remain under this impression until quite lately. If the opinion expressed to us this day should be regarded as an absolute rejection of the measures which are perhaps the only ones suitable to complete the resources which we require to meet our financial necessities, it would be an additional motive for us to resort to the denunciation of the Treaty, the only way which would remain to us for recovering our fiscal liberty. In any case, however, we would only make use of it with great moderation, and with a spirit which would tend to the maintenance of the good relations which ally the two countries.

Receive, &c.,
(Signed) REMUSAT.

No. 84.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received February 4.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 3, 1872.

I SAW M. de Rémusat this afternoon at Versailles. He observed that I must not doubt have taken notice of the statements made two days before in the Assembly by the President of the Republic, respecting the use which would be made by the Government of the power of denouncing the Treaties, if it should be conferred upon them. He went on to say that the Government would follow the course indicated in those statements; and he desired me to inform your Lordship that the French Government would not denounce the Anglo-French Treaties immediately, but would first endeavour to arrive at an agreement with Her Majesty's Government by further negotiation, and thus to avoid the necessity of exercising the power which had been placed in their hands.

M. de Rémusat proceeded to tell me that the negotiation would, he conceived, be resumed without delay, although it would still be difficult for the French Government to make any specific proposals respecting the two most important points—the duties on raw materials and the compensatory duties on foreign manufactured articles, as it was still uncertain what the Assembly might decide upon these points; on other matters, however, communications might, he said, take place at once.

I observed to him that in the mode of conducting the negotiations the great object to be arrived at was, that, whatever might be the result, the good feeling between the two Governments and the two nations might not be impaired, or even seem to be impaired. With this view, I would suggest that a frank and full communication of the views and wishes of the French Government should be made to Her Majesty's Government in a quiet unostentatious manner through the usual diplomatic channels; and I remarked that the two Governments having in this way ascertained how far they could go to meet each others wishes, would then be in a position to take whatever further steps might seem best calculated, under the circumstances, to maintain the cordiality of their general relations.

There was, I said, another matter respecting which I had already spoken to the President of the Republic, and which I wished particularly to press upon the attention of the French Government. This was the extreme importance of executing the Treaty with good faith and in a fair and liberal spirit, so long as it continued to be in force. To do this would, I said, require not only good-will, but care and watchfulness; for there would be not improbably a tendency on the part of the subordinate authorities to show their zeal by collecting as much revenue as possible.

If this feeling should lead them to put a strained construction on the Treaty stipulations, and to levy unwarrantable or doubtful duties, the effect would be most deplorable. It would become next to impossible to avoid bitterness, if continual controversies were going on upon the details of the execution of the Treaty.

M. de Rémusat said that he appreciated the spirit in which I made these observations and quite understood their importance, and that he would press them upon the attention of the Minister of Finance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 85.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received February 4.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 3, 1872.

WITH reference to my immediately preceding despatch of to-day, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that I spoke to M. de Rémusat this afternoon in the sense of your Lordship's despatch of the 26th ultimo, respecting the notion which had been mentioned to me by M. Thiers, of sending the Minister of Finance, M. Pouyer-Quertier, to England.

I said, in particular, that it would be a great pity that, at a moment during which such important financial measures were in discussion at Versailles, M. Pouyer-Quertier should absent himself, unless there were a probable chance that his mission would be successful; and suggested that an announcement that he had been to England and come back without effecting anything, might create the belief, which we so much desired to avert, that the relations between the two Governments were not good.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 86.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received February 4.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 3, 1872.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship, extracted from the "Journal Officiel" of this day, the Law on the Mercantile Navy as promulgated by the President of the Republic.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 86.

Extract from the "Journal Officiel" of February 3, 1872.

Versailles, le 2 Février, 1872.

L'ASSEMBLEE Nationale a adopté,

Le Président de la République Française promulgue la Loi dont la teneur suit :—

Article 1. Les marchandises importées par navires étrangers, autres que celles provenant des Colonies Françaises, seront passibles de surtaxes de pavillon fixées par 100 kilos comme ci-après :

Des pays d'Europe et du bassin de Méditerranée, 75 c. ;

Des pays hors d'Europe, en deçà des Caps Horn et de Bonne Espérance, 1 fr. 50 c. ;

Des pays au delà des Caps, 2 fr.

Art. 2. Toutefois, les surtaxes édictées par l'Article précédent ne seront pas applicables au guano.

Art. 3. Les marchandises des pays hors d'Europe seront passibles, à leur importation des entrepôts d'Europe, d'une surtaxe de 3 fr. par 100 kilos.

Cette disposition n'est pas applicable aux marchandises que les lois actuellement en vigueur assujettissent à des surcharges plus élevées.

Art. 4. Les dispositions des Articles 1 et 3 sont applicables aux relations de l'Algérie avec l'étranger.

Art. 5. Les droits à l'importation des bâtiments de mer sont fixés comme suit :

Bâtiments gréés et armés.

A voiles, en bois	..	..	..	..	40 fr. par tonneau de jauge.
„ en bois et fer	..	..	..	..	50 „ „
„ en fer	..	..	..	..	60 „ „

A vapeur, droits ci-dessus augmentés du droit afférent à la machine.

Coques de bâtiments de mer.

En bois ..	..	..	..	..	..	30 fr. par tonneau de jauge.
En bois et fer ..	..	..	..	..	..	40 " "
En fer ..	..	..	..	..	..	50 " "

Ces droits ne seront pas applicables aux navires étrangers dont l'achat antérieur à la promulgation de la présente Loi sera justifiée par des actes authentiques ou sous seing-privé ayant date certaine.

Art. 6. Les navires de tout pavillon, venant de l'étranger ou des colonies et possessions Françaises, chargés en totalité ou en partie, acquitteront, pour frais de quai, une taxe fixée par tonneau de jauge, savoir :—

Pour les provenances des pays d'Europe ou du bassin de la Méditerranée, 50 c.

Pour les arrivages de tous autres pays, 1 fr.

En cas d'escales successives dans plusieurs ports pour le même voyage, le droit ne sera payé qu'à la douane de prime abord.

Art. 7. Les Articles 1, 3, et 5 de la Loi du 19 Mai, 1866, sont et demeurent rapportés.

Délibéré en séance publique, à Versailles, le 30 Janvier, 1872.

Le Président,
(Signé) JULES GREVY.

Les Secrétaires,
(Signé) BARON DE BÉRENGE.
PAUL DE RÉMUSAT.
VICOMTE DE MEAUX.
PAUL BETHMONT.

Le Président de la République,
(Signé) A. THIERS.

Le Ministre de l'Agriculture et du Commerce,
(Signed) VICTOR LEFRANC.

(Translation.)

Versailles, February 2, 1872.

THE National Assembly having consented,—

The President of the French Republic has promulgated the law, the purport of which is as follows :—

Article 1. Goods imported in foreign vessels, other than those arriving from French Colonies, will be liable to a differential duty on shipping ("surtaxe de pavillon"), fixed per 100 kilos. as follows :—

From European countries and from the basin of the Mediterranean, 75 c. ;

From countries out of Europe, on this side of Cape Horn, and the Cape of Good Hope, 1 fr. 50 c. ;

From countries beyond the Cape, 2 fr.

Art. 2. In all cases, the differential duties decreed by the preceding Article will not have reference to guano.

Art. 3. Goods from countries beyond Europe will be liable, on importation into European bonded warehouses, to an additional duty of 3 fr. per 100 kilos.

This provision does not apply to goods which the law actually in force subjects to a higher additional tax.

Art. 4. The provisions of Articles 1 and 3 have reference to the relations between Algeria and foreign countries.

Art. 5. The duties of sea-going vessels on importation are fixed as follows :—

Rigged and equipped vessels.

Sailing-vessels of wood ..	..	..	..	..	..	30 fr. per ton.
" of wood and iron ..	..	..	..	..	..	40 " "
" of iron ..	..	..	..	..	..	50 " "

With steam-vessels the above augmented duties will relate to the horse-power.

Hulls of sea-going ships of wood ..	..	..	..	..	..	30 fr. per gauged ton.
" of wood and iron ..	..	..	..	..	..	40 " "
" of iron ..	..	..	..	..	..	50 " "

These duties do not apply to foreign vessels whose purchase prior to the promulgation

of the present law will be justified by authentic acts or bearing a private signature of a certain date.

Art. 6. Vessels of every flag, arriving from abroad or from French Colonies or possessions, laden in whole or in part, will pay, as quay dues, a tax fixed according to the tonnage, namely :—

For productions of European countries or from the basin of the Mediterranean, 50 c. ;

For the arrivals from all other countries, 1 fr.

In the case of successive touchings at different ports on the same journey, the duty will be paid at the first port.

Art. 7. The Articles 1, 3, and 5 of the Law of the 19th May, 1866, are and remain revoked.

Considered in the Public Meeting at Versailles, the 30th January, 1872.

The President,
(Signed) JULES GREVY.

The Secretaries,
(Signed) BARON DE BARANTE.
PAUL DE RÉMUSAT.
Vicomte DE MEAUX
PAUL BETHMONT.

The President of the Republic,
(Signed) A. THIERS.

The Minister for Agriculture and Commerce,
(Signed) VICTOR LEFRANC.

No. 87.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 5, 1872.

THE Duke de Broglie arrived in London this morning, and paid me a visit in the afternoon.

His Excellency spoke to me on the subject of the Commercial Treaty, and of the spirit in which the power of denunciation had been carried in the Assembly. He said that every one was anxious to avoid that extremity, but that there was a general feeling that a little more freedom was required in order to meet the fiscal necessities created by the enormous increase of their debt. He was, therefore, anxious to know whether there would be any objection on my part to recommence discussion on the subject. His Excellency went on to say that up to this time no discussion on the details of the French proposals had taken place; that the French Government had always been met by objections of principle founded on our repugnance to treat on a retrograde basis as to free trade.

In a recent despatch to Lord Lyons, however, I had said that, with regard to protective proposals Her Majesty's Government felt great objection to accepting any such, but that they did not absolutely and finally close the door against them. What was the meaning of this? Was he to understand that Her Majesty's Government absolutely refused to go into any more discussion, or would they do so? If the latter, he had always hoped that I should bring forward some counter-proposition.

In replying to his Excellency, I said that I could give no answer on this point until I had an opportunity of conferring with my colleagues on the tenour of his remarks.

I mentioned to the Duke that in answer to a message from M. de Rémusat some days ago, which assured me that the objects of the French Government were purely fiscal, I had told M. Gavard that with every desire to admit what was said by M. de Rémusat, I could not forget the contrary language used by the head of the State in his Presidential Message, and I reminded his Excellency that at the end of last week M. Thiers had again told the Chambers that the increase of duty was necessary for the relief of certain manufacturers to enable them to struggle against foreigners.

I further reminded the Duke of another observation I had made to M. Gavard, to the effect that M. de Rémusat could not be surprised that a matter outside the Treaty, viz., the law which had been passed on the mercantile marine and the warehousing system, had caused Her Majesty's Government great regret; and I added, that after what we had done in order to meet the more liberal legislation of France in recent years with regard to navigation laws, we could not but look upon the law in question as commercially hostile.

I stated, however, that I by no means wished to close the door to discussion, but what my colleagues would, I was sure, desire to know was, what would be the character of the proposals about to be made to us.

If M. de Broglie could tell me what was to be the starting-point of any renewed conversation, whether we were to discuss the merits of the old proposals, or whether his Excellency was prepared to suggest any important modifications, I would, as soon as possible, take the opinion of my colleagues.

M. de Broglie said, that one important matter would be, whether, if the denunciation did not take place at once, we would agree to any shortening of the period which must elapse before its extinction. He was aware, he said, that Her Majesty's Government did not like to proceed without a detailed scheme before them. This could not be communicated to them until legislation on the subject was accomplished; but this would take time, which France could ill spare at this moment.

I asked his Excellency whether what he proposed was a Treaty to this effect. He said what he would ask was that we should consider whether there would not be some means of avoiding the difficulty in the way of negotiating, which I had myself stated would be caused by the denunciation of the Treaty, and at the same time not prolong the restrictions upon France as to her fiscal liberty.

He repeated that the desire of all parties in France was not to denounce the Treaty.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 88.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received February 10.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 9, 1872.

I HAD, the evening before last, a long conversation with M. Pouyer-Quertier, the Minister of Finance, of the substance of which it may be well that I should give your Lordship a summary.

After expressing in warm terms his friendly feelings towards the English nation, M. Pouyer-Quertier assured me that, Protectionist as he was supposed to be, he had no wish, and certainly no intention, to revert to the system which had been in force before the Treaty of 1860. On the contrary, he heartily desired to avoid the necessity of denouncing that Treaty, and he could not but think that if the proposals of the French Government were thoroughly understood in England, no difficulty would be felt there in agreeing to them.

The most important parts of these proposals related, he said, to the duties on the importation of raw materials into France, and the compensatory or equivalent duties on the importation of articles manufactured abroad from similar materials. Now these were entirely fiscal questions. The state of things in which the Treaty had been made, had been entirely changed by the disasters of France, and the enormous drain upon her finances which had followed. She was obliged to impose a tax upon every article which would bear one, and thus very materially to increase the cost of producing articles of every description. The duties on raw material would (he still thought) be found to be inevitable, and it was simply with a view to raising an amount of revenue, imperatively required, that he asked foreign Governments to agree to them. On such raw materials as were re-exported after undergoing manufacturing processes in France, no duty would, in fact, be levied. The materials would either be admitted quite freely under the system of "acquits à caution," or the duty deposited would be repaid on the exportation of the manufactured article. It was, therefore, in fact to articles for home consumption exclusively that the duty would apply. Now it was plain that the price of such articles must be enhanced in France by the levy of a duty on the materials of which they were made, and thus that if the same articles were admitted from abroad free of duty, the French manufacturer would be driven out of the home market. It was, therefore, absolutely necessary to impose equivalent duties on foreign articles, and he could not admit that, in reason and equity, it could be contended that, in the present circumstances of France, the Treaty stipulations should be enforced in a rigid and literal sense. The enormous taxes which had been already imposed had so increased the burthens of the producer, that it would be impossible to lay on specific excise duties exactly equal in nominal amount to the Customs duties to be levied on raw materials, and on articles manufactured from them. The only fair course would be to estimate the real increase from every cause in the cost of production which had taken place in France, and to adjust the Customs duties so as to place the French manufacturer on equal terms with his foreign competitors. The same reasoning would,

M. Pouyer-Quertier thought, apply to the case of those modifications of the Tariff which had been treated in England as simply protective. It must surely, he conceived, be admitted, that the enormous burthens which had been thrown upon France rendered some re-adjustment of the Tariffs necessary, in order to place the French manufacturer in the same relative position in which he had stood under the Treaty. The terrible change of circumstances which had occurred since the Treaty was concluded ought certainly to be taken into consideration. These minor modifications were, however, small in amount, and in M. Pouyer-Quertier's opinion of comparatively small importance. Some miscalculations which had been made in drawing up the proposals for Her Majesty's Government must be rectified; but these were trifling matters in comparison with the questions of the raw materials and the compensatory duties; these latter questions, which were of essential moment to the French finances, ought, in his opinion, to be settled first; the so-called Protective duties might be considered afterwards.

I observed, that many of the arguments which M. Pouyer-Quertier used, might no doubt be urged with much effect in support of a request to foreign Powers to consent to modifications of their Treaties. I could understand, I said, an appeal made on equitable grounds to the friendship of foreign Powers to abandon some of their Treaty rights; but I must confess I was at a loss to comprehend the language about the interpretation of the Treaties which had been used by some members of the French Government in the National Assembly. Indeed, before going any further, I felt bound to point out the difference between taking a request into consideration, and assenting to it in principle. Her Majesty's Government had listened, and would listen, to any proposals of the French Government, with an earnest desire to facilitate measures for increasing the revenue of France, so far as their duty to Her Majesty's subjects, and their own commercial principles would allow. But this was a totally different thing from acquiescing in the expediency of such proposals, or engaging beforehand to consent to their being carried into effect. I went on to say, that I could not help being a little alarmed at the allusion M. Pouyer-Quertier had made to modifications in the proposals already made respecting Protective duties; for I did not find that he gave me any reasons to hope that the object of them would be to diminish the Protective element, while Her Majesty's Government (as he well knew), scrupled to become parties to any return to Protection.

M. Pouyer-Quertier did not say much to reassure me on this point. He repeated that these matters were of comparatively little moment, and that the duties on raw materials, and the consequent equivalent duties, were the really important questions. He entered into some details respecting the raw materials, and remarked, among other things, that the proposed duties would affect India and Australia, rather than Great Britain. He did not appear disposed to contend that they could be imposed under the Treaties, without the consent of both Contracting Parties.

I did not consider it advisable to enter into any discussion upon details, and I contented myself with observing that England would feel more, not less, scruple in abandoning the advantages peculiarly affecting her dependencies than in giving up those which regarded herself alone.

M. Pouyer-Quertier repeated his assurances of friendship towards England, and said that he should be happy to go himself to London, in fact, to take any step which would facilitate an arrangement and avert the denunciation of the Treaty.

I observed that M. Pouyer-Quertier was too considerable a personage to go to England and abandon his pressing occupations here unless there was a very good prospect of his mission being entirely successful. I would therefore suggest that a full and frank statement of the views of the French Government should be communicated to Her Majesty's Government through the ordinary channels. If this statement showed such a departure from the original proposals as would enable it to be taken as the basis for further negotiation, we might then consider the best mode of conducting that negotiation. If, on the other hand, the objections of Her Majesty's Government could not be obviated, it would remain for us to endeavour to close the question in such a manner as would best conduce to the maintenance of cordial feelings between the two countries. An announcement that the Minister of Finance had been to London on a fruitless errand might interfere with this, and could hardly fail to have a bad effect upon public opinion.

M. Pouyer-Quertier concurred in this observation, and I concluded the conversation by thanking him for the friendly feeling he had expressed towards England, and assuring him that, on our part, we were most anxious to be of use to France and to manifest our friendship towards her.

Last night I saw M. Thiers at Versailles. He said to me, "You see that we have been in no hurry to denounce the Treaty, but we must not waste time, for if we do not come to an agreement each day's delay will be a loss to France."

I told M. Thiers very briefly the substance of what had passed between M. Pouyer-Quertier and me the evening before. He said that he agreed with me in thinking that the first step to be taken was to ascertain unostentatiously how far the views of the two Governments could be brought into accordance.

have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 89.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received February 10.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 9, 1872.

I WAITED upon M. de Rémusat the day before yesterday at the Foreign Office, and spoke to him of the new law on the merchant navy which was passed on the 30th ultimo. I adverted to the note which I had addressed to him on that day, and after reminding him of the numerous representations I had made to him on the importance of providing for the due observance of the Treaties by the subordinate authorities, I asked him what steps had been taken by the Government to guard against infractions of the Treaty stipulations, on the part of the Customs officers by whom the new law was to be executed.

M. de Rémusat said that proper instructions had been issued by the Customs Department. With regard to my note he observed that as to one of the two points mentioned in it, he thought the view taken by Her Majesty's Government was correct—but that he was doubtful about the other point.

In the evening I saw M. Pouyer-Quertier, the Minister of Finance. In the course of a conversation which I had with him on the subject of the Treaties, I spoke at some length not only of the importance of a general determination to execute them punctually and fairly, but also of the necessity of being watchful to prevent any infractions of them in detail by subaltern agents; and I asked him what were the particulars of the instructions which he had given respecting the enforcement of the new law on the merchant navy.

M. Pouyer-Quertier said that he would send me copies of the Circular issued by the Director-General of Customs. He has fulfilled his promise to day, and I have the honour to transmit three copies herewith to your Lordship.

Your Lordship will observe that this Circular contains numerous references to the Treaties, and that the interpretation given in it to the Treaty stipulations will require very careful examination.

Among other particulars it may be noted that the ships of Austria, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Sweden and Norway, the Zollverein, and Portugal are entirely exempted from the "surtaxes de pavillons."

The exemption is, in the case of England, confined to direct communication between France and the United Kingdom; but, in conformity with the claim made in my note of the 30th January, Indian cotton, jute, and Australian wool are exempted when imported from the countries in which they are produced in British ships.

They are also exempted from the "surtaxes d'entrepôt."

Your Lordship will no doubt cause due examination to be made of the question whether the exemptions laid down with respect to these Articles constitute a thorough fulfilment of the Treaty stipulations.

The second claim insisted upon by your Lordship's order in my note, is, no doubt, that concerning which M. de Rémusat entertains a doubt. In obedience to your Lordship's orders, I represented that on certain Articles, imported direct from the United Kingdom under the British or French flag, the whole duties including the "surtaxe," or differential duty on goods imported from an "entrepôt," must not exceed the duties specified in the Conventional Tariff.

In order to ascertain whether this requirement is practically carried into effect it will be necessary to compute the combined amount of the duties and "surtaxe" in each case.

Whether the inclosed instructions are compatible with an admission of the claim in principle is one of the questions which your Lordship will no doubt cause to be examined.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 89.

Circular issued by the Director-General of French Customs, dated February 4, 1872.

Paris, le 4 Février, 1872.

UNE Loi du 30 de ce mois,* dont je joins une ampliation à la présente, modifie dans plusieurs de ses dispositions la Loi du 19 Mai, 1866, sur la marine marchande.

J'appellerai tout d'abord l'attention du service sur l'application de l'Article 6.

Droits de Quai.

Aux termes de cet Article, il est établi en France et en Algérie, sur les navires de tout pavillon venant de l'étranger ou des Colonies et possessions Françaises, chargés en totalité ou en partie, un droit de quai, décimes compris, de 50 c. par tonneau de jauge pour les arrivages des pays d'Europe ou du bassin de la Méditerranée, et de 1 fr. pour les provenances de tous les autres pays. Ce droit frappe ainsi le pavillon Français comme le pavillon étranger, et s'applique, en même temps qu'aux importations des pays étrangers, aux arrivages de tous nos établissements d'outre-mer sans exception.

Des termes mêmes de l'Article 6 il ressort que les navires venant sur l'est sont exemptés du droit de quai. On en affranchira également les bâtiments de guerre, les yachts de plaisance, et les navires en relâche forcée qui ne feront aucune opération de débarquement.

Surtaxes de Pavillon.

Les marchandises importées par navires étrangers, autres que celles provenant des Colonies Françaises, sont passibles, en vertu de l'Article 1, d'une surtaxe de pavillon de 75 c. par 100 kilos. pour les arrivages des pays d'Europe et du bassin de la Méditerranée ; de 1 fr. 50 c. pour ceux des pays hors d'Europe en deçà des Caps Horn et de Bonne Espérance ; et de 2 fr. pour les pays au delà des Caps.

Ces droits sont établis, décimes compris, et s'appliquent à toutes les marchandises, sans distinction de celles qui sont admissibles en franchise ou qui sont taxées d'après une unité autre que le poids. La surtaxe de pavillon s'ajoute, lorsqu'il s'agit d'arrivages des entrepôts ou d'ailleurs, à la surtaxe spéciale afférente aux marchandises importées des entrepôts ou d'ailleurs que du pays de production.

Les navigations auxquelles répondent les différents taux de la surtaxe sont nettement définies par la loi. Je me bornerai à faire remarquer que le bassin de la Méditerranée s'étend depuis et y compris Gibraltar jusqu'à la Mer Noire inclusivement.

Les importations effectuées par navires étrangers des Colonies Françaises sont affranchies de la surtaxe. On doit entendre ici par Colonies Françaises tous nos établissements d'outre-mer, y compris l'Algérie.

La loi nouvelle ne porte pas atteinte aux immunités inscrites dans nos Traités de Commerce ou de Navigation avec les autres Puissances. Il y a lieu, en conséquence, d'affranchir de la surtaxe : 1, à l'importation directe, les navires de tous les pays contractants, l'Espagne exceptée ; 2, à l'importation de tous pays quelconques, les navires de l'Autriche, de la Belgique, de la Hollande, de l'Italie, de la Suède et de la Norvège, du Zollverein, et du Portugal.

En ce qui concerne l'Angleterre, le service ne perdra pas de vue que l'exemption n'est acquise, à titre général, qu'à l'intercourse directe entre la France et le Royaume Uni ; toutefois, conformément au Traité la surtaxe ne sera pas applicable au coton de l'Inde, au jute et à la laine d'Australie importés des pays de production par navires Anglais.

L'Article 2 de la Loi excepte de la surtaxe le guano importé par navires étrangers. Au guano il faut ajouter le borax brut ou mi-raffiné qui, en vertu de notre Traité avec le Pérou, est admissible en exemption de surtaxe par tous pavillons à l'importation directe de ce pays.

Surtaxe d'Entrepôt.

Il n'est pas apporté de modifications aux surtaxes afférentes, dans l'état actuel de la législation, à certains produits d'Europe arrivés d'ailleurs que du pays de production. La loi nouvelle ne dispose qu'à l'égard des marchandises des pays hors d'Europe. Une surtaxe de 3 fr. par 100 kilos., décimes compris, est établie sur les produits qui actuelle-

* Voir la Loi à sa date (30 Janvier, 1872).

ment ne supportent pas de surtaxe d'entrepôt ou payent une surtaxe inférieure à 3 fr. Un tableau à la suite de la présente circulaire indique les marchandises pour lesquelles la quotité de la surtaxe n'est point changée.

Les franchises ou les maxima stipulés en matière de surtaxe d'entrepôt dans les Traités que la France a conclus depuis 1860 avec diverses Puissances, l'Espagne exceptée, ne sont pas atteints par la loi nouvelle.

En conséquence, le coton de l'Inde, le jute et les laines d'Australie importés des pays contractants continueront d'être affranchis de la surtaxe.

Pour les guanos, elle reste fixée à 1 fr. 80 c. par 100 kilos. conformément à l'arrangement international conclu le 16 Janvier, 1864, avec le Pérou.

Pour le riz, la potasse, le nitrate de potasse et les graisses, la surtaxe sera de 2 fr. 40 c. seulement à l'importation des pays contractants, l'Espagne exceptée, en conformité des stipulations de l'Article 14 du Traité Franco-Belge.

De même que la surtaxe de pavillon, la surtaxe de 3 fr. par 100 kilos. est applicable à toutes les marchandises indistinctement, qu'elles soient ou non taxées d'après le poids.

L'Article 4 étend les dispositions des Articles 1 et 3 aux relations de l'étranger avec l'Algérie. Les exceptions résultant des Traités y sont applicables comme dans la métropole.

Francisation des Navires Etrangers.

L'Article 5 détermine les droits auxquels seront soumis, en France et en Algérie, les navires étrangers importés pour la francisation.

Ces droits ne sont pas actuellement applicables aux bâtiments des divers pays, sauf l'Espagne, avec lesquels nous avons conclu des Traités depuis 1860. Les navires importés de ces Etats restent admissibles au droit de 2 fr. par tonneau de jauge. On continuera également à admettre à ce droit les bâtiments des autres provenances dont l'achat à l'étranger à une date antérieure à la promulgation de la loi sera justifié par des actes authentiques ou sous seing privé ayant date certaine.

L'Article 7 de la Loi déclare rapportés les Articles 1, 3 et 5 de la Loi du 19 Mai, 1866.

Les Articles 3 et 5, relatifs, l'un aux droits sur les navires étrangers importés pour la francisation, l'autre à la suppression de la surtaxe de pavillon, sont remplacés par les Articles 1 et 5 de la Loi nouvelle. Quant à l'Article 1 de la Loi de 1866, il portait admission en franchise des objets bruts ou confectionnés destinés aux constructions navales. Cet Article étant abrogé, les marchandises importées en vue de la destination dont il s'agit rentrent sous l'application des conditions générales du Tarif. Cette disposition reste toutefois provisoirement sans effet à l'égard des mêmes produits provenant des pays, l'Espagne exceptée, avec lesquels nous sommes liés par des Traités depuis 1860. Les importations effectuées des dits pays en vue des constructions navales continueront à jouir de la franchise, sous les conditions et formalités prescrites en pareil cas.

La Loi nouvelle a été insérée au "Journal Officiel" le 3 Février. Elle deviendra ainsi exécutoire dans le délai de promulgation fixé par le Décret du Gouvernement de la Défense Nationale en date du 5 Novembre, 1870.

Je prie les Directeurs des Douanes de porter les dispositions de la présente Circulaire à la connaissance du service et du commerce.

Pour ampliation :

L'Administrateur,
(Signé) RAMOND.

Le Directeur-Général des Douanes,
(Signé) AME.

(Translation.)

Paris, February 4, 1872.

A LAW of the 30th of this month,* of which I now annex an amplification, modifies, in several of its provisions, the Law of the 19th May, 1866, on the Merchant Navy.

I will proceed to call the attention of the service to the application of Article 6.

Quay Dues.

By the terms of this Article, are established in France and Algeria, upon vessels of every flag coming from abroad or from the French colonies and possessions, entirely

* See Law of that date (January 30, 1872).

or partially freighted, a quay due, including "décimes" of 50 c. per ton for arrivals from European countries or the basin of the Mediterranean, and 1 fr. for arrivals from all other countries. This duty affects the French as well as the foreign flag, and applies both to importations from foreign countries and to arrivals from our possessions from beyond sea without exception.

By the terms of Article 6, it follows that vessels coming from the East are exempted from the quay due. Ships of war will also be exempted, as also pleasure yachts, and vessels labouring under stress of weather which do not in any way break cargo.

Differential Duties on Foreign Shipping.

Goods imported by foreign vessels, other than those coming from French colonies, are liable, by virtue of Article 1, to a differential duty of 75 c. per 100 kilos, for arrivals from European countries and the basin of the Mediterranean; of 1 fr. 50 c. for those from non-European countries on this side of Capes Horn and of Good Hope, and of 2 fr. for countries on the other side of the Capes.

These duties are established, including "décimes," and apply to all goods, without distinction of those which are admissible free of duty or those which are taxed upon a principle other than that of weight. The differential duty (surtaxe de pavillon) is superadded, whenever it is a question of arrivals from entrepôts or elsewhere, to the special duty affecting goods imported from entrepôts or elsewhere than the country of production.

The shipping to which the various rates of differential duty correspond are clearly set forth by the law. I will confine myself to remarking that the basin of the Mediterranean extends beyond and including Gibraltar up to the Black Sea, inclusively.

Imports carried by foreign vessels from French Colonies are exempted from the differential duty. By French Colonies are understood here, all our settlements beyond sea, including Algeria.

The new Law does not affect the immunities contained in our Treaties of Commerce or of Navigation with other Powers. It is necessary, consequently, to exempt from the differential duty, 1st, as regards direct importation, vessels from all the contracting countries except Spain; 2ndly, as regards importations from all countries whatsoever, the vessels of Austria, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Sweden and Norway, Zollverein, and Portugal.

As far as concerns England, the Service will not lose sight of the fact that exemption is only acquired, properly speaking, by direct intercourse between France and the United Kingdom; in any case, in conformity with the Treaty, the differential duty will not be applicable to Indian cotton, to jute, or to Australian wool imported from the countries of production by English vessels.

Article 2 of the Law excepts from the differential duty guano imported by foreign vessels. To guano must be added borax, raw or half refined, which, by virtue of our Treaty with Peru, is to be admitted free from differential duty under all flags when imported direct from that country.

Differential Duty on the Entrepôt.

No modifications are introduced with regard to the differential duty affecting, in the present state of legislation, certain European products arriving from elsewhere than from the country of production. The new Law has only to deal with goods from countries out of Europe. A differential duty of 3 fr. per 100 kilos, including décimes, is established upon products which at present are not subject to the differential duty on the entrepôt, or pay a lower differential duty of 3 fr. A Table at the end of the present Circular indicates the goods for which the amount of the differential duty is unchanged.

The exemptions or the maximum rates stipulated with regard to the differential duty on the entrepôt in the Treaties which France has concluded since 1860 with various Powers, Spain excepted, are not affected by the new law.

Consequently, Indian cotton, jute, and Australian wools imported from the contracting countries will remain exempt from the differential duty.

As to guano, it remains fixed at 1 fr. 80 c. per 100 kilos, conformably to the international arrangement concluded the 16th January, 1864, with Peru.

As regards rice, potash, nitrate of potash and fats, the differential duty will be only 2 fr. 40 c. upon importations from the contracting countries, Spain excepted, in conformity with the stipulations of Article XIV of the Franco-Belgian Treaty.

In the same manner as the differential duty on the flag the differential duty of 3 fr.

per 100 kilos. is applicable to all goods without distinction, whether or no they are taxed according to weight.

Article 4 Extends the provisions of Articles 1 and 3 to foreign relations with Algeria. The exceptions resulting from the Treaties are applicable there as in the mother-country.

Registration of Foreign Vessels.

Article V determines the duties to which foreign vessels in France and in Algeria, imported for the purpose of Registration, will be subjected.

These duties are not at the present moment applicable to the vessels of the various countries, with the exception of Spain, with which we have concluded Treaties since 1860. The vessels imported from those States remain subject to the duty of 2 fr. per ton. We shall also continue to subject to this duty vessels from other parts, whose purchase abroad at a date anterior to the promulgation of the Law, shall be verified by authentic documents, or under private signature bearing a fixed date.

Article 7 of the Law declares Articles 1, 3, and 5, of the Law of the 19th May, 1866, repealed.

Articles 3 and 5, relating, one to the duties upon foreign vessels imported for registration, the other to the suppression of the differential duty, are replaced by Articles 1 and 5 of the new Law.

As to Article 1 of the Law of 1866, it admitted, free of duty, raw or manufactured materials destined for naval construction. This Article being abolished, goods imported for the purpose in question come under the application of the general provisions of the Tariff.

This provision, in any case, remains provisionally without effect in regard to the same products arriving from countries (Spain excepted), to which we are bound by Treaties subsequent to 1860. The importations from the said countries for the purposes of naval construction, shall continue to enjoy exemption under the conditions and formalities prescribed in such cases.

The new Law has been inserted in the "Official Journal" of the 3rd of February. It will thus come into execution within the time after promulgation fixed by the Decree of the Government of the National Defence, dated the 5th of November, 1870.

I request the Director of Customs to bring the contents of the present Circular to the knowledge of the Service and of commerce.

The Director-General of Customs,
(Signed) AME.

Certified copy:
The Administrator,
(Signed) RAYMOND.

. TABLEAU des Produits Exotiques qui restent soumis à une Surtaxe d'Entrepôt Supérieur, à 3 fr. par 100 kilos.

Marchandises.	Surtaxes.
Laines en masse	3 fr. décimes non compris.
Déchets de laine—Bourre entière	3 idem.
Crins bruts, préparés ou frisés	3 idem.
Eponges	5 décimes compris.
Dents d'éléphants	3 décimes non compris.
Ecailles de tortue—Carapaces, onglongs et caouanes	5 idem.
Nacre de perle—	
En coquilles brutes	4 idem.
Sciée ou dépouillée de sa croûte	8 idem.
Cacao*	20 décimes compris.
Café*	20 idem.
Girofle	
Cannelle et cassia-lignea	
Poivre et piment	40 idem.
Muscades—	
En coques	
Sans coques	50 idem.
Macis	
Thé	60 idem.
Tabac en feuilles ou en côtes pour la régie	5 décimes non compris.
Résineux exotiques	8 idem.
Baume de copahu	
Baumes non dénommés	5 idem.
Caoutchouc et gutta-percha bruts ou refondus en masses	3 idem.
Aloès	5 idem.
Racines médicinales non dénommées	5 décimes compris.
Herbes, feuilles, fleurs et écorces médicinales non dénommées	5 idem.
Tamarins (gousses et pulpes)	12 idem.
Badiane (anis étoilé)	11 décimes compris.
Follicules de séné	10 décimes non compris.
Fruits médicinaux non dénommés	10 idem.
Bois d'ébénisterie, autres que le buis, en bûches ou sciés	3 idem.
Bois odorants	3 idem.
Coques de coco	3 idem.
Grains durs à tailler	3 décimes non compris.
Gousses tinctoriales entières ou simplement concassées	3 idem.
Fleurs de carthame	3 idem.
Noix de galle et avelanèdes	3 idem.
Myrobolans secs, entiers ou simplement concassés	3 idem.
Huiles et essences de schiste et de pétrole	5 décimes compris.
Borax brut (natif ou artificiel)	5 idem.
Borax mi-raffiné	5 idem.
Cochenille	10 décimes non compris.
Laque en teinture et en trochisques	5 idem.
Indigo	25 idem.
Pâte de pastel dite "indigo-pastel"	25 idem.
Indigue, inde-plate et boules de bleu	25 idem.
Pastilles odorantes à brûler	8 idem.
Colle de poisson	5 décimes compris.
Cigares et autres tabacs fabriqués pour la régie	7 décimes non compris.
Nankins de l'Inde	10 décimes compris.
Tissus de soie—	
Crêpes—Unis	5 idem.
„ Brodés ou façonnés	6 idem.
„ Autres que les foulards et les crêpes, originaires des pays hors d'Europe	25 idem.

* La surtaxe d'entrepôt est seulement de 12 fr. pour la cacao et de 5 fr. pour le café importés des entrepôts des Pays Contractants, l'Espagne exceptée.

(Translation.)

TABLE of Exotic Products which remain subject to an increased Surtax on the Entrepôt of
of 3 fr. per 100 kilos.

Goods.	Surtaxes.
Wools in quantities	3 fr., not including décimes.
Waste wool, entire fleece	3 ditto.
Horsehair, natural, prepared or curled	3 ditto.
Sponges	5 ditto, décimes included.
Elephant's teeth	3 ditto, not including décimes.
Tortoises shells, carapaces, flappers, and caouanes	5 ditto.
Mother of pearl—	
In raw shells	4 ditto.
Filed or stripped of its crust	8 ditto.
Cocoa*	20 ditto, décimes included.
Coffee*	20 ditto.
Cloves	40 ditto.
Cinnamon and cassia	
Pepper and allspice	
Nutmegs—	
With shells	50 ditto.
Without shells	
Mace	60 ditto.
Tea	5 ditto, not including décimes.
Tobacco in leaves or stalks for the excise	8 ditto.
Exotic resins	5 ditto.
Balsam capivi	
Balsams not denominated	3 ditto.
India rubber and gutta percha, raw or melted in lumps	5 ditto.
Aloes	5 ditto, décimes included.
Medicinal roots not denominated	5 ditto.
Medicinal herbs, leaves, flowers, and barks not denominated	12 ditto.
Tamarinds (husks and pulps)	11 ditto.
Badiana (studded aniseed)	10 ditto, not including décimes.
Follicules of senna	10 ditto.
Medicinal fruits not denominated	3 ditto.
Woods for cabinet work, other than box, in bundles or sawn	3 ditto.
Scented woods	3 ditto.
Cocoa-nut shells	3 ditto, not including décimes.
Hard cutting grains	3 ditto.
Husks for dying, whole or simply pounded	3 ditto.
Flowers of cardamums	3 ditto.
Gall nuts and acorn nuts	3 ditto.
Dry myrobolanes, whole or simply pounded	5 ditto, including décimes.
Oils and essences of shale and petroleum	5 ditto.
Borax, raw (natural or artificial)	5 ditto.
Borax, half refined	10 ditto, not including décimes.
Cochineal	5 ditto.
Lake in dye and in cakes	25 ditto.
Indigo	25 ditto.
Pastel paste called indigo paste	25 ditto.
Indigo, indigo blue, and blue balls	8 ditto.
Odoriferous pastilles for burning	5 ditto, décimes included.
Isinglass	7 ditto, not including décimes.
Cigars and other tobaccos manufactured for the excise	10 ditto, décimes included.
Indian nankins	
Silk tissues—	
Crapes—plain	5 ditto.
" embroidered or worked	6 ditto.
" other than foulards and crapes coming originally from non-European countries	25 ditto.

* The entrepôt surtax is only 12 fr. for cocoa and 5 fr. for coffee imported from the entrepôts of the contracting countries. Spain excepted.

Law of the Mercantile Navy of January 30, 1872.

[See Inclosure in No. 86.]

M. de Rémusat to the Duc de Broglie.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by the Duc de Broglie, February 10.)

M. le Duc,

Versailles, le 7 Février, 1872.

L'ASSEMBLEE Nationale, par la Loi qu'elle a voté le 2 du courant, a décrété la révision des Tarifs de Douanes, et donné au Gouvernement la facilité de dénoncer le Traité de Commerce du 23 Janvier, 1860.

Notre intention est, pour la première de ces opérations, de ne pas abandonner la voie des négociations et de n'insister que sur les rectifications dont vous avez déjà entretenu le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique. Quant à la faculté de dénonciation qui nous est accordée, nous n'en userons que pour avoir la certitude de recouvrer notre liberté fiscale et commerciale le plus tôt possible après le moment où il sera constant que les négociations ne peuvent aboutir à aucun résultat.

Vous voudrez donc bien informer le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères que nous sommes prêts à rouvrir, ou plutôt à continuer, les négociations entamées depuis huit mois.

Les bases de négociation que nous avons proposés se divisent en deux catégories. Les unes ont pour objet de modifier quelques uns des droits portés en Tarif. Les autres ont un bût purement fiscal.

Les premières, vous le savez, tendent à relever les droits sur certains fils et sur certains tissus de lin, de coton, de laine, sans toujours atteindre et sans jamais dépasser la limite conventionnelle de 15 pour cent.

Ces propositions peuvent avoir, sans doute, une certaine tendance protectrice, puisqu'elles auraient pour effet d'augmenter légèrement les droits sur quelques produits étrangers; mais ce changement, si peu considérable en lui-même, ne s'écarterait pas de l'esprit du Traité, c'est-à-dire, du système d'une protection très modérée qui tend à substituer l'égalité au privilège. Il ne faudrait attribuer aucun sens à l'Article XXI, si ses modifications, dont l'expérience et une enquête ont montré la nécessité, étaient repoussées sans examen. Par une dépêche du 29 Janvier à Lord Lyons, le Gouvernement Anglais, sans nous dissimuler sa répugnance à sanctionner des droits dont la tendance pouvait sembler protectrice, nous a déclaré cependant que, même à cette égard, il ne ferait pas la porte à toute négociation s'il s'agissait d'augmentations peu importantes. Or il nous semble que c'est l'hypothèse même dans laquelle nous traitons. Je vous prie de représenter à Lord Granville que les détails de nos propositions étant depuis longtemps connus de l'Administration Anglaise, nous nous croyons en droit d'attendre d'elle, enfin, l'expression précise de son opinion sur nos propositions en elles-mêmes.

La seconde série de nos propositions étant éminemment fiscale ne peut, en principe, rencontrer d'objection péremptoire. Le Gouvernement de la Reine nous a plusieurs fois assurés de ses bonnes dispositions, s'il fallait nous assister dans nos nécessités financières. C'était admettre la possibilité de consentir à des créations ou à des augmentations de taxes: car on ne voit pas de quelle autre manière l'assistance promise pourrait se réaliser. C'est donc avec confiance que nous avons présenté le système que je vais rappeler.

Nous prévalant de l'Article IX du Traité du 23 Janvier et de l'Article III de la Convention du 10 Novembre, nous avons pensé et nous persistons à penser que, soit la lettre, soit l'esprit de ces Articles nous autorise à proposer l'établissement d'un droit d'entrée sur les matières premières, et notamment sur les textiles, impôt qui, devant porter sur nos nationaux et renchérir leurs produits, justifierait l'imposition d'un droit compensateur sur les produits étrangers correspondants. En lui-même et sauf certaines applications, ce système n'offre point les caractères du protectionisme. Les droits yraient protecteurs sont essentiellement différentiels. Ici, au contraire, on s'attache à égaliser les charges sur tous les producteurs, tant Français qu'étrangers. L'égalité est le but du système. Sans aucun doute, il en résultera une charge nouvelle; mais il faut bien qu'il en soit ainsi, puisqu'il s'agit d'une proposition fiscale.

Quelques matières textiles de certaines provenances sont, il est vrai, exemptées de tous droits par la Convention du 16 Novembre. Mais faut-il répéter que les nécessités financières qui pèsent sur la France ne peuvent se conjurer que par des taxes nouvelles, et celle-ci ne constitue pas en principe une protection pour une industrie aux dépens d'une autre.

Je sais qu'il a été soutenu au nom du Gouvernement de la Reine que les Articles des Traités dont nous appuyons ne se prêtaient pas la conséquence que nous en voulions tirer. Cette objection nouvellement produite ne nous paraît pas avoir toute la solidité qu'on lui attribue.

Si nous prenons pour exemple le coton il est certain que le droit d'entrée sur les cotons crus est un impôt qui agit à l'intérieur. Avancé par l'industriel, il est, en dernière analyse, payé par le consommateur, qui le confond avec le prix des choses à la manière de toute autre contribution indirecte, et peut, par conséquent, être assimilé, soit en droit d'accise ou impôt dont parle l'Article IX du Traité, soit aux charges directes ou indirectes que mentionne la Convention du 16 Novembre, et qui doivent être compensés par une charge équivalente sur les produits étrangers.

Il y a certainement plus de difficultés pour les textiles dont les similaires sont produits à l'intérieur; et de tous la laine est celui qu'on a le plus souvent cité dans la discussion. La laine étant un produit Français qui ne saurait être taxé directement, les droits qui grèveraient celle qui vient du dehors constitueraient une protection pour l'industriel qui emploierait concurremment les laines des deux provenances. Mais d'abord cette protection ne s'élèverait pas à la totalité du droit. Il s'établirait un prix moyen en raison des deux origines de la matière employée, et en proportionnant à ce prix moyen le droit compensateur on serait bien près de rétablir l'égalité. Celle-ci serait même au fond tout-à-fait reconnue, si, comme il est juste de la faire, on tenait compte du surcroît de charges imprévu à l'époque de la conclusion des Traités, et que des circonstances impérieuses ont imposé au producteur Français. Là aussi se retrouve une de ces charges indirectes désignées dans la Convention de Novembre comme pouvant gréver les fabricants Français. Il nous paraît donc que, dans certains cas la lettre, dans tous, l'esprit, des Traités serait loin d'exclure la taxation des matières premières. On a dit que la discussion de cette question devrait être ajournée, parce qu'elle serait hypothétique, l'impôt proposé pouvant n'être pas adopté par l'Assemblée Nationale. Mais le Gouvernement, qui n'a point changé d'opinion, persiste à croire qu'elle ne saurait trouver un système d'impôt préférable. Il y a donc besoin de savoir à quoi s'en tenir sur les intentions du Gouvernement de la Reine, et il est de son devoir de le prévenir que ses propositions à cet égard ne sont pas abandonnées et qu'il demande une réponse précise.

Il désirerait sans doute qu'elles puissent être acceptées immédiatement et par la voie des négociations, mais si, comme il y a lieu de le craindre, son espoir ne peut se réaliser s'il est prochainement conduit à une dénonciation formelle, ce ne sera que pour prendre date, pour ne pas s'exposer à trop retarder l'époque où il recouvrera, comme l'Angleterre elle-même, sa liberté fiscale. Dans l'intervalle il ne renoncera pas à négocier encore. Il ne cache pas cependant qu'il regarde comme plus conforme aux vrais principes économiques que les deux pays soient replacés sur un pied de liberté réciproque.

Quoiqu'il advienne, nous avons la ferme confiance que la cordialité et la bienveillance subsisteront tout entières dans les rapports entre les deux nations.

Vous voudrez bien, M. le Duc, donner lecture de cette dépêche au Principal Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères et lui en laisser copie.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) REMUSAT.

(Translation.)

M. le Duc,

Versailles, February 7, 1872.

THE National Assembly, by the Law which it voted on the 2nd instant, have decreed the revision of the Customs Tariffs and gave authority to the Government to denounce the Treaty of Commerce of the 23rd of January, 1860. Our intention with respect to the first of these proceedings is not to break off the negotiations and to insist only upon the rectifications with which you have already made Her Britannic Majesty's Government acquainted. As regards the power of denunciation which has been accorded to us, we shall only avail ourselves of it in order to have the certainty of recovering our fiscal and commercial liberty as soon as possible after the moment that it becomes obvious that the negotiations can effect nothing.

You will then be good enough to inform the Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs that we are ready to re-open, or rather, to continue the negotiations entered upon eight months ago.

The bases of negotiation which we have proposed are divided into two categories. Some have for object the modification of some of the duties contained in the Tariff. Others have a purely fiscal object. The first, as you are aware, tend to raise the duties upon certain threads and upon certain tissues of linen, cotton, and wool without always reaching and never exceeding the conventional limit of 15 per cent.

These propositions may doubtless have a certain protective tendency, inasmuch as their effect would be to slightly augment the duties on certain foreign products; but this alteration, so inconsiderable in itself, would not depart from the spirit of the Treaty, that is

to say, from the system of a very moderate protection, which tends to substitute equality for privilege. It would be impossible to attach any meaning to Article XXI if its modifications of which both experience and investigation have demonstrated the necessity, were rejected without examination. In a despatch of the 29th of January to Lord Lyons, the English Government, without concealing from us its repugnance to sanctioning duties of which the tendency might appear to be protective, has nevertheless declared to us that even in this respect it would not shut the door to all negotiation as long as it was a question of unimportant augmentations. Now it seems to us that this is the very hypothesis with which we have to deal. I beg you to represent to Lord Granville that the details of our propositions having been long known to the English Administration, we consider that we have a right to expect from it at last the precise expression of its opinion upon our propositions in themselves.

The second series of our propositions being especially fiscal, ought not, in principle, to meet with peremptory objections. The Queen's Government have several times assured us of their good-will, should it prove necessary to assist us in our financial difficulties. This involved the possibility of consenting to the creation or the augmentation of duties, as one cannot see in what other way the promised assistance could be realized. It was, therefore, with confidence that we proposed the scheme to which I am about to refer.

Availing ourselves of Article IX of the Treaty of the 23rd January, and of Article III of the Convention of the 10th of November, we thought, and we continue to think, that both the letter and the spirit of those Articles authorize us to propose the establishment of an import duty upon raw materials, and especially upon textiles, a tax which, tending to weigh upon our countrymen and to raise the price of their products, would justify the imposition of a compensatory duty on the corresponding foreign products.

In itself, and excepting certain applications, this system does not offer any protective features.

Real protective duties are essentially differential. In this case, on the contrary, our aim is to equalize the taxes upon all producers, whether French or foreign. Equality is the aim of the system. No doubt a new tax will be the result; but it must needs be so, seeing that the question is one of a fiscal proposition.

Some textile materials of certain sources are, it is true, exempted from all duties, by the Convention of the 16th of November. But is it necessary to repeat that the financial necessities which weigh upon France can only be removed by means of new taxes, and this does not constitute, in principle, a protection for one industry at the expense of another.

I am aware that it has been maintained in the name of the Government of the Queen, that the Articles of the Treaty upon which we rely, do not bear the construction which we would put upon them. This newly raised objection does not seem to us to have all the force which is attributed to it.

If we take, for example, cotton, it is certain that the import duty on raw cottons is a tax which concerns us at home. Advanced by the manufacturer, it is in its last stage paid by the consumer, who treats it as part of the price of the goods, after the manner of every other indirect tax, and it can therefore be assimilated either to an excise duty or tax, of which mention is made in Article IX of the Treaty, or to the direct or indirect charges mentioned by the Convention of the 16th November, and which ought to be compensated by an equivalent charge on foreign products.

There is certainly more difficulty in regard to textiles, of which similar kinds are produced at home; and wool, above others, is that which has been most frequently cited in the course of the discussion. Wool being a French product, which cannot be taxed directly, the duties which would burden that which comes from abroad, would constitute a protection for the manufacturer who employs equally wools from both sources. But then this protection would not amount to the entire duty. An average price would be established on account of the two sources of the material employed, and by proportioning the compensatory duty to this average price, one would go far towards re-establishing equality. This would be thoroughly understood, if, as should justly be done, one took account of the increase of burdens, unforeseen at the time of concluding the Treaties, and which imperative circumstances have imposed on the French producer. Here, again, is to be found one of these indirect charges pointed out in the Convention of November, as capable of burthening the French manufacturers. It appears then to us that, in certain cases, the letter, and in all, the spirit of the Treaties would be far from excluding the taxation of raw materials.

It has been said that the discussion on this question ought to be adjourned, because it would be hypothetical, as the proposed tax might not be adopted by the National Assembly. But the Government, who have not changed their opinion, persist in believing that they could not discover a preferable system of taxation. It becomes,

therefore, necessary to know what they are to look for as regards the intentions of the Government of the Queen, and it is their duty to acquaint the latter that their propositions on this subject are not abandoned, and that they ask for a definite reply.

They would wish, without doubt, such propositions to be accepted immediately and by means of negotiations; but if, as there is ground for fearing their hope cannot be realized, if they are shortly driven to a formal denunciation, this will but be to give notice, in order not to expose themselves to retarding too much the period when they will recover, like England itself, their fiscal liberty. In the interval, they will not refuse to again negotiate. Nevertheless, they do not conceal their opinion that it would be more conformable to true economic principles, if the two countries were replaced on a footing of reciprocal liberty.

Whatever may happen, we entertain the firm assurance that cordiality and good-will will be thoroughly maintained in the relations between the two nations.

You will be good enough, M. le Duc, to read this despatch to the Principal Secretary of State, and to leave a copy of it with him.

Agree, &c.
(Signed) REMUSAT.

No. 91.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 10, 1872.

THE Duc de Broglie met me this afternoon, after the sitting of the Cabinet. I told him that I had informed my colleagues of the substance of our last conversation. They were of opinion that discussions as to who were right or wrong in the views respectively taken of the proposals which had been made to us, would not lead to any practical result. They understood the difficulty on the part of the French Government of presenting Her Majesty's Government with a complete scheme, until the legislation on the subject was accomplished; but if it could be shown to us that in that scheme there would be such a departure from the Protectionist principles, which had been laid down by M. Thiers, as would tend to remove our objections, Her Majesty's Government would be ready to come to an agreement, such as that which had been proposed by the Duc de Broglie, for the purpose of giving time for negotiation, without a sacrifice of time on the part of the French Government beyond the twelve months from this date.

The Duc de Broglie, however, replied, that it was not likely that M. Thiers would recede from views to which he attached great importance, and that it would therefore be better to drop this plan, in which I concurred; and he placed in my hands the despatch, of which I inclose a copy,* containing a formal demand for the resumption of negotiations.

If the denunciation took place, it would only be, he added, in order to recover their fiscal liberty, a measure of a purely commercial and financial character which would have no effect upon the political relations between the two countries.

The step would be taken to establish the date of the renunciation; and if at any time during the twelvemonth which will remain, Her Majesty's Government show a desire to renew negotiations, they will be cordially met by the French Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 92.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 13, 1872.

HER Majesty's Government have had under their consideration, in communication with the Law Advisers of the Crown, the question as to the position in which this country stands towards France in regard to the new French Law imposing differential duties on merchandise imported into France in foreign ships; and I have now to acquaint your Excellency that as the duties proposed to be imposed are to be levied, not on the ships, but on the cargoes, according to weight, they are duties on the importation of goods within the meaning of the Vth Article of the Convention of the 16th of November, 1860, and that having regard to the Treaties which France has concluded with Austria and

* No. 90.

Sweden, no such duties can, in the view of the British Government, be imposed on goods imported in British ships, while such Treaties remain in force.

Your Excellency will make a communication in the sense of this despatch to the French Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 93.

Lord Lyons to Lord Granville.—(Received February 15.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 14, 1872.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a note in which, in obedience to the instruction contained in your Lordship's despatch of yesterday, I have stated to the Government of France that the new differential duties on merchandize imported into France in foreign ships cannot, in the view of Her Majesty's Government, be imposed on goods imported in British ships while the French Treaties with Austria and Sweden remain in force.

Your Lordship will perceive that, *mutatis mutandis*, my note is written in exactly the same terms as your Lordship's despatch.

With my despatch of the 9th instant, I had the honour to transmit to your Lordship copies of the circular instructions which had been issued by the Customs Department with regard to the law imposing the new duties; and I directed your Lordship's attention to the fact that while the ships of Austria, Sweden and Norway, the Zollverein, and Portugal were by those instructions exempted altogether from the "surtaxes de pavillon" on merchandize imported by them, the exemption was, in the case of British ships, confined to merchandize imported direct from the United Kingdom, and to Indian cotton, jute, and Australian wool, imported from the countries in which they are produced.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 93.

Lord Lyons to M. de Rémusat.

M. le Ministre,

Paris, February 14, 1872.

HER Majesty's Government have had under their consideration the question as to the position in which Great Britain stands towards France in regard to the French law imposing differential duties on merchandize imported into France in foreign ships; and Her Majesty's Government have directed me to state to the Government of France, that as the duties proposed to be imposed are to be levied not on the ships but on the cargoes according to weight, they are duties on the importation of goods within the meaning of the Vth Article of the Convention of the 16th of November, 1860, and that having regard to the Treaties which France has concluded with Austria and Sweden, no such duties can, in the view of the British Government, be imposed on goods imported in British ships, while such Treaties remain in force.

In making by order of my Government the preceding communication, I am, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 94.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received February 16.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 15, 1872.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a note which I received last night from M. de Rémusat, in answer to that dated the 30th ultimo, in which, in obedience to your Lordship's orders, I called the attention of the French Government to two particular cases, in which the Anglo-French Treaties preclude the immediate enforcement of the new French Law on the merchant navy.

Your Lordship will, no doubt, give me instructions respecting this answer, and inform

me how far it may be regarded by Her Majesty's Government as satisfactory, and how far the Circular of the Customs Department, a copy of which was inclosed in my despatch of the 9th instant, may be held to give effect to the declarations made in the answer, or to the Treaty stipulations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 94.

M. de Rémusat to Lord Lyons.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Versailles, le 13 Février, 1872.

VOTRE Excellence a bien voulu, par la lettre qu'elle m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 30 du mois dernier, appeler mon attention sur quelques unes des conséquences que semblerait devoir entraîner l'application à l'Angleterre de la nouvelle loi sur la marine marchande.

Les observations du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique portent, en premier lieu, sur la tarification des jutes, des cotons, et des laines. Les dispositions de la Convention Supplémentaire du 16 Novembre, 1860, ne sauraient permettre d'élever un doute sur ce point ; je n'hésite donc pas à déclarer à votre Excellence que la surtaxe d'entrepôt édictée par la nouvelle loi ne sera appliquée ni aux jutes de l'Inde en brins ou teillés, ni aux cotons de l'Inde en laine, ni aux laines en masse d'Australie, lorsque ces produits seront importés soit directement des lieux de production, soit des entrepôts du Royaume Uni, sous pavillon Français ou Britannique.

Votre Excellence fait remarquer, en second lieu, qu'aucune des marchandises d'origine ou de manufacture Britannique mentionnées au Tarif annexé à la Convention Supplémentaire du 16 Novembre ne pourra être frappée d'une surtaxe, lorsqu'elle sera importée d'un entrepôt dans les conditions déterminées par la Convention, c'est-à-dire, directement du Royaume Uni sous pavillon Français ou Anglais.

La question ainsi posée me semblerait nécessiter quelques éclaircissements. Les marchandises d'entrepôt sont, en effet, généralement des produits exotiques, et je m'explique difficilement que des marchandises d'origine ou de manufacture Britannique puissent être entreposées et tomber par suite sous l'application de la surtaxe d'entrepôt.

Tout ce que je puis affirmer à votre Excellence c'est que conformément à la Convention du 16 Novembre, les marchandises d'origine ou de manufacture Britannique, importées directement en France par navires Anglais ou Français, ne seront soumises sous quelque dénomination que ce soit, à aucun droit supérieur aux droits inscrits dans le Tarif annexé à la Convention.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) REMUSAT.

(Translation.)

M. l'Ambassadeur,

YOUR Excellency was good enough, in the letter which you did me the honour to address to me on the 30th of last month, to call my attention to some of the consequences which the application to England of the new Law on marine merchandize would seem to entail.

The observations of Her Britannic Majesty's Government refer, in the first instance, to the tarification of jute, cotton, and wool. The provisions of the Supplementary Convention of the 16th November, 1860, do not allow of a doubt to be raised on this subject ; I do not hesitate, therefore, to inform your Excellency that the surtax and entrepôt decreed by the new Law would be applied neither to Indian jute in the fibre or hackled, nor to Indian cotton wool, nor to Australian wool in bulk, when these products are imported, either directly from the places where they are manufactured, or from the bonded warehouses of the United Kingdom, under French or British flag.

The question placed thus seems to me to necessitate certain explanations :—

Bonded goods are generally exotic productions, and I can scarcely understand how goods of British origin or manufacture can be placed in bond, and consequently become liable to a "surtaxe d'entrepôt."

All that I can assure your Excellency of is that, in conformity with the Convention of the 16th November, goods of original or British manufacture, imported directly into France in English or French vessels, will not be liable, under whatever denomination they may come, to any duties inscribed in the Tariff annexed to the Convention.

Receive, &c.
(Signed) REMUSAT.

No. 95.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 16, 1872.

THE communication made to me by the Duc de Broglie in the conversation which I had with his Excellency, as reported in my despatch of the 5th instant, was to the effect that the French Government could denounce the Treaty at once, but that, for the better chance of a successful negotiation on the question of the Commercial Treaty, they would be willing to defer the denunciation of the Treaty of 1860 for a time, on condition that, if the negotiation were unsuccessful, the time spent in such negotiation should be deducted from the twelve months which must elapse under the terms of the present Treaty before the Treaty can be cancelled.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 96.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received February 17.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 16, 1872.

WITH my despatch of yesterday I sent to your Lordship by post a copy of M. de Rémusat's answer to my note of the 30th ultimo, respecting the new Merchant Navy Law; and I had the honour to ask for instructions from your Lordship as to how far the answer was to be regarded as satisfactory, and how far the Circular of the Customs Department of the 4th instant gave due effect to the declaration in the answer, or to the Treaty stipulations.

Your Lordship will not fail to have observed that, in speaking of the importation of wool, jute, and cotton, M. de Rémusat declares it to be free in certain cases from the "surtaxe d'entrepôt," but makes no mention of the "surtaxe de pavillon." You will also have seen that he uses the term "entrepôts du Royaume Uni," instead of the term "British entrepôts," which was employed in my note, and in the despatch from your Lordship on which it was founded. I do not know whether in this matter the two terms are equivalent.

In the Customs Circular the following passage occurs under the heading of "surtaxes de pavillon :"—"Conformément au Traité, la surtaxe ne sera pas applicable au coton de l'Inde, au jute et à la laine d'Australie importés des pays de production par navires Anglais." No mention is made of entrepôts in this passage.

Under the heading "surtaxes d'entrepôt," the Circular contains the following passage :—"Le coton de l'Inde, le jute et les laines d'Australie importés des pays contractants continueront d'être affranchis de la surtaxe."

Your Lordship will recollect that the Circular distinctly states that in general, so far as England is concerned, the exemption from the "surtaxe de pavillon" applies only to direct intercourse between France and the United Kingdom.

This Circular was, however, issued some time before the claim to exemption from the differential duties, under the most-favoured-nation clause of the Convention of the 16th November, 1860, was presented to the French Government in the note which I addressed to M. Rémusat by your Lordship's order the day before yesterday.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 97.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 17, 1872.

WITH the view to a more definite statement of the case, I think it well to furnish your Excellency with the following remarks, in addition to those contained in my despatch of the 13th instant, respecting the new French Law imposing differential duties on merchandise imported into France in foreign ships.

Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the proposed French duties are not properly to be considered duties imposed upon shipping, but duties imposed on mer-

chandize, being duties imposed on goods which are in each case the subject of freight, and not on the tonnage of each ship according to measurement. The motive for imposing the duties may be in fact to give a preference to French shipping; but if Her Majesty's Government understand the matter rightly, they are proposed to be levied on the merchandise and not on the ships, and as such are not navigation dues, but Customs duties.

Your Excellency will judge whether it is necessary at the present moment to address a further communication on this point to the French Government, but when there is occasion to do so you will be guided by the tenor of this despatch.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 98.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 17, 1872.

I SAW the Duc de Broglie to-day after the Cabinet, and told his Excellency that I hoped soon to send him a formal answer to the communication which he made to me on the 10th instant, in the shape of a despatch which had been addressed to himself by M. de Rémusat; but that I was waiting for a letter from the Board of Trade on the subject.

I thought it, however, right to tell his Excellency that the general character of my answer would be that, although Her Majesty's Government were prepared to consider any new propositions which the French Government might think it right to make, they saw no chance of arriving at any satisfactory result by discussions on the same proposals which had already been made to them, and without the whole scheme of the French Government being before them.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 99.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 20, 1872.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatches of the 15th and 16th instant, I have to state that as the Customs Circular, the interpretation of which forms the subject of M. de Rémusat's note of the 13th instant, was issued before the claim on the part of Great Britain to exemption from differential duties under the most-favoured-nation clause of the Convention of the 16th November, 1860, was presented to the French Government, I do not think that it is necessary for your Excellency at the present time to discuss further the provisions of that Circular.

When the answer of the French Government to this claim is received, I shall be better able to judge as to the further instructions to be addressed to you on the question of the "surtaxe de pavillon."

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 100.

Earl Granville to the Duc de Broglie.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Foreign Office, February 24, 1872.

HER Majesty's Government have not failed to give their most careful consideration to the despatch from M. de Rémusat of the 7th of this month, which your Excellency was so good as to communicate to me on the 10th instant, relative to the revision of the Commercial Treaty between this country and France. I have now the honour to state to your Excellency the observations which Her Majesty's Government have to offer with respect to this communication: in the first place, however, I think it will be well to recapitulate once more the principles on which they have acted in regard to this question.

Her Majesty's Government have acknowledged the full right of France to judge what her fiscal necessities require, and whether and how far any increase of protective restrictions on trade will aid her in meeting them.

Her Majesty's Government accordingly, beyond a frank statement of facts and reasons, make no complaint of the measures taken by the French Government in this sense.

If the Treaty restrains France in matters purely fiscal, Her Majesty's Government are ready to modify the Treaty as far as those points are concerned.

With regard to protective proposals, Her Majesty's Government have felt great objections to accepting any such, but they did not absolutely and finally close the doors against them.

First, because it appeared possible that such protective proposals might be minimized and rendered insignificant; and, secondly, because the general spirit actuating the policy of the French Government as to trade was sure to become much more evident when they should have promulgated their entire plans beyond as well as within the Treaty.

Her Majesty's Government have been ever ready to consider whatever proposals the French Government might lay before them, and have been anxious to assist the French Government in these matters as far as lay in their power. Nevertheless, they have always stated that they could not depart from the general principles of the system of commercial policy which the Treaty embodies; nor could they neglect their duty towards British interests concerned, neither could they assent, either in principle or as to details, to proposals which have not been fully placed before them, and they thought the denunciation of the Treaty would be a very great step towards its extinction, though it would not preclude further negotiations should the French Government desire their renewal.

Whatever the result of the present discussion may be, Her Majesty's Government would endeavour to prevent any diminution in the cordial feeling between the two countries; and although they themselves intend no war of Tariffs nor any return to protective duties, they would value the recovery of fiscal freedom, in case they should have occasion to use it upon any of the points in which the Treaty now, to a certain extent, restrain them.

With regard to the statement of M. de Rémusat, in the communication which I have now the honour to acknowledge, "*Je vous prie de représenter à Lord Granville que les détails de nos propositions étant depuis longtemps connues de l'Administration Anglaise, nous nous croyons en droit d'attendre d'elle, enfin, l'expression précise de son opinion sur nos propositions en elles-mêmes.*" I am constrained to recall to your Excellency's recollection that Her Majesty's Government have not up to the present time received the Table C, referred to in your note of the 13th of September last. The proposals of the French Government respecting Tariff alterations have thus never been placed before Her Majesty's Government in a complete form; and until they have been so communicated Her Majesty's Government are unable to judge correctly of their full scope.

As regards the tax on raw materials and compensatory duties on manufactured articles, Her Majesty's Government admit that they are capable of being considered as imposed for fiscal purposes only, and that there would be no objection to them on the ground of protection, provided that any raw materials produced in France were equally taxed, and provided that the compensatory duties on manufactured articles are limited to the amount of tax imposed on the imported raw material employed in their manufacture.

But if, as is the case with wool and silk, the raw material is also produced in France, and when there produced is not taxed, the tax on the imported raw material becomes a protective tax in favour of the French wool and silk grower as against the foreign competitor.

With regard to duties on certain manufactures to be imposed so as not to exceed 15 per cent., I must point out that this measure would give the French manufacturers of these articles a larger amount of protection than they now enjoy; and further, that these duties are avowedly increased for protective and not for fiscal purposes.

And now, M. l'Ambassadeur, I have to recur to the observation I made, that Her Majesty's Government would be better able to judge of the actual nature of the proposals of the French Government when more accurate knowledge had been obtained of their plans beyond as well as within the Treaty. In addition to the levying of duties which in themselves were at least doubtful and were certainly in specific instances imposed with hardship, in the case of British mineral oils, the recent law relative to the mercantile marine is also avowedly of a Protectionist character. Although no formal Treaty of Navigation was at the time concluded between the two countries, a distinct understanding was come to in 1866, in consequence of which, on the one hand, certain local exemptions in ports of the United Kingdom dating from ancient times, of which the French Government

complained, have been extinguished by Act of Parliament, and pecuniary compensation granted to the parties affected; and, on the other hand, British vessels in French ports received most-favoured-nation treatment. As at present advised in the matter, Her Majesty's Government consider the duties imposed under the recent *Marine Marchande* Law to be in reality "Customs" duties; and Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris is in communication with the French Government on the subject. But it appears that the French Customs authorities understand the matter differently; and it is, therefore, incumbent upon me to point out to your Excellency the effect of their construction of the new Law. Not only will the understanding of 1866 be put an end to, on the faith of which the Government of this country applied to Parliament to vote money to extinguish the local rights to which I have referred; but large amounts of British capital invested in the formation of lines of British vessels to navigate to French ports will be imperilled; such vessels being practically excluded from the French trade in consequence of the disadvantageous position in which they are placed relatively to the vessels of those countries which continue to enjoy the most-favoured-nation treatment. The recent Law relative to the *Mercantile Marine* is, therefore, not only entirely Protectionist, but, in its effects, is calculated to act specifically against British shipping.

Taking then these proposals of the French Government as a whole, Her Majesty's Government regret to be compelled to state that they can only see in them measures which will restrict the commercial relations of the two countries.

In conclusion, I have the honour to state to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government regret that the question of alterations in the Commercial Treaty between France and Great Britain has not up to the present time been placed before them in a form in which it could be fully discussed. I must not conceal from your Excellency that the classes of persons in this country so deeply affected in connection with the matters of mineral oils and merchant shipping feel very strongly on these questions; and that the attitude the persons affected have hitherto maintained is to be attributed to the earnest and sincere desire of the people of this country to maintain and strengthen those ties of mutual interest and benefit which have increased so much in late years, and which are in no small degree owing to the operation of the Commercial Treaty.

Her Majesty's Government would most gladly assist France in the financial matters under discussion to the utmost extent in their power within the spirit of the Commercial Treaty of 1860. To obviate, however, any future misapprehension as to the date of the denunciation of the Treaty, should the French Government decide on such a course, and on negotiations concurrent with the denunciation, I should be glad if your Excellency would fix the date when the French Government have so decided, in order that the arrangement, if a special one, may be recorded in a public document, to prevent injury to mercantile interests. But I beg to repeat the assurance on the part of Her Majesty's Government that, whatever may be the result of the negotiations respecting the Commercial Treaty, it will be their earnest wish, and the object of their best endeavours that the general friendly relations of the two countries, and their united action on political questions, may continue unimpaired.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 101.

Lord Lyons' to Earl Granville.---(Received February 26.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 24, 1872.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship, extracted from the "Journal Officiel" of this day, the Law promulgated by the President of the Republic, authorizing the Government, should they deem it advisable, to denounce the Treaties of Commerce with England and Belgium.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 101.

*Extract from the "Journal Officiel" of February 24, 1872.**Versailles, le 23 Février, 1872.*

L'ASSEMBLEE NATIONALE a adopté,
 Le Président de la République Française promulgue la Loi dont la teneur suit :
 L'Assemblée Nationale considérant que sans revenir au régime économique antérieur à 1860, il y a lieu, dans la situation actuelle du pays, de réviser les Tarifs de Douane,

Décrète :

Article 1. Le Gouvernement est autorisé à dénoncer en temps utile les Traités de Commerce faits avec l'Angleterre et la Belgique.

Art. 2. Les Tarifs Conventionnels resteront en vigueur jusqu'au vote des Tarifs nouveaux par l'Assemblée Nationale.

Délibéré en séance publique, à Versailles, le 2 Février, 1872.

Le Président,
 (Signé) JULES GREVY.

Les Secrétaires,
 (Signé) BARON DE BARANTE.
 PAUL BETHMONT.
 Marquis DE CASTELLANE.
 PAUL DE REMUSAT.

Le Président de la République,
 (Signé) A. THIERS.

Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères,
 (Signé) REMUSAT.

(Translation.)

Versailles, February 23, 1872.

THE National Assembly has adopted, the President of the French Republic has promulgated the law, the purport of which is as follows :—

The National Assembly considering that, without returning to the economical system, prior to 1860, in the present situation of the country there is occasion to revise the Customs Tariff.

Decrees :—

Article 1. The Government is authorized to denounce, when necessary, the Treaties of Commerce with England and Belgium.

Art. 2. The Conventional Tariffs will remain in force until the vote of the new Tariffs by the National Assembly.

Considered in the public meeting at Versailles, the 2nd February, 1872.

The President,
 (Signed) JULES GREVY.

The Secretaries,
 (Signed) BARON DE BARANTE.
 PAUL BETHMONT.
 Marquis DE CASTELLANE.
 PAUL DE RÉMUSAT.

The President of the Republic,
 (Signed) A. THIERS.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs,
 (Signed) RÉMUSAT

No. 102.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received March 2.)

My Lord,

Paris, March 2, 1872.

IN your despatch of the 17th ultimo, your Lordship did me the honour to furnish me with some information in addition to that contained in your previous despatch of the

13th ultimo, respecting the view taken by Her Majesty's Government of the new French law imposing differential duties on merchandize imported into France in foreign ships.

Your Lordship left it to me to judge whether it would be necessary at the moment to address a further communication to the French Government, but you desired that when there might be occasion to do so, I should be guided by the tenor of your second despatch.

The case appeared to me to be stated with sufficient clearness in your Lordship's first despatch in the exact terms of which I had addressed a note to the French Government; and I thought that it would be better to abstain from any further communication on the subject, until Her Majesty's Government had made a general answer to the expression of the opinion of the French Government respecting the Commercial Treaties, which was contained in M. de Rémusat's despatch to the Duc de Broglie of the 7th instant.

Being now in possession of a copy of your Lordship's note to the Duc de Broglie of the 24th ultimo, by which this answer is given, and perceiving that your Lordship has particularly adverted in it to the question of the duties on merchandize imported in foreign ships, I have thought it right to make known to M. de Rémusat the additional information contained in your despatch of the 17th of last month. I have accordingly put into his hand this afternoon a Memorandum in the terms of that despatch, and I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of it to your Lordship.

M. de Rémusat took the opportunity of mentioning to me that he had received from the Duc de Broglie a copy of your Lordship's note. He observed that it was couched in very courteous language, but that it did not appear to make much change in the situation of the negotiation. He said, with reference to the last paragraph of the note, that M. de Broglie had, in conversation with your Lordship, suggested that the formal denunciation of the Treaty might be deferred, on condition that if the negotiation were unsuccessful the time spent in it should be deducted from the twelve months' notice. M. de Rémusat proceeded to tell me that it had at once struck him, that although such an arrangement might be possible between the two Governments, it would not be fair to the private persons interested, who were entitled to expect to have public notice of the exact time at which the abrogation of the Treaty might be looked for. He added that he gathered from your Lordship's note that Her Majesty's Government were of the same opinion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 102.

Note Verbale.

ON the 14th of last month Lord Lyons addressed a note to his Excellency M. de Rémusat, in which, by order of his Government, he stated that as the duties imposed by the new Merchant Navy Law were to be levied not on the ships but on the cargoes according to weight, they were duties on the importation of goods within the meaning of the 5th Article of the Convention of the 16th November, 1860.

With a view to a more definite statement of the case, it may be well to remark that, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, these duties are not properly to be considered duties imposed upon shipping, but duties imposed on merchandize, being duties imposed on goods which are in each case the subject of freight, and not on the tonnage of each ship according to measurement. The motive for imposing the duties may be, in fact, to give a preference to French shipping, but, if Her Majesty's Government understand the matter rightly, they are intended to be levied on the merchandize and not on the ships, and as such are not navigation dues but customs duties.

Paris, March 1, 1872.

No. 103.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received March 2.)

My Lord,

Paris, March 1, 1872.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul at Brest, reporting that the new quay duty has been levied at that port on two British ships.

Your Lordship will remember that by the 6th Article of the Law of the 30th January

the quay duty is imposed upon all merchant ships, French and foreign, coming to France with cargoes; but that merchant ships without cargoes are exempted by the Law, and that the Customs Circular of the 4th instant exempts also ships of war, pleasure yachts, and ships compelled to put in, which do not land anything.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 103.

Consul Rainals to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Brest, February 27, 1872.

I HAD the honour to report to your Excellency that the barque "Caroline Sainty" of Guernsey, John Quesnel, master, burthen 205 tons, and the schooner "King," of Jersey, P. de la Mare, master, have this day been measured by the authorities of the Customs in conformity with a Law passed on the 30th of January last and in accordance with instructions from the Minister of Commerce, dated 4th instant, and that a quay duty has been charged on both vessels, at the rate of 50 c. per measurement ton, making 119 fr. for the barque "Caroline Sainty" and 38 fr. for the schooner "King."

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. RAINALS.

No. 104.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 2, 1872.

I APPROVE the manner in which your Excellency has executed the instructions contained in my despatches of the 13th and 17th ultimo, relative to differential duties imposed under the new French law on merchandize imported into France in foreign ships, as reported in your despatch of yesterday's date.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 105.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 2, 1872.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of yesterday's date, respecting the differential duties imposed by the French Merchant Marine Law on British shipping, I have to request you to endeavour to obtain, without further delay, a statement of the views of the French Government on the representations which have been addressed to them by Her Majesty's Government on this question, and which are based not only on the verbal construction of the Treaty, and Second Supplementary Convention of 1860, but on general grounds. The matter is one of pressing moment to the mercantile interests of this country.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 106.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received March 4.)

My Lord,

Paris, March 3, 1872.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a note in which, in obedience to the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of yesterday. I have asked for an early communication of the views of the French Government on the question of the liability of merchandize imported into France in British vessels, to the differential duties established by the new French Law on the Merchant Navy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 106.

Lord Lyons to M. de Rémusat.

M. le Ministre,

Paris, March 3, 1872.

I AM desired by Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to endeavour to obtain from the Government of France an early communication of their views on the representations which have been addressed to them by Her Majesty's Government on the question of the liability of merchandise imported in British ships to the differential duties imposed by the Law of the 30th January last.

These representations have been based not only on the construction of the Treaty and Second Supplementary Convention of 1860, but on general grounds; and the matter is one of pressing moment to the mercantile interests of Great Britain.

I have therefore the honour, in obedience to the instructions which I have received, to recommend it to the immediate attention of the French Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 107.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received March 9.)

My Lord,

Paris, March 8, 1872.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a despatch which I have received this morning from Mr. Rainals, Her Majesty's Consul at Brest.

It gives quotations from the Law of the 30th January, 1872, imposing differential duties on goods imported by foreign ships, and from the Circular respecting the execution of that law which was issued by the Customs Department on the 4th of last month. These documents are perfectly well known to your Lordship. Copies of both were inclosed in my despatch of the 9th instant.

Mr. Rainals calls attention to the cases of two British vessels, the "Sharon's Rose" and "Fanny," on the cargoes of which the "surtaxes de pavillon" have been levied, and he points out that these vessels sailed from Riga before the Law of the 30th January was passed.

There does not appear to be, either in the Law or in the Circular, any clause exempting from the "surtaxes de pavillon et d'entrepôt," merchandise imported by vessels which had sailed from foreign ports before the Law was promulgated.

The French Government has not yet answered the note of the 14th ultimo, in which, by your Lordship's order, I informed the French Government that, having regard to the Vth Article of the Anglo-French Convention of the 16th November, 1860, and to the Treaties which France has concluded with Austria and Sweden, Her Majesty's Government hold that the differential duties ought not to be levied upon merchandise imported in British ships.

In the meantime, these duties, as Mr. Rainals' despatch shows, continue to be levied upon the cargoes of British ships.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 107.

Consul Rainals to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Brest, March 6, 1872.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that two British vessels, namely, the "Fanny," Captain Carter, and the "Sharon's Rose," Captain Godden, have recently arrived here from Riga, laden with hemp, consigned to Messrs. Michel Brothers, merchants of this town, and that these cargoes, in consequence of being on board British ships, have been charged with an additional duty—Surtaxe de Pavillon—of 75 c. per 100 kilos., or about 7 fr. 50 c. per ton.

This duty is charged in conformity with the Law of January 30, 1872.

But upon perusal of the Circular issued by the Director-General of Customs, and dated February 4, 1872, I find this passage on the subject:—

"La Loi nouvelle ne porte pas atteinte aux immunités inscrites dans nos Traités de Commerce ou de Navigation avec les autres Puissances. Il y a lieu, en conséquence, d'affranchir de la surtaxe (1) à l'importation directe, les navires de tous les pays contractants, l'Espagne exceptée; (2) à l'importation de tous pays quelconques, les navires de l'Autriche, de la Belgique, de la Hollande, de l'Italie, de la Suède et de la Norvège, du Zollverein, et du Portugal."

By this it is evident that British ships, as carriers, are placed at a considerable disadvantage, as compared with those of the countries named.

As regards the two vessels in question, it appears to me scarcely justifiable to exact the additional duty, because the one, "Sharon's Rose," left Riga on the 24th of November, and the other, "Fanny," on the 31st December last, consequently before the law had been enacted.

The Law of January 30, 1872, makes all foreign ships liable to this additional duty, but the Circular makes the exceptions quoted, and the authorities intend to carry out the Instructions it contains.

Cargoes by British and other vessels are now further charged 10 c. (as "droits de statistique") for each package landed; and, as regards cargoes in bulk, such as coal, hemp, grain, &c., this charge is made on each 1,000 kilos. discharged.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HARRY RAINALS.

P.S.—The passage quoted above from the Customs Circular is followed by one thus worded:—

"En ce qui concerne l'Angleterre, le service ne perdra pas de vue que l'exemption n'est acquise, à titre général, qu'à l'intercourse directe entre la France et le Royaume Uni; toutefois, conformément au Traité, la surtaxe ne sera pas applicable au coton de l'Inde, au jute, et à la laine d'Australie importés des pays de production par navires Anglais."

H. R.

No. 108.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville—(Received March 9.)

(Extract.)

Paris, March 8, 1872.

IN considering the Customs Circular of the 4th February, a copy of which was inclosed in my despatch of the 9th of that month, your Lordship will not fail to have observed that Spain is not included in the list given of the Powers exempted, in virtue of Treaty stipulations, from the "surtaxes de pavillon," or other differential duties. I understood, however, that Spanish ships and their cargoes have since been in fact exempted from differential duties; and that Spain has obtained this concession, not by putting forward any claim to it as of right under a Treaty, but simply by declaring that in retaliation for any duty affecting Spanish shipping in France, an equal duty would at once be imposed upon French shipping in Spain.

I spoke to M. de Rémusat this afternoon of the position in which England was placed by the law on the merchant navy. I remarked upon the delay of the French Government in answering our demand to be exempted from the differential duties in virtue of the most-favoured-nation clause of the Convention of November 1860; and I begged him to recollect that, whatever might have been the intention of the French Government, the practical effect of what they had done was that, at this moment, England was specially subjected to differential duties from which most other European nations were exempt. I then adverted to what had been done in the case of Spain, and I begged M. de Rémusat to consider what must be the feeling in England if the claim which Her Majesty's Government made under a Treaty stipulation were rejected, while concessions were made to another Power, simply because that Power had threatened to have recourse to retaliation.

M. de Rémusat did not seem willing to admit that exemption from differential duties had been accorded to Spain.

I answered that I had every reason to feel sure that my information was accurate, and I begged him to ascertain positively for himself how the matter stood with regard to Spain, and in determining upon the answer to be made to Her Majesty's Government not to forget what I had said about the impression which would be produced if it should appear that British ships were specially singled out for unfavourable treatment, because confidence was felt that England would refrain from retaliation.

No. 109.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 13, 1872.

I APPROVE the language held by your Excellency to M. de Rémusat on the operation of the recent French laws on the merchant navy with regard to British shipping, as reported in your despatch of the 8th instant.

I have to request that you will avail yourself of any opportunity of pressing the French Government for an answer to the representations you have already made on the subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 110.

*The Duc de Broglie to Earl Granville.—(Received March 15.)**Londres, le 15 Mars, 1872.*

LE Soussigné, Ambassadeur Extraordinaire et Plénipotentiaire de la République Française, a l'honneur de porter à la connaissance de son Excellence M. le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique les instructions qu'il a reçues de son Gouvernement et qui sont contenues dans la dépêche ci-joint dont il a l'ordre de lui donner communication.

Comme son Excellence le verra par cette dépêche, le Gouvernement de la République a puisé avec regret, dans l'examen de la dernière note qui lui a été transmise au nom du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique, la conviction qu'il devait renoncer à l'espoir de voir accepter en ce moment la révision du Traité de Commerce de 1860 sur les bases qu'il avait proposées.

En conséquence, et par les raisons dont le Soussigné a plusieurs fois eu l'honneur d'entretenir son Excellence, le Gouvernement de la République se voit obligé de faire usage de la faculté réservée par l'Article XXI de ce Traité, et de l'autorisation qui lui a été spécialement accordée à cet effet par l'Assemblée Nationale de France dans la Loi du 2 Février dernier.

Le dit Traité doit donc dès-à-présent, être considéré comme dénoncé par le Gouvernement de la République et ses effets devront cesser, si aucune disposition contraire n'intervient, d'ici là dans une année à partir du jour où la présente communication sera parvenue entre les mains de son Excellence le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat.

Le Soussigné croit pourtant devoir rappeler que si dans le cours de cette année le Gouvernement Britannique pensait pouvoir avec utilité prendre en considération les propositions qui lui ont été faites, le Gouvernement Français a toujours déclaré qu'il se montrait, à toute époque prêt, à rentrer en négociation pour le maintien avec modifications du Traité de 1860.

Il fera observer également qu'en vertu de l'Article 2 de la Loi déjà citée, les Tarifs Conventionnels établis doivent rester en vigueur, même après la cessation du Traité, jusqu'au vote des Tarifs nouveaux par l'Assemblée Nationale, et ne seront par conséquent modifiés que sur les points où cette Assemblée l'aurait jugé indispensable.

Le Gouvernement Britannique verra sans doute dans cette disposition la confirmation de l'assurance qui lui a été plusieurs fois donnée que le Gouvernement Français ne songe point à profiter de la liberté qu'il désire recouvrer, pour opérer une révolution économique de nature à troubler l'ensemble des relations commerciales des deux pays, mais qu'il veut seulement pourvoir dans la plus juste mesure aux besoins urgents des finances et de l'industrie Françaises.

Enfin le Soussigné s'associe pleinement à l'espérance exprimée par son Gouvernement, et confirmée par les assurances réitérées de son Excellence le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat, que la cessation du Traité de Commerce, si elle doit demeurer définitive, ne sera suivie d'aucun refroidissement dans les relations d'intimité qui existent depuis tant d'années entre la France et l'Angleterre et dont le maintien est d'un si grand prix pour les deux nations.

Le Soussigné prie son Excellence de vouloir bien lui accuser réception de la communication qu'il a l'honneur de lui faire, et saisit, &c.

(Signé) BROGLIE.

(Translation.)

London, March 15, 1872.

THE Undersigned, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, has the honour to acquaint his Excellency the Principal Secretary of State of Her Britannic Majesty with the instructions which he has received from his Government, and which are contained in the annexed despatch which he has been instructed to communicate to him.

As his Excellency will perceive from this despatch, the Government of the Republic, after examination of the last note transmitted to it in the name of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, has arrived with regret at the conviction that it must renounce the hope of seeing accepted at present the revision of the Treaty of Commerce of 1860 on the bases which it had proposed.

In consequence, and for the reasons which the Undersigned has several times had the honour to discuss with his Excellency, the Government of the Republic finds itself compelled to make use of the power reserved by Article XXI of this Treaty and of the authorization which has been specially conferred by the National Assembly of France by the Law of the 2nd of February last.

The said Treaty must therefore henceforth be considered as denounced ("dénoncée") by the Government of the Republic, and its provisions will cease, should no contrary arrangement be made in the meanwhile, in a year from the day on which the present communication reaches the hands of his Excellency the Principal Secretary of State.

The Undersigned, however, considers it right to state that, if, in the course of the year the British Government should think it advantageous to take into consideration the proposals which have been made to them, the French Government has always declared that it would show itself ready at any time to resume negotiations for the maintenance, with modifications, of the Treaty of 1860.

He would also direct attention to the fact that, in virtue of Article II of the Law, already mentioned, the Conventional Tariffs existing will remain in force, after the lapse of the Treaty, until the enacting of new Tariffs by the National Assembly, and, consequently, will be modified only on the points which that Assembly may judge indispensable.

The British Government will doubtless perceive in this arrangement the confirmation of the assurance which has been several times given, that the French Government has no thought of profiting by the liberty which it desires to regain to effect an economic revolution of a nature to disturb the entire commercial relations of the two countries, but that it only wishes to provide in the strictest measure for the pressing wants of French finance and industry.

In conclusion, the Undersigned shares fully the hope expressed by his Government, and confirmed by the repeated assurances of his Excellency the Principal Secretary of State, that the cessation of the Treaty of Commerce, if it must be final, will not be followed by any lessening of the intimate relations which have existed for so many years between France and England, and the maintenance of which is of such value to both nations.

The Undersigned begs his Excellency to be so good as to acknowledge the receipt of the communication which he has the honour to make to him, and avails himself, &c.

(Signed) BROGLIE.

Inclosure in No. 110.

M. de Remusat to the Duc de Broglie.

M. le Duc,

Versailles, le 13 Mars, 1872.

LA note que vous avez eue au Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique pour les Affaires Etrangères a été pour le Gouvernement de la République l'objet d'un examen attentif. Il y a reconnu toute la courtoisie que Lord Granville porte dans ses communications avec la France; mais il a eu le regret de trouver dans ce document des objections qui ne lui laissent nul espoir de voir accepter la révision du Traité du 23 Janvier, 1860, sur les bases de négociation qu'il avait proposées.

Un mot seulement sera dit ici de ces propositions; elles se divisent en deux classes. Les unes sans aucun doute ont une tendance protectrice; mais le Traité lui-même est conçu dans un esprit de protection modérée; et puisque le Gouvernement de la Reine a déclaré par deux fois que malgré sa répugnance pour toute protection systématique, il n'opposait pas une fin de non recevoir absolue à toute proposition de droits légèrement

protecteurs, nous aurions désiré qu'il voulût bien examiner si nos propositions n'étaient pas de celles qu'il ne peut tenir pour inacceptables, puisqu'elles sont au-dessous de la limite que s'étaient posée les négociateurs du Traité de 1860. Nous avons d'ailleurs la conviction que si elles étaient acceptées, elles ne porteraient pas une atteinte sensible aux importations de l'industrie Britannique en France. Quant à la seconde classe de nos propositions, elles ont un but éminemment fiscal. Si, comme on nous l'a plusieurs fois rappelé, le tableau détaillé des tarifs projetés n'a pas été fourni, c'est que ces tarifs restaient hypothétiques, tant qu'il n'était pas possible de préjuger à quels calculs s'arrêterait l'Assemblée Nationale. Il règne encore quelque incertitude à cet égard ; mais des désignations de chiffres n'étaient pas nécessaires pour apprécier le système en général, et du moment que nous déclarions notre intention d'imposer certaines matières premières déterminées à un taux qui ne dépasserait jamais 20 pour cent et qui pourrait souvent être inférieur, il nous paraissait facile d'émettre en suffisante connaissance de cause une opinion motivée sur un semblable plan.

Au reste, nous voyons avec satisfaction que le Gouvernement de la Reine se montre plus disposée à entrer dans cet examen qu'il ne l'avait fait jusqu'ici, et des deux conditions qu'il met à la prise en considération de nos projets fiscaux, la seconde portant que les taxes compensatrices sur les produits manufacturés doivent être limitées au montant des droits établis sur les matières premières servant à leur fabrication, cette condition, dis-je, ne saurait donner lieu à aucune contestation. Quant à la première, c'est-à-dire, à l'établissement à l'intérieur d'un droit identique au droit d'entrée qui frapperait les matières premières, elle souffre beaucoup plus de difficulté. Mais sans rappeler toutes les considérations exposées dans notre dépêche du 7 Février, nous ne croyons pas impossible de combiner certains tempéraments qui atténueraient l'inégalité des charges entre le producteur indigène et le producteur étranger.

Mais nous pourrions revenir sur ces diverses questions, si nous rouvrons les négociations que le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique consentirait à reprendre, après que le Traité de 1860 aurait été dénoncé.

Longtemps nous avons espéré éviter cette dénonciation ; nous craignons qu'elle ne fût prise pour le début d'une révolution commerciale, qu'elle ne portât une perturbation trop brisée dans les intérêts engagés sur la foi de Conventions antérieures ; enfin, qu'elle ne devînt pour des esprits prévenus le signe d'un refroidissement entre deux pays qui n'ont que des motifs de constant accord et d'entente mutuelle. Mais les déclarations du Gouvernement de la Reine nous rassurent pleinement. Nous lisons dans la dépêche qui nous est communiquée que s'il regarde la dénonciation du Traité comme un pas vers son extinction définitive, elle ne lui paraît cependant pas un obstacle à des négociations futures. Nous lisons encore que, quel que soit le résultat de la discussion, l'Angleterre persistera d'éviter toute altération dans la cordialité des rapports entre les deux pays, et qu'enfin, bien qu'elle n'ait aucune intention d'engager une guerre de tarifs, elle attacherait comme nous un grand prix à recouvrer sa liberté fiscale.

Ces sentiments sont les nôtres. Pour nous, en effet, la liberté fiscale serait bien précieuse, nécessaire même, dans un moment où nous aurions besoin de toutes nos ressources pour faire face à des charges extraordinaires. C'est cette considération surtout qui nous ferait désirer d'être affranchis des restrictions qu'une série de Conventions Commerciales a imposées pour nous un droit de taxation que possède toute nation sur elle-même. C'est pour sortir de cette sorte d'impuissance que nous sommes conduits à mettre en terme, dès que nous en avons la faculté, aux engagements qui résultent pour nous de nombreux Traités de Commerce. Celui qui nous lie à la Grande Bretagne est le premier qui soit arrivé à l'époque d'une résiliation régulière. Nous ne pouvons plus même compter avec quelque assurance sur la possibilité de modifications qui nous seraient nécessaires. Nous sommes donc obligés de prendre date en le dénonçant aujourd'hui. Confiant dans nos intentions, résolu à n'user qu'avec une grande modération de la liberté qui nous serait rendue, soit en négociant des Conventions nouvelles, soit plutôt en statuant seuls par voie législative sur notre régime commercial, nous avons pris notre résolution sous l'empire d'un intérêt public qui ne peut être méconnu. Veuillez donc, M. l'Ambassadeur, faire connaître au Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique, que dans notre pensée les effets du Traité du 23 Janvier, 1860, doivent expirer un an après le jour où vous lui aurez fait connaître nos intentions. Vous voudrez bien nous en informer immédiatement, afin que le fait soit porté, comme il convient, à la connaissance du commerce et de l'industrie.

Je vous prie de lire cette dépêche au Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté, et, s'il le désire, de lui en laisser copie.

J'espère que la notification qu'elle contient et à laquelle vous donnerez, dans la forme, l'authenticité qui sera jugée convenable, sera reçu dans le même esprit que celui qui l'a

dictée, et qu'aucune atteinte ne sera portée aux sentiments réciproques d'estime et de bienveillance qui subsistent entre les deux nations.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) REMUSAT.

(Translation.)

M. le Duc,

Versailles, March 13, 1872.

THE note which you have received from Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has been the object of attentive examination by the Government of the Republic. It has recognized all the courtesy which Lord Granville uses in his communications with France; but it has regretted to find in this document objections which leave no hope of seeing accepted the revision of the Treaty of January 23, 1860, on the bases of negotiation which had been proposed.

One word only as regards these propositions; they are divided into two classes. One class, without doubt, has a protective tendency, but the Treaty itself is conceived in a spirit of moderate protection; and since the Government of the Queen has on two occasions declared that in spite of its repugnance to all systematic protection, it has no absolute objection to any proposal for slightly protective duties, we could have wished that it had investigated whether our proposals were not of that class which it cannot consider as unacceptable, since they are above the limit which the negotiators of the Treaty of 1860 had laid down. We, moreover, entertain the conviction that, if they were accepted, they would not sensibly affect the importations of British manufactures into France. As for the second class of our proposals, they have an eminently fiscal aim. If, as has several times been represented to us, the detailed Table of the proposed tariffs has not been furnished, it is because these tariffs were hypothetical in so far as it was not possible to predict the figures which the National Assembly might fix. There still exists some uncertainty in this respect; but the exact specification of the amounts was not necessary to the appreciation of the system in general, and from the moment that we declared our intention of subjecting certain raw materials decided upon to a tax which should never exceed 20 per cent., which might often be less, it appeared to us easy to pronounce, with such knowledge of the facts, an opinion founded on a scheme of this nature.

Nevertheless, we observe with satisfaction that the Government of the Queen shows itself more disposed to make this examination than it had hitherto been, and of the conditions which it lays down as essential to a consideration of our fiscal projects, second, stipulating that the compensatory taxes on manufactured products must be limited to the amount of the duties imposed on the raw materials employed in their manufacture would give rise to no dispute. As to the first, that is to say, to the establishment of an internal duty, equivalent to the import duty, which would affect raw materials, there is much more difficulty. But, without recapitulating all the considerations set forth in the despatch of the 7th of February, we do not consider it impossible to combine certain modifications which would lessen the inequality of the burdens between the native and foreign producer.

But we can revert to these different questions, if we re-open the negotiations with Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State would perhaps consent to resume, after the Treaty of 1860.

We long hoped to avoid this denunciation; we feared that it might be looked upon as the commencement of a commercial revolution; that it might cause too sudden a disturbance in interests, based on the faith of former Conventions: lastly, that it might become to prejudiced minds the token of a coolness between two countries moved only by a desire for constant agreement and mutual understanding. But the declarations of the Government of the Queen entirely re-assure us. We read in the despatch which is communicated to us, that if it regards the denunciation of the Treaty as a step towards its definitive extinction, it nevertheless does not look upon it as a bar to future negotiations. We read also that, whatever the result of the discussion may be, England will strive to prevent any alteration in the cordiality of the relations between the two countries, and, finally, although she has no intention of entering upon a war of Tariffs, she, like ourselves, would attach much value to the recovery of her fiscal freedom.

These are our sentiments. For us, in effect, fiscal freedom would be very precious, even necessary at a time when we should require all our resources to meet extraordinary burdens. It is this consideration, above all, that would make us desirous to be freed from the restrictions which a series of Commercial Conventions has imposed as regards us on the right of taxation which every nation possesses over itself. It is in order to extricate ourselves from

this kind of helplessness that we are led to place a limit, as soon as we have the power of doing so, to the engagements which are the result for us of numerous Treaties of Commerce. The one which binds us to Great Britain is the first which has arrived at a term when it can be regularly annulled. We can no longer even reckon with any certainty on the possibility of modifications which would be necessary to us. We are therefore obliged to prepare its cessation by denouncing it now. Confident in our intentions, resolved to use only with great moderation the freedom which would be restored to us, either by negotiation of new Conventions, or rather, by our own legislation on our commercial régime, we have taken this step under the pressure of a public interest which cannot be misunderstood. Will you, therefore, M. l'Ambassadeur, make known to the Principal Secretary of State of Her Britannic Majesty, that in our opinion the operation of the Treaty of January 23, 1860, will expire in one year from the day on which you announced to him our intentions. You will inform us immediately of the fact, in order that it may be communicated in a proper manner to the trading and industrial community.

I request you to read this despatch to the Principal Secretary of State of Her Majesty, and, if he wishes it, to leave a copy with him.

I trust that the notification which it contains, and to which you will impart, in form, the official character which may be deemed proper, will be received in the spirit which has dictated it, and that no injury will be done to the mutual sentiments of regard and friendliness which exist between the two nations.

Accept, &c.
(Signed) REMUSAT.

No. 111.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received March 16.)

(Extract.)

Paris, March 15, 1872.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 8th instant, and to your Lordship's despatch of the 13th instant, I have the honour to report that M. de Rémusat told me this afternoon he had found that I was right in stating that Spanish ships had been exempted from surtaxe de pavillon."

I reminded him that the demand of Her Majesty's Government for the exemption of merchandise imported in British ships was still unanswered, while the differential was still continued to be levied on such merchandise. In fact, I said, the appearance was that England was especially singled out for unfavourable treatment; and I begged M. de Rémusat to do his utmost to put an end to so deplorable a state of things.

No. 112.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

Foreign Office, March 16, 1872.

My Lord,
I TRANSMIT herewith, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a note from the Duc de Broglie,* containing the denunciation of the Treaty of Commerce of 1860, between this country and France.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 113.

Earl Granville to the Duc de Broglie.

Foreign Office, March 18, 1872.

THE Undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has the honour to acknowledge the receipt, on the 15th instant, of the note addressed to him by his Excellency the Duc de Broglie, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from the French Republic, on that day, conveying a notification that the Government of the Republic finds itself under the necessity of exercising the power

* No. 106.

reserved by Article XXI of the Treaty of Commerce of 1860, and conferred by the National Assembly in the Law of the 2nd of February last, with respect to the termination of that Treaty.

His Excellency the Duc de Broglie accordingly informed the Undersigned that the Treaty is to be considered, from the present time, as denounced ("dénoncé") by the Government of the French Republic; and that its operation is to cease in one year, dating from the day (namely, the 15th of March) on which the note of the Duc de Broglie reached the Undersigned.

The Undersigned, in thus acknowledging the receipt of the note of the Duc de Broglie, avails himself, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 114.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received March 20.)

My Lord,

Paris, March 18, 1872.

THE President of the Republic spoke to me yesterday at Versailles of the denunciation of the Commercial Treaty of 1860. He observed that your Lordship's last note (that to the Duc de Broglie of the 24th of last month) had left him little hope that the negotiation would be carried on by Her Majesty's Government on the basis of the proposals he had made. He had not, he went on to say, been able to obtain a specific answer from Her Majesty's Government, and he had felt bound to lose no more time. England need not in the least apprehend any return on his part to the system in force before 1860. Even if the Treaty should be allowed to expire without any new agreement between the two countries, he should not desire to make any greater changes in the French system than those which had been stated in the very moderate proposals which he had submitted to Her Majesty's Government.

I answered that the President was well aware that, for my own part, I deeply regretted that the French Government had raised any question concerning the Commercial Treaty and I did not deny that the denunciation was, in fact, painful to me. The thing, however, was, I said, now done, and I was unwilling to enter with him upon any controversy as to the preceding negotiations. My earnest desire was that, taking matters as they stood, we should on both sides use our best endeavours to maintain friendly feeling. With this object in view, I would once more call his attention to the importance of executing the Treaty, while it lasted, in a fair and liberal spirit. I had often spoken to him on this subject before, and I was sorry to say that there appeared to be at the moment special cause for me to do so again. I had indeed great reason to fear that the Customs authorities were acting in an unprecedented, not to say vexatious, manner with regard to British imports.

The President said that he believed that, in fact, it had been found necessary to be more strict than formerly in the examination of travellers' luggage.

I replied that certainly I thought it would be a great pity if, in addition to the annoyances of the new passport system, English travellers should be exposed to delay and inconvenience with regard to passing their luggage through the Customs. It was not, however, to this matter that the complaints which had reached me related. Those complaints were of a much more serious character. It was represented to Her Majesty's Government that very numerous seizures had been recently made of British goods at French ports; that new and strained interpretations were put upon the Treaty Tariffs; and that, in fact, the Customs officers, with or without instructions from the Government, appeared to have adopted a system which was, to say the least, entirely novel; which had consequently been quite unexpected by importers, and which was embarrassing to them, and injurious to British commerce.

The President answered that nothing could be farther from his wishes than that anything of the kind should take place. Possibly a circular issued by the late Minister of Finance might have been misinterpreted by the Customs officers, but he could assure me that his own intention was that the Treaty should be executed now in the same way as it had always been executed.

I begged the President to use his personal authority to enforce a compliance with his intentions by the subordinate authorities, and he promised to do so.

The President proceeded to tell me that M. de Rémusat had reported to him the language I had held respecting the position in which England had been placed, since the enactment of the new law on the merchant navy; and had, in particular, mentioned the

contrast I had pointed out between the treatment applied to Spanish and that applied to English vessels. It did he said, in fact appear that M. Pouyer-Quertier, the late Minister of Finance, had, without consulting his colleagues, exempted Spain from the "surtaxes de pavillon" by a simple circular to the Customs authorities, and had (which was almost equally strange) referred in that Circular to the ancient "pacte de famille" between the two branches of the House of Bourbon, when one of them reigned in France and the other in Spain.

The President went on to say that he made no doubt that he should be able to show the Spanish Government that it was impossible that the concession, so made, could be maintained.

I replied that I had mentioned the case of Spain to M. de Rémusat, simply with a view to point out the painful effect which the exceptionally unfavourable treatment of British shipping could not fail to have upon public feeling in England. Our position was, I said, quite different from that of Spain. Her Majesty's Government represented that, under the Treaty stipulations, merchandize imported into France by British vessels ought to be exempt from the "surtaxes de pavillon." Spain laid no claim to exemption in virtue of any international engagement; she merely threatened retaliation. My desire was, not that the concession made to Spain should be withdrawn, but that the claim of Great Britain should be admitted.

I went on to say, that as the President had introduced the subject, I could not help asking him to reflect upon the position in which he was, in practice, placing England. Could he believe that the utmost good-will on the part of Her Majesty's Government would avail to maintain a friendly feeling towards France among the mercantile classes in England, if they found that in matters most materially affecting their interests, their country was exceptionally placed in the position of the least-favoured nation?

Could not be the deliberate intention of the French Government? I was sure that this peculiar circumstances to which such a result might in some degree be attributed. I remembered of course that the English Commercial Treaties expired before those with

other Powers, and that we had a more ancient and less complete Navigation Treaty than several other nations. I would not at the moment discuss the question whether the letter of the Treaties justified the course pursued by the French Government. I would merely speak of the effect on public opinion. The public in general would not examine technical points respecting the wording of Treaty Articles—they would regard patent practical results. They would see that the English Treaty was denounced while others subsisted, and that the merchandize brought to France by British ships was, notwithstanding our Treaty with them, subjected to a differential duty, which was not levied on merchandize imported by ships under the flags of Austria, Belgium, Germany, Holland, Italy, Portugal, Sweden, or Spain. Could the public in England be expected to see in these facts proofs of the friendly feeling of France?

The President observed to me (as he had done on previous occasions) that it was not the competition of English shipping that the French merchant navy had most to fear, nor against English shipping that the "surtaxes de pavillon" were chiefly levelled. He repeated in strong terms that it was his earnest desire to be on the best terms with England, and that nothing could be farther from his wish than to treat her less favourably than other friendly nations.

I said that I trusted that he would consider the demand of Her Majesty's Government respecting the "surtaxes de pavillon" in this spirit, and return a favourable answer to it without further delay.

This morning I waited upon M. de Rémusat, before returning to Paris, and related to him what had passed between the President and me. I begged him to use his own endeavours also to put a stop to novel and vexatious proceedings on the part of the Customs officers, and I reminded him of the pressing nature of our claim to exemption from the "surtaxes de pavillon."

M. de Rémusat said that he had already written to the Finance Department respecting the mode of executing the Treaty of Commerce, and he added that he himself felt all the importance of the question of the "surtaxes de pavillon."

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 115.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received March 20.)

My Lord,

Paris March, 19, 1872.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship, extracted from the "Journal Officiel" of this day, an announcement of the denunciation of the Treaty of Commerce with England.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 115.

Extract from the "Journal Officiel" of March 19, 1872.

LE Traité de Commerce avec l'Angleterre a été dénoncé au Gouvernement Britannique par une communication de l'Ambassadeur de France du 15 courant. Il cessera en conséquence d'être en vigueur à partir du 15 Mars 1873.

La voie des négociations reste ouverte pour toutes stipulations concernant le commerce de la France et de l'Angleterre, et l'Article 2 de la Loi du 2 Février dernier porte que les tarifs conventionnels continueront d'être observés jusqu'au vote de tarifs nouveaux par l'Assemblée Nationale.

(Translation.)

THE Treaty of Commerce with England has been announced to the British Government by a communication from the French Ambassador of the 15th instant. It will consequently cease to be in force after the 15th of March, 1873.

The course of negotiations remains open for all arrangements respecting the commerce of France and England; and Article II of the Law of the 2nd of February last provides that the Conventional Tariffs shall continue to be observed until the National Assembly fixes new Tariffs.

No. 116.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 22, 1872.

I HAVE to convey to your Excellency my approval of the language held by me to M. Thiers and M. de Rémusat, on the subject of the "surtaxe de pavillon," as reported in your Excellency's despatch dated the 18th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 117.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 23, 1872.

I THINK it well to state, for your Excellency's information and guidance (with more especial reference to my despatch of the 26th of January), in the event of further discussion on the subject of duties on raw materials, that Her Majesty's Government adhere to the views they have already expressed on this question.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

*Earl Granville to the Duc de Broglie.**Foreign Office, March 25, 1872.*

M. l'Ambassadeur,

IN the note which I had the honour to address to your Excellency on the 18th instant, I acknowledged the receipt of your note of the 15th of this month, conveying the notice given by the Government of the French Republic for the termination of the Treaty of Commerce of 1860.

I now desire to request your Excellency to have the goodness to convey to your Government the following observations on the subject.

In the first place I beg your Excellency to state that Her Majesty's Government fully admit the right of the French Government to terminate the Treaty, while they claim no less fully that the stipulations of the Treaty shall be strictly observed as long as it continues in force.

I feel it the more incumbent upon me to make this statement on account of what appears to be a tendency on the part of the authorities at some of the French Customs stations to limit or strain the terms of the Treaty. In the note which I had the honour to address to your Excellency on the 24th of last month, I adverted to representations made to the French Government by Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris in regard to duties imposed on the introduction into France of mineral oils of British origin. These oils were classed in tariff statements published by the French Customs as chargeable with a duty of 5 per cent.; this regulation was suddenly altered, and the duty on these products has been raised to 37 fr. per 100 kilogrammes, equivalent, according to values given by British dealers, to about 80 per cent. *ad valorem*; whereas, by the terms of the Commercial Treaty, as interpreted by her Majesty's Government, no such duties can exceed 25 per cent.

Nor is this all: in disregard of the provisions of Article XIX of the Treaty of the 23rd of January, 1860, and of the Second Supplementary Convention of the 16th of November of the same year, conferring most-favoured-nation treatment, American mineral oils have been admitted into France at a duty of 5 fr. per 100 kilogrammes lower than that imposed on British oils; whereby, according to values stated by British dealers, an advantage of 9 per cent. *ad valorem* has been given to the former product.

Moreover, the British firms which, under these altered circumstances, were unable to execute contracts they had entered into without actual loss, have been subjected to considerable legal expenses, and in some instances to judicial decisions involving them in heavy damages. The representations which, under instructions from Her Majesty's Government, Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris has repeatedly addressed to the French Government in this matter have remained for many weeks without any definite answer being returned to them, and without any action being taken to redress the grievances complained of.

Further, Memorials have been presented to Her Majesty's Government within the last few days respecting a system of interference which it would seem is now adopted by the French Customs administration in regard to the trade in yarns and tissues between Great Britain and France. Seizures have been made and fines imposed under an interpretation of the Tariff annexed to the Treaty of Commerce which is alleged to be altogether new and opposed to its letter and spirit. Investigations into the specific allegations with respect to these commodities which have resulted in these seizures, are represented to have been of a very unsatisfactory character.

I have likewise the honour to state to your Excellency that no answer has yet been returned to the representations made by Her Majesty's Government, to which I also adverted in my note of the 24th ultimo, in regard to the recent French Law respecting the mercantile marine, though I understand that, in consequence of remonstrance from the Spanish Government, Spanish shipping has been relieved from the application of these differential dues. I am further informed that the tax of 10 c. on articles which pass the French frontier has been taken off in favour of Spain.

I beg that your Excellency will have the goodness further to acquaint your Government that Her Majesty's Government have always received with the utmost satisfaction, as I have frequently stated, the expressions of friendship towards this country of the President of the French Republic, and of his Ministers. Her Majesty's Government also attached much value to the assurances given at different times by the President and his Ministers, and also by yourself, that it was not the wish of the French Government to do away with the principle of the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty, to place this country in a less favourable position than any other Power, or to impose any special disadvantage on

British merchant-vessels; and that no apprehension need be entertained that, while the Treaty remained in force, subordinate authorities would be allowed to strain its stipulations. Her Majesty's Government were equally glad to hear that it was the policy of the President, simply to impose moderate duties, such as those specified in the proposals he had made to Her Majesty's Government; and to receive the assurances of M. de Rémusat that the French Government would not wage a warfare of Customs duties.

On these grounds they have understood it to be the intention of the French Government that the fiscal changes in contemplation in France would not be so directed as to be prejudicial to British commerce; and they accept in this sense the announcement which your Excellency has now made, that the several Tariffs annexed to the Treaty will remain in force even after the expiration of the Treaty, except so far as their terms are specifically altered by the National Assembly.

But the course pursued with respect to the several matters to which I have now requested your Excellency to call the attention of your Government, shows that these intentions of the French Government, as far as the matters in question are concerned, have not been attended to by the subordinate Departments. Indeed, from the manner in which the important subjects to which I have adverted have been dealt with, there is even an appearance, in the present state of affairs, that questions which affect this country especially, receive unfavourable treatment. The duties complained of continue to be levied; the vexatious proceedings on the part of the Customs authorities, with all the injurious consequences which attend them, seem to increase rather than to diminish. The discussion on these points is indefinitely protracted, and controversies which Her Majesty's Government much regret, cannot fail to ensue.

On previous occasions I have explained the reasons on account of which Her Majesty's Government would regret the termination of Treaty of Commerce, which undoubtedly has much increased the commercial transactions of both countries; and I have expressed the readiness of Her Majesty's Government to assist the French Government as far as possible in new fiscal arrangements, where this could be done without giving a sanction to principles to which Her Majesty's Government are strongly opposed. I regret to have to call attention to complaints which so seriously affect British interests. I am prompted also by the strong desire, which Her Majesty's Government cordially share with that of France, and which has been expressed with so much force and courtesy by yourself and M. de Rémusat, to prevent any possible diminution of the friendly relations which now exist, to request that if the complaints which have been made on the part of British trade cannot be confuted by instructions, which may prove effectual for the purpose, may be given to the proper authorities in France to observe strictly the stipulations of the Treaty of 1860, and its various annexes as long as those engagements remain in force.

I have, &c.

GRANVILLE.

(Signed)

No. 119.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

Foreign Office,

My Lord,

IN my despatch of the 16th instant I transmitted to your note which I had received from the French Ambassador at notification on the part of the French Government for the termination of the Treaty of Commerce of 1860.

I now transmit to you copies of two notes which I have in reply,* in which I have acknowledged the receipt of this for the strict observance of the stipulations of the Treaty.

I am glad to avail myself of this opportunity to express the approval by Her Majesty's Government of your relative to the revision of the Commercial Treaty.

Her Majesty's Government fully approve of the support the interests of British commerce. The stipulations of the Treaty as long as it remains in force.

V
(BRS)



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